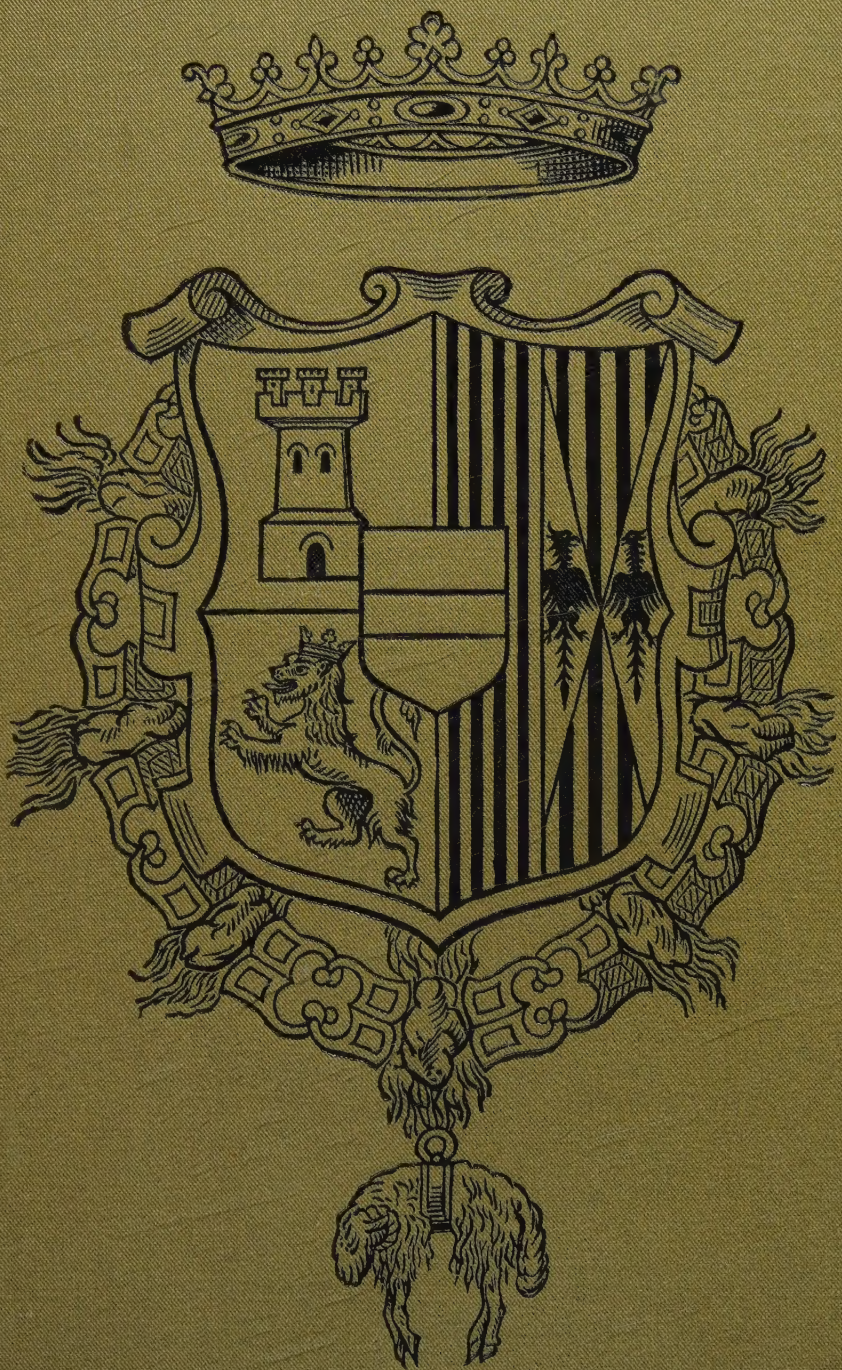

DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA

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DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA

OR

PASSAGES FROM THE HISTORY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY 1547-1578

Illustrated with numerous Wood Engravings

BY THE LATE

SIR WILLIAM STIRLING-MAXWELL, BART.

AUTHOR OF 'THE CLOISTER LIFE OF CHARLES V.' ETC.

IN TWO VOLS.—VOL. I.

LONDON: LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

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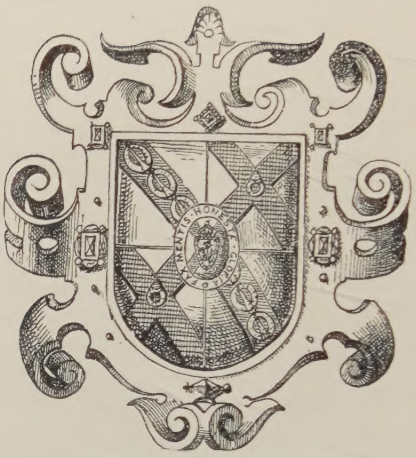

STIRLING-MAXWELL ARMS.

Printed by R. & R. Clark, *Edinburgh.*

PREFACE

TO all who knew him, either personally or by reputation, it will be a subject of regret that the Author of this Work was not permitted to carry finally through the press a history on which he had spent years of persevering labour. But although his life was prematurely cut short, he had already done for it far more than even careful writers in general do for their productions. Not content with corrections made in his own manuscripts, he had the whole work more than once printed, and for the printed chapters he continued to make additions and changes which he felt to be called for in order to reach the high standard which he had set before himself. These insertions form a considerable portion of the present text; and there is not one among them which fails to evince the patient striving of the writer to make as nearly as might be possible perfect that which had been to him for nearly a generation a labour of love. Probably even while he was busy with the *Cloister Life of Charles V.*, he entertained the design of telling the story of the high-spirited and shortlived Prince, whose brief career is associated with the first serious check given to the power of the Ottoman Turk, and with events which mark the turning-point in the history of the Reformation throughout Northern Europe.

In the execution of this plan the Author had at his command, in his own library, a treasure-house of Spanish literature second to none in the possession of private persons in Europe; and he was thus enabled to treat fully, and perhaps exhaustively, many points which have been subjects of debate and controversy. He has left, probably, nothing more to be said on the parentage of Don John himself; on the melancholy history of his nephew and playmate, Don Carlos; on the tortuous intrigues and hidden motives which determined the course of the Morisco rebellion, and marked the formation of the League which had for its brilliant but comparatively fruitless result the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Lepanto. Nor is the picture less complete which he has drawn of Don John's administration in the Netherlands — an administration which does credit both to the heart and the head of the young Prince, who may be said with truth to have fallen under a burden which the short-sightedness, the dilatoriness, the bigotry, and, above all, the deep and deliberate treachery of his brother Philip II., made it impossible for him to bear.

During the long series of years spent in the preparation of this Work, the Author spared himself no pains in bringing together a body of illustrations which should enable the reader to form a life-like idea of the age in which Don John for a few years played a prominent part, and of the chief personages who, with him, were actors in the great drama. This collection is especially rich in portraits of the victor of Lepanto; the many likenesses given of him showing what he was at every stage from early boyhood onwards in his short career, and bearing witness to the high powers which he had inherited from his father, in contrast with the feebler intellect and colder affections of his brother Philip.

To these portraits the Author added a large collection of engravings, illustrating the armour, weapons, art-workmanship, medals, the naval and military equipments, the galleys, frigates, and ships of the sixteenth century, together with a multitude of ornamental alphabets obtained from the Works for which they

were designed and of devices throwing light on the manners, employments, and amusements of the age.

Nearly the whole of these illustrations are embodied in this edition of his Work ; and the Work itself is now presented to the public strictly as it was left by the Author. Apart from the comparatively few verbal corrections which will remain to be made even after a careful revision, nothing has been added, nor have any changes been made in the arrangement of the matter except in one instance, in which such a change seemed unavoidable. The third chapter of the first volume, which, beginning with a few paragraphs of narrative relating to Don John, contained a treatise on the fleets of the sixteenth century, followed by some pages of narrative again relating to Don John, ran to an inordinate length. In this case the narrative with which the chapter began has been added to the preceding chapter, the account of the fleets and the subsequent historical narrative being given in separate chapters.

In a Work which is largely concerned with the history of Islam the question of the spelling of Eastern names must present itself. The Author's practice is not always consistent, some names being in different parts of the Work given in two or three different forms. These inconsistencies would probably have been removed by him on a final revision. As it is, one of the forms used by him has in such cases been adopted, his system of spelling not being otherwise interfered with. The Spanish names are printed as written by the Author, who in some instances adheres to the French form, and in others admits an interchange of consonants.

Some of the notes left for the Work were found to be little more than memoranda to guide the Author to further inquiries on points calling for attention. When these notes explain themselves they are given as the Author left them. A few, which would be unintelligible or useless to the reader, have been omitted.

In preparing this work finally for the press, I have felt bound to confine myself strictly to the carrying out of the Author's

intentions. It was under this expressed condition that the executors of his will placed the whole of the material in my hands; and throughout I have striven, as far as was possible, to follow his wishes. I may add that some difficulty has been experienced in the distribution of the woodcuts in the text, some of the chapters having few, and one or two having no illustrations. But as it was impossible to doubt that the Author would have desired to place the woodcuts only in those parts of the text which relate to them, a faithful adherence to his plan left me in this matter no option.

GEORGE W. COX.

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CHAP. I.

CHILDHOOD OF DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA, 1547-1558.

THE 24th of February, the feast of St. Matthias the Apostle, was reckoned by the Emperor Charles V. as the most memorable among the auspicious days of his life. Born on that day in the castle of Ghent, he received on the same day of the same month, from the hands of the Pope at Bologna, the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. On the same day one of his generals, Prosper Colonna, routed the French under Lautrec in the important field of Bicocca; and another, Charles de Lannoy, received the sword of the captive King of France beneath the walls of Pavia. And on the same day, in the year 1547, it is said that there was born to him at Ratisbon the son to whom descended much of his capacity for command, and whose brief career forms the last brilliant page in the history of those princely houses which were united in the person of Charles under the name of Austria.

Although Don John of Austria was the acknowledged son of the most famous monarch of the age, the facts of his early life are veiled in much obscurity. Until within the last few years historians have accepted 1545 as the date of his birth,[1] notwithstanding the evidence of the medal struck in honour of his victory at Lepanto, in which his age is given as twenty-four, in 1571.

[1] Vanderhammen: *D. Juan de Austria*, 4to, Madrid, 1627, fol. 2.

More conclusive testimony has recently been found[1] in the records of the Cortes held at Toledo in February 1560, where it appears that Philip II. granted to Don John a verbal dispensation, in virtue of which, although still under the age of fourteen prescribed by law, he was permitted to swear allegiance and do homage to his nephew, Don Carlos, as heir-apparent of the Crown of Spain. Considerable doubt still hangs round the name and

DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA. MEDAL STRUCK IN HONOUR OF THE VICTORY AT LEPANTO, 1571.

rank of his mother. History has been accustomed to call her Barbara Blomberg, daughter of a noble family at Ratisbon, and unmarried at the time she became a mother. She owed her introduction to the Emperor to her fine voice, and was brought to play and sing to him during one of his visits to Ratisbon, to divert the melancholy under which he long laboured after the death of his Empress Isabella. The personal charms of the musician are said to have tempted him to a closer intimacy, which resulted in the birth of Don John of Austria. The historian Strada, on the other hand, was told by Cardinal de la Cueva that he had himself heard from the lips of the Infanta Arch-Duchess Isabella, the favourite daughter and confidant of Philip II., that her famous uncle was the son, not of his reputed mother, but of a lady of princely degree.[2]

There is no doubt, however, that Barbara Blomberg was generally reputed to be the mother of Don John, and that she was treated as such by Charles V. and Philip II. If the boy was born on the 24th of February 1547 the connexion between her and his father must have existed at Ratisbon, where the

[1] By Don Modesto Lafuente, and cited in his *Historia General de España*, vols. i.-xviii., 8vo, Madrid, 1851-57; xiii. p. 437, note.

[2] Famiana Strado: *De Bello Belgico*, 2 tom. sm. 8vo, Antverpiæ, 1640, i. p. 563.

Emperor resided in 1546, from the 10th of April to the 4th of August,[1] occupied in preparing his forces for the campaign against the Elector of Saxony and the Protestants, which was closed by

the victory at Muhlberg. Whatever its nature, the connexion between Barbara and Charles was not of long duration. The child was removed from her soon after its birth; and the only subsequent occasion when the Emperor is recorded to have noticed her, was on his deathbed, when he bestowed on her an

[1] *Itinerary of the Emperor Charles V.* 1519-1551, by Vandenesse, translated from the Flemish, and appended to Bradford's *Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V.*, 8vo, London, 1850, p. 555.

annuity of two hundred florins. She became the wife of one Jerome Pyramus Kegel, a gentleman of the Imperial Court, who obtained the post of Commissary at Bruxelles and died there in 1569. It is at the commencement of her widowhood that contemporary and authentic records begin to afford us any clear glimpse of the Emperor's mistress. The Duke of Alba, the Governor of the Netherlands, on the 30th of June 1569 wrote to Philip II. that he had sent to inquire into her circumstances, and had found her poor and in debt; that of two children whom she had had by Kegel, one had been lately drowned; and, he added, that as it was a matter of public notoriety that she was the mother of Don John, it would be necessary to do something to improve her condition. Various later despatches prove that the Duke found her a most troublesome charge.[1] He proposed that she should quit Bruxelles, but she was most unwilling to leave that capital. To Mons, the retreat at first suggested, she refused to go, on the plea that she understood no French, nor any language but her own, which seems to render it probable that she was Flemish and not German by birth; and it was not without much difficulty that she was persuaded to retire to Ghent. There she was provided with a house and a liberal establishment, consisting of a housekeeper and six women, a steward, two pages, a chaplain, an almoner, and four other men-servants. Alba was, however, much annoyed by her extravagance and her perverseness. She had no sooner received money than it was spent in feasting; and she was surrounded by suitors, whose attentions sorely perplexed the Duke, seeing that he was instructed by the King that she was on no account to be allowed to marry again. Philip, who at first wished her to remain in the Netherlands, now thought of transporting her to the seclusion of a Spanish nunnery; but on being sounded as to a journey to Spain she said she knew how women were immured there, and that she would be cut in pieces rather than go. In September 1571 the baffled Duke was contemplating the possibility of getting her inveigled on board a vessel, on pretence of going to Antwerp, and conveying her by force across the Bay of Biscay. But it was not until

MEDAL WITH SERPENT. STRUCK BY THE DUKE OF ALBA AT UTRECHT, IN 1569.

[1] Gachard: *Correspondance de Philippe II. sur les Affaires des Pays Bas*, tom. i. ii. 4to, Bruxelles, 1848-51; ii. Nos. 884, 905, 912, 960, 969, 987, 1025, 1054.

some years had elapsed, and after the arrival of her son as Governor of the Low Countries, that she could be induced to submit herself to the King's will, and remove to Spain.

The precise name bestowed in baptism on Don John has not been recorded; but the name which he made famous was not the name which he bore in early youth. For some years of his life he was called Jerome, an appellation affording one of many proofs of the Emperor's devotion to the great doctor of Bethlehem, in one of whose religious houses he at last ended his days.

While still at the breast, the little John or Jerome was placed under the care of the eminent man who afterwards watched over his youth with all the affection of a father, and all the vigilance which became the trusted counsellor of a great Prince. Luis Mendez Quixada was head of an ancient baronial house of Old Castille, which for five centuries had furnished good knights and true to the courts and camps of the descendants of St. Pelayo. His father, Gutierre Quixada, a gallant soldier, had been a favourite of Philip the Handsome during his brief reign in the realm which his Queen had inherited from Isabella the Catholic; and two of his sons had fallen in battle in the service of Philip's son and successor, the Emperor Charles. Luis himself, who had begun life as the Emperor's page, was also a soldier of reputation; and both in Africa and the Low Countries, in the breach and in the field, he had led the famous infantry of Spain. Rewarded with the rank of Colonel, and with the post of Vice-Chamberlain of the Imperial household under the Duke of Alba, he had long attended the Emperor's person, and enjoyed his entire confidence. In 1549 he had married Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, a lady of birth equal to his own, and of a nature as gentle and lovely as any which ever graced the Court or the story of Castille.

Soon after the Vice-Chamberlain's return from being married in Spain, and from settling his bride in his family mansion at Villagarcia, the Emperor informed him of his wish to send the foster-son whom he had given him to be educated in Spain. Quixada proposed that the child should be confided to the care either of his wife at Villagarcia, or of Bautista Vela, a trusty retainer of his house, who was curate of Leganes, a village near Madrid. The Emperor made his election in favour of the priest.

Meanwhile a favourite musician of the Emperor, one Francisco or Francisquin Massi, whose violin had for many years solaced his leisure hours, asked leave to retire from the Imperial service. A Fleming by birth, Massi had accompanied his master to Spain,

when he first visited the country in 1517, and some twenty years afterwards he had married at Toledo a Castillian wife with some property. This woman, Ana de Medina, being home-sick, they had determined to return to Spain and spend the remainder of

LUIS QUIXADA, GUARDIAN OF DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA.

their days in a house which she possessed at Leganes. To the care of this couple the Emperor resolved to entrust Don John, that he might travel with them to their village, and live with them there, while the parish priest continued to be his pedagogue. They were told that the boy was the son of Adrian de Bues, or

Dubois, one of the gentlemen of the Imperial chamber, and they and their son Diego were required to sign the following curious document, of which a copy is preserved among the State papers of Cardinal Granvelle :—[1]

I, Francisco Massi, viol player to His Majesty, and Ana de Medina my wife, we acknowledge and confess that we have taken and received a son of the Señor Adrian de Bues, groom of His Majesty's chamber (*ayuda de camera*), whom we have taken at his request, that we should take, keep, and bring him up as if he were our own son, and that we should not tell any person whosoever whose son he is, because the said Señor Adrian desires that neither his wife nor any other person should by any means know of the child, or hear him spoken of. Wherefore I, Francisco Massi, and Ana de Medina my wife, and our son Diego de Medina, we swear and promise to the said Señor Adrian that we will not tell or declare to any living person whose the said child is, but that I shall say he is mine, until the said Señor Adrian shall send me a person with this paper, or the said Señor Adrian come in person. And because the Señor Adrian desires to keep this matter secret, he has asked me, to do him a kindness, to take charge of the said boy, which we do with very good will, I and my wife; and I acknowledge to have received of the said Señor Adrian for the expense of conveying this boy on horseback, and for his equipment and maintenance for a year, the allowance which he gives me, one hundred crowns. It is also agreed that the said year shall count from the 1st of August of this present year 1550. In consideration of which payment I hold myself content and reimbursed for this said year; and for this reason I hereby sign this paper, I and my wife; and because my wife cannot sign I ask Oger Bodoarte to sign her name for her. And henceforth the said Señor Adrian is to give me fifty ducats for every year for the boy's maintenance. Done at Bruxelles on the 13th day of the month of June, One thousand five hundred and fifty years.

At the date of this contract the Emperor was at Cologne on his way to the diet about to be held at Augsburg.[2] He had left Bruxelles, however, only a fortnight before, on the 31st of May, and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that the agreement with Massi had previously received his consideration and approval. As the musician and his wife intended to travel to Spain under the protection of Prince Philip, the heir-apparent, they probably soon followed the Imperial Court to Augsburg.

In that city the Emperor passed the autumn and winter of 1550, and the spring of 1551, watching with great anxiety the proceedings of the great council of the empire. Philip, who was also there, had just completed a progress through the northern portion of the vast dominions which he was one day so cruelly

[1] A copy of the Spanish original is preserved in the archives at Besançon, and has been printed by M. W. Weiss, in his *Papiers d'état du Cardinal de Granvelle*, tom. i.-ix., Paris, 1841-52; iv. pp. 499, 500.

[2] *Itinerary of the Emperor Charles V.* 1519-1551, by Vandenesse; Bradford's *Correspondence of Emperor Charles V.*, 8vo, London, 1850, p. 572.

to misgovern. He had received from the various states the oath of allegiance as his father's heir. The Netherlands had received him with peculiar honour. Their rich and flourishing cities had vied with each other in the splendour of the pageants with which they had welcomed him, and the vice-queen, Mary, Queen of Hungary, although fond neither of extravagance nor of her nephew, showed her devotion to her brother by entertaining him

THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

and his son at her favourite palace at Binche with festivities which recalled the reckless magnificence of Duke Charles and Kaiser Max. But in Germany Charles failed in securing for Philip the reversion of the Imperial crown, one of the favourite schemes of his life. Neither the King of the Romans, nor his son, nor the electors, could be brought to entertain the proposal ; and after a winter spent in fruitless intrigue and angry expostulation, Philip returned from the field defeated, and confirmed in his dislike to all things German.

A pension was bestowed on Massi, and he and his wife received from Quixada their last instructions and a letter for the curate of Leganes, recommending the young Geronimo to his kindness and educational care.

As the musician kissed the Emperor's hand in taking leave, Charles said to him: "I hear that Quixada has given you a " commission. Remember that I shall consider the fulfilment of

" his wishes as good service done to myself." It does not seem that the secret of Don John's birth was as yet entrusted to Philip, or that he was aware that amongst his followers he had a young brother, who was to become one of the chief glories of his reign.

The Prince left Augsburg on the 25th of May. Crossing the Alps, he halted for a few days at Trent, where he was entertained with masques and jousting by the grave Prelates and doctors who were entering on their labour of remodelling the Christian faith in

ANDREA DORIA. MEDAL.

the newly assembled council. Hastening to Genoa, and the squadron of the veteran Andrea Doria, he landed on the 12th of July at Barcelona.[1]

Leganes, the village in which Doña Ana de Medina's property and heart lay, is about two leagues south-west of Madrid, and near the road from Madrid to Toledo. As giving the title of Marquess to a branch of the House of Guzman, the name was well known in the reign of Philip IV. The village is situated on that vast undulating plain which lies between the snowy range of Guadarrama and the mountains of Toledo, and is inhabited by a population of peasants who live by the partial cultivation of the fine corn-land round its mud walls. Here Don John passed several years of his boyhood, under the care of Massi and his wife. His education was entrusted to the curate Bautista Vela, as advised by Quixada. But in spite of the Chamberlain's recommendation and injunctions, this priest was little solicitous to prove himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him. Never

[1] Vanderhammen, *D. J. de Austria*, f. 8, says 5th of August; but I have followed Prescott, *History of Philip II.*, vols. i.-iii., 8vo, London, 1855-8, i. p. 59.

dreaming that his pupil might one day influence the disposal of mitres and red hats, he handed him over for tuition to his sacristan, one Francisco Fernandez. When the boy had learned all that a country sacristan of the sixteenth century might be supposed to know, he was transferred to the school of Getafe, of which the huge brick building looms heavily on the eastern horizon of Leganes. To this place, about a league off, Don John used to trudge daily through the fields with his companions, dressed like the peasant lads, and amusing himself by the way in shooting sparrows with a little crossbow.

In such studies and sports nearly three years were passed. During this period Francisquin Massi died, but Don John remained under the care of his widow. The accounts of him which reached his father and Quixada, or the absence of any account, proving unsatisfactory, it was resolved to remove him to tutelage more befitting one born so near a throne. In the spring of 1554 Charles Prevost, one of the grooms of the Emperor's chamber, was sent from the Court of Bruxelles to that of Valladolid to summon Philip, the Prince-Regent, to repair to England to receive the crown-matrimonial of that country with the hand of Mary Tudor. This mission accomplished, the envoy was instructed to proceed to Leganes. He performed the journey thither in a coach, an invention which, although coming into use in the Netherlands, was as yet hardly known in Spain, and which, therefore, attracted crowds of gazers in every town and hamlet where it appeared. Great was the astonishment of the people of Leganes when the amazing machine rolled into their dull street, and stopped at the door of Ana de Medina. The astonishment and excitement grew greater still when it was rumoured that the great man from the Court who stepped out of it had come to fetch away the young foster-son of the house. Ana de Medina was in despair at losing the pretty boy who shared her home and cheered her widowhood. Moreover, she and her gossips were surprised to observe that the magnificent stranger who came accredited by Quixada, and was known to the Prince and the Emperor, treated the boy with marked respect; that he invited him to dine with him; and that he placed him on his right hand at the table which glittered with his travelling equipage of plate. As the coach containing the courtier and the boy rolled away on the road to Valladolid, it was surrounded and pursued by a crowd of urchins, vociferating farewells to their departing comrade. Doña Ana herself brought up the rear, weeping

bitterly, and calling on the stranger not to bereave her of her darling son.[1]

At Valladolid, where the Infanta Juana, Princess-Dowager of Brazil, was now reigning as Regent, Prevost halted to provide his

THE INFANTA DOÑA JUANA, PRINCESS OF BRAZIL. MEDAL.

charge with clothing more suited to his rank than the peasant's weeds in which he had found him at Leganes. Don John was not presented to his sister, the Regent, who was still ignorant of his existence, but was conveyed by Prevost, without loss of time, to Villagarcia. This village, now containing about a thousand souls, lies six leagues north-west of Valladolid, beyond the heath of San Pedro de la Espina, in the vale of the Sequillo. Bounded by low hills, this valley produces a good deal of fine corn and inferior wine, on the cultivated land near the dry and dusty channel down which the wintry storms sometimes pour an intermittent stream. In the family mansion of Quixada Doña Magdalena de Ulloa was now residing. The letter from her husband, which was the credential of Prevost, merely informed her that the boy whom the bearer was to place under her charge was "the son of a great man, the writer's dear friend," and entreated her to watch over him as tenderly as if he had been their own child. Doña Magdalena had now been married for five years without offspring. She therefore at once welcomed to her home and heart the son of her lord's dear friend, and henceforward made him the chief care and solace of her life.

The lady of Villagarcia, whose name thus became linked with the name of John of Austria, has claims on her own account to honourable remembrance.[2] The best and bluest blood of Iberia

[1] Vanderhammen: *D. Juan de Austria*, f. 11. The name of Prevost is metamorphosed by this author, and by Sandoval, into Pubest.

[2] Her life was written by Juan de Villafañe, a Jesuit father, grateful for the benefits which she had heaped upon the company. It bears this title:—*La Limosnera de Dios;*

ran in her veins. Her father, Juan de Ulloa, Alcayde of Toro, was maternally descended from the royal house of Castille; her mother, a daughter of the house of Luna, Maria Toledo Ossorio, bore names which pretend to be sprung from the Imperial Palæologi and the divine Osiris. Born in 1525, Magdalena was in her twenty-fourth year when she married Luis Quixada, who was probably nearly double her own age, but with whom she appears to have lived in great contentment and affection. The marriage took place at Valladolid, the bridegroom appearing at the altar by proxy; but he soon afterwards obtained leave of absence from his duties in the Low Countries and joined her in Spain. After living for a while at Valladolid, they went to Villagarcia, where they were received with every demonstration of joy by their vassals. These rustics, however, soon afterwards disturbed the complacency of their newly-wedded lord by resisting certain of his signorial exactions, and they eventually cast him in a plea, carried to the Council of Castille, in which he defended what he conceived to be his hereditary rights against their encroachments.[1] His residence among them was brief and interrupted, his time being chiefly spent in attendance on the Emperor in the Netherlands. Doña Magdalena meanwhile remained at Villagarcia, winning the hearts of her people by her kindly deeds and gentle ways, and having Don John for a companion and an occupation.

Her first care was to recommence his education, which, neglected by the curate, had not been greatly advanced either by the sacristan of Leganes or the schoolmaster of Getafe. When he had acquired the arts of reading and writing she caused him to be instructed, by competent teachers, in Latin, music, and other branches of what was then esteemed a good education. She reserved to herself the care of his spiritual nurture; teaching him his duties to God, the Church, and his fellow-men, and inspiring his young mind with her own especial devotion to the Mother of the Redeemer. By making him the channel of her bounties, she inculcated the practice of benevolence, and early made him familiar with the luxury of doing good. On certain days, when the poor came to receive alms at the castle gate, he was sent into the courtyard, or into the gallery above, to watch their coming and to

Relacion historica de la vida y virtudes de Doña Magdalena de Ulloa Toledo Ossorio y Quiñones, muger de Luis Mendez Quixada, Fundadora de los colegios de Villagarcia, Oviedo y Santander de la Compañia de Jesus, 4to, Salamanca, 1723. It contains much curious historical information, and is now very scarce.

[1] Villafañe: *Vida de Da. Magd. de Ulloa*, pp. 41-2.

report their numbers. When the gathering was complete he ran to announce it to his aunt—for by that popular term of Castillian endearment he called Doña Magdalena—and received the dole apportioned to the number of the claimants. This he would then dispense, in the style of old Spanish and Christian courtesy prescribed by his foster-mother, beginning with the eldest of the beggars, and giving to each a real, at the same time saluting each by name, and kissing the coin ere he dropped it into the outstretched hand.[1]

Thus time passed on, each day deepening Magdalena's affection for her young charge. One feeling only troubled her tranquil happiness, the suspicion that he owed his birth to some previous possessor of her husband's heart. This suspicion she often confided to her confessor, who wisely advised her to wait with patience until time should reveal the truth. An accident enabled her to guess at least part of the truth. During one of Quixada's visits to Villagarcia their house took fire at night. The Emperor's faithful servant carried Don John to a place of safety before he attended to the preservation of his wife. From that moment Magdalena's mind was relieved of its anxiety. Secure of her husband's love, she felt that the boy's safety had been preferred to her own, because Quixada's honour was engaged in guarding a trust confided to him by another. Her curiosity was allayed, if not satisfied, and she forebore to tease her lord with questions which he might be unable to answer. Jealousy ceased to mingle with her love of Don John, and her interest in his fortunes was perhaps heightened by the glimpse thus accidentally afforded of the possible grandeur of his destiny.[2]

In the autumn of 1555, and the early part of 1556, Charles V. resigned his regal functions to his son Philip II.; and he had since been living a retired life in the Park at Bruxelles. In September his health, and a truce with the French, enabled him to remove to Spain, in order to seek still more perfect retirement at the Jeromite convent of Yuste, in the Vera of Plasencia. Quixada had been sent forward to Valladolid to prepare for his coming, and having made the necessary arrangements, was awaiting further orders at Villagarcia. The news that the Emperor had landed at Laredo, in Biscay, and instructions to join him there, reached the Chamberlain on the evening of the 1st of October. Mounting his horse at two in the morning of

[1] Vanderhammen: *D. Juan de Austria*, f. 12.
[2] Villafañe: *Vida de Da. M. de Ulloa*, p. 43.

the 2d, he rode into Laredo on the night of the 4th, and took the command of the Imperial progress to the capital. The cavalcade travelled in two divisions, a day's journey apart; the first division comprising the Emperor and his household, and the second his sisters, the Queens Eleanor of France and Mary of Hungary, and their respective trains. Arriving at Valladolid on the 21st of October, Charles rested there for a few days in the society of his sisters and of his daughter, the Princess-Regent Juana; and then proceeded to the Castle of Xarandilla, about a league from the monastery of Yuste. He remained there from the 12th of November until the 3d of February 1557, when his conventual retreat was ready to receive him.

He lived at Yuste for a year and nearly eight months. His health, though feeble, was benefited by the change of air and scene, and by a respite from hard work. The gout, his old and inveterate persecutor, attacked him at intervals, but his physicians were never alarmed for his life until the illness of which he died. The retirement which he had planned for himself at Yuste was well worthy of a veteran statesman broken with the cares of empire. Religious reading, converse, and meditation, to prepare himself for the next world, were to be the occupations of his leisure; his gun, his garden, music, and his mechanical experiments, its amusements. At Valladolid he had consented to superintend the completion of certain negotiations which had been begun under his auspices, and these concluded, he resolved to say farewell to the business of the world. But old habits were not to be so easily shaken off, and both the King and the Princess-Regent knew the value of their father's counsels too well to forego them. The consideration of one subject led to dealing with another, and the Emperor's time and thoughts soon returned to their old course, and were given to reading and dictating despatches, to conferences with ministers and envoys, and to anxious watching of the progress of public events. These events were not of a nature fitted to soothe anxiety and induce repose. Charles had hardly taken possession of his sunny cabinet and sweet parterres at Yuste, when a new war, kindled by Pope Paul IV., broke out between France and Spain. Coligny and the Duke of Savoy were already in arms on the frontiers of the Netherlands. Guise and Alba were moving upon the Tronto to contest the Kingdom of Naples, and Albuquerque warned the Regent of Spain that she must prepare for the invasion of Navarre. The English marriage of Philip the Second had produced a coolness with the Court of

Portugal. Heresy had appeared on the Catholic soil of Spain, not only among the laity, but in the cloisters of royal abbeys, in cathedral states, and in high places of the Church itself. In the mountains of Murcia and Granada a rising was threatened by the numerous descendants of the Moor, still unreclaimed to the religion and allegiance of Castille. Sultan Solyman was assembling in the Egean his last great fleet, disturbing the commerce, and spreading a panic along the shores and among the islands of Mediterranean Christendom. The need of meeting these concurrent emergencies tasked to the utmost the resources of Spain and the energies of her rulers in all the departments of Government, ecclesiastical, military, diplomatic, and financial. No steps of importance were taken at Valladolid, and very few at Bruxelles, without having been first considered and approved at Yuste. Immersed in the public business which had thus followed him into the forest shades of the Vera, Charles was surprised by the fever which prostrated him on the 31st of August, and carried him off on the 21st of September 1558.

Luis Quixada had come to Spain with the intention of retiring from his post in the Imperial household, after he had seen his master installed at Yuste. He was growing old; he was somewhat weary of his daily duties, and he was still more weary of continued absence from his wife and his estate. Like the rest of the Imperial retainers, accustomed to polished life at Bruxelles, he looked forward with dismay to banishment in the wilds of Estremadura; and the picture of Yuste, which his graphic pen drew for the Secretary of State, was at first sufficiently cheerless. Hating friars, he found himself surrounded by Jeromites ignorant and stupid beyond the use and wont of their order; hating Flemings, he was called on to preside over an establishment of Flemish grumblers, ever at war with the friars and each other. But the reasons which made him wish to retire also determined the Emperor not to part with a servant whom it would have been hard to replace. The Chamberlain had leave of absence in the spring of 1557, and remained at Villagarcia until August. But things did not go smoothly in his absence. The friars, especially, required his strong hand to keep them in order; and at his return the Emperor so urged him to remain with him that Quixada found it impossible to refuse. He had gone away, wishing that he "were not coming back to eat truffles and "asparagus in Estremadura any more;" and he announced his plan of taking up his permanent abode near the convent, in a

letter which he dates "from Yuste, evil be to him who built "it here."[1]

In the autumn and winter of 1557-8 the precarious state of the Emperor's health, and the difficulty of finding a house for

THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

Doña Magdalena, delayed the step on which Quixada had resolved. In March 1558 he was sent to attend Queen Mary of Hungary, who had been visiting the Emperor, on her journey from Yuste to Valladolid. Early in July he returned with his wife and Don

[1] *Cloister Life of Emperor Charles V.*, sm. 8vo, London, 1853, p. 150.

John,[1] and settled them in a house which he had procured at Quacos, a village lying about a mile from Yuste, at the foot of its chestnut-covered hill. The Emperor gave Doña Magdalena an audience some days after her arrival, and received her with marked favour. He was much pleased also with the appearance of Don John; and during the few weeks that remained to him of life, was glad of opportunities of seeing him, which Quixada's daily duties easily afforded. He was likewise gratified to observe the attention and decorum with which the boy performed his devotions, the result of the pious lessons of Doña Magdalena.[2] While living at Quacos, Don John was sometimes tempted to predatory excursions into the village orchards, and was pelted by the peasants when they caught him in their fruit-trees. It is probable, and it is distinctly asserted by the Jeromite historian Siguença,[3] that he made one in that group of attendants, nobles, and ecclesiastics, who stood at midnight on the 21st of September around the bed of the dying Emperor. Luis de Çapata, in his rimed chronicle of Charles V. printed ere Don John had gathered any of his laurels, asserts that he was sent for and acknowledged by his father shortly before he expired.[4] Another writer, Salazar de Mendoça,[5] relates that Fray Juan de Regla, the Emperor's confessor, used to say that he suggested to his dying master that Don John should be named in the codicil of the Imperial will as heir to the crown failing Philip and his issue; but that Charles rejected the proposal with indignation. The statement of the poet is not very probable; that of the prose writer is still less credible, because it would have us believe that a very astute priest not

[1] Villafañe (*Vida de Doña Magdalena de Ulloa*) says that most probably Don John was left at Villagarcia during the time Doña Magdalena was at Quacos. But this is disproved by the evidence both of the monk of Yuste, who left a journal, and of Philip II., who, in one of his letters, alludes to the fact that Don John had been at Yuste.

[2] Vanderhammen (*Don Juan de Austria*, fol. 19) says that Don John went in and out of the Emperor's chamber when he pleased, being lodged in an anteroom of Quixada's apartment. But Quixada did not live at Yuste, as his letters expressly state, except during the Emperor's last illness.

[3] Fr. Jos. de Siguença: *Historia de la Orden de San Geronimo*, 3 vols. 1st 4to, 2d and 3d folio, Madrid, 1595, 1600, 1605, iii. p. 205.

[4] Carlo que como cisne su fin siente
Al niño Don Juan de Austria ante si llama,
Y le dice quien es, y de alli ausente
Se le encomienda al rey que tanto el ama,
Y hecho lo que un rey tan excellente
En tal tiempo devía, como una llama
Que le falta ya al fin el nutrimiento
Se fue á gozar de Dios á su alto assiento.

Carlo Famoso de Don Luys Çapata, 4to, Valencia, 1566, fol. 287.

[5] *Origen de las dignidades de Castilla*, fol. Toledo, 1618, fol. 161.

only did a foolish thing, but told the story against himself afterwards.

It is, however, certain that one of the last acts of the Emperor was to add to the provision previously made for Barbara Blomberg, the mother of Don John. On the day before he died he ordered Luis Quixada to give to Bodoarte, the usher of his chamber, one hundred crowns in gold, to be expended for her in the purchase of an annuity of two hundred florins. Notice of this confidential commission was given to Philip the Second by Quixada in a letter in which the Chamberlain recommended Bodoarte to the King's favour; and he also requested His Majesty to refer the usher to some trustworthy person who might bear witness to the fulfilment of the Emperor's wish, suggesting Adrian Dubois as well fitted for the duty, because already cognisant of all the facts of the case.[1] That the Emperor, so considerate in trifles, should have burdened with so large a sum of money a servant who was about to undergo the toil and risk of a journey to Flanders, is a strong proof of his desire to keep the transaction very secret, and to prevent the payment from appearing in his accounts or amongst his legacies.

It would be interesting to know whether Don John attended the funeral service performed for the Emperor at his own desire, and in his own presence, on the 30th of August, and whether the boy saw the great monarch whom he was afterwards to call his sire, deliver into the hands of the priest the waxen taper which he held, in token of his desire to commit his soul to the keeping of the Creator.[2] Quixada appears to have kept aloof from the

[1] Gachard: *Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint*, 2 vols. 8vo, Bruxelles, 1854-5, ii. p. 506. The letter is dated Yuste, 12th October 1558. See also *supra*, p. 7.

[2] I may here remark that I adhere to my belief in the general correctness of Siguença's account of these obsequies. Since the publication of the first edition of my *Cloister Life of Charles V.* the subject has been discussed by several writers of eminent ability. My view of it has been supported by the fresh contemporary evidence of the anonymous monk of Yuste, whose *Historia* has been printed by M. Gachard, and has been, in the main, adopted by M. Pichot, M. Juste, M. Gachard, and Mr. Prescott. The contrary opinion of M. Mignet (*Charles-Quint, son abdication, etc.*, 8vo, Paris, 1854, pp. 407-8) rests chiefly on the assumption of that able historian that a funeral service for a living man would be considered as a profanation by the Roman Catholic church. M. Gachard has met this assumption by citing various other examples of such services performed with the sanction of zealous churchmen, and passages, defending the practice, from the writings of orthodox theologians.—(*Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint*, ii. pp. cliii. clxv.) Don Modesto Lafuente (*Historia de España*, xii. p. 485) reposes his disbelief on the absence of any mention of the funeral service in the daily correspondence of Yuste for August and September 1558, which he has carefully examined, and which, he says, contains letters not only of the members of the Imperial household, but of the priors and monks. I have already (in *The Cloister Life*) admitted the difficulty caused by the silence of the Emperor's attendants, and have given my reasons for not allowing that silence to outweigh the positive statements of Siguença and the anonymous

ceremony, and it is therefore not very likely that Don John visited the conventual church on that day. But he was certainly present at the longer funeral rites which were celebrated in the convent church after the Emperor's soul had actually taken its flight; for it was remarked by the friars that he and Luis Quixada remained standing during the whole of the fatiguing ceremonies, which lasted for three days.[1] He therefore heard that remarkable sermon on the life and death of the Emperor, in which the favourite preacher, Villalva, put forth all those powers which were held to be unrivalled within the fold of St. Jerome.

While Quixada was engaged in winding up the affairs of the Imperial establishment at Yuste, Doña Magdalena, accompanied by Don John, made a pilgrimage to the great Estremaduran shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, an image venerable for its antiquity and miraculous powers, and lodged in, what was in those days, the noblest religious house in Spain. She then returned with her charge to her Castillian home, and her works of charity and mercy at Villagarcia. During her brief sojourn at Yuste she had made the acquaintance of the great Jesuit patriarch, Francis Borja, afterwards general of the company, and saint of the Roman Calendar. The influence of his conversation is said to have confirmed her religious enthusiasm, and to have imbued her with that love for the order of Jesus which she subsequently displayed by unwearied munificence during her life, and by the bequest of all she had to leave at her death.

Meanwhile it had been rumoured at Valladolid that the Emperor had left a son who was living under the care of Quixada. The report reached the ears of the Princess-Regent. By her desire Vazquez de Molina, the Secretary of State, wrote to the Chamberlain to know if it were true. Remembering the Emperor's

monk. If a discovery has been made of letters written by the prior or any of the monks at the end of August or the beginning of September 1558, and of a kind in which allusion to the imperial obsequies might fairly be expected to occur; and if so remarkable a transaction is passed over in silence by those who must have been concerned in it, if true, then the case assumes a very different aspect. But where are these letters? There were none in the Gonzales MS., nor are there any in M. Gachard's volumes. I find no specimen of them in the appendix of Señor Lafuente's admirable history, nor any reference to them in his notes. On a point so vital to the question between us, I cannot be expected to accept even his assertion instead of evidence.

[1] "Estuvo Luys Quixada, los tres dias primeros de las honras que il arçobispo "celebró, en pié, así á las vísperas y lecciones de los nocturnos, como á las misas, y "sermones, muy enlutado, y cubierta la cabeça, que, si no era un poco del rostro, no "tenia otra cosa descubierta; arrimado y pegado á sí el niño y ynfante Don Juan de "Austria, que cierto maravillámos como tuvo fuerças para sufrir estar tanto tiempo en pié." *Historia breve e sumario* of the retirement of Charles V. by an anonymous monk of Yuste; printed by M. Gachard, *Retraite et Mort de Charles V.*, ii. p. 55.

desire that the matter should be kept secret, and believing that the same desire was entertained by the King, Quixada replied, on the 18th of October, in these cautious words:—"As to what "you say of the lad who is in my charge, it is true that he was "entrusted to me, years ago, by a friend of mine; yet there is "no reason for believing that he is the son of His Majesty, as "you say it has been rumoured at Valladolid, because neither in "His Majesty's will, of which a copy was read to his confessor "and me in his presence and by his order by Gaztelu, nor in the "codicil which he afterwards executed, was there any mention of "the lad; and the fact being so, I have no other reply to make."[1] In a few words of a letter written six days later, on the 24th of October, the wary Chamberlain seems to parry some other allusion made by Vazquez to the same subject. "You seem "to think what is said about this boy as certain as the fitting up "of the house of Alcalá for His Majesty's reception. Ask the "agent the value of a certain rent-charge, and what I said to "him about it, when I wanted to buy it for this child."[2]

The carefully guarded secret having been thus publicly spoken of, Quixada found it necessary to write to the King about it more frankly than heretofore. Up to this time his extant letters to Philip the Second contain only three passages in which any allusion to Don John can be discovered or suspected. The first of these is found in a letter, dated 12th July 1558, in which he announces the safe arrival at Quacos, on the 1st of the month, of himself, Doña Magdalena, and the rest (*los demas*). The second appears in a postscript to a long letter, dated 17th September 1558, during and chiefly relating to the Emperor's last illness. "As to the other (*en lo demas*, which may relate either to a per-"son or a thing) which your Majesty knows to be in my charge, "all the care in the world shall be taken, until the time when "your Majesty may come, or send me some verbal order to give "your Majesty further information on the matter."[3] The third allusion is plainer, because it occurs in the letter of recommendation to the King, already noticed,[4] written on 12th October 1558

[1] Gachard: *Retraite et Mort*, i. p. 435.

[2] "Por tan cierto me parece que va teniendo lo de este muchacho como el aderezar "S. M^tad^ la casa de Alcalá, para irse a ella. Pregunte V. M. al fator cuanto ha, y lo "que yo le dije sobre cierto juro que queria comprar yo para este niño."—Gachard: "*Retraite et Mort*, i. p. 441.

[3] "En lo demas que V. M^tad^ sabe que está á mi cargo, se tendrá todo el cuydado "del mundo, hasta en tanto que V. M^tad^ venga, que tambien me mandó de palabra "que dije sobrello a V. M^tad^ algun recaudo."—Gachard: *Retraite et Mort*, i. p. 375.

[4] Page 18.

by Quixada in favour of Bodoarte, who was in the secret, and had been chosen by the Emperor to buy an annuity for Barbara Blomberg. Even there, however, the cautious Chamberlain speaks of his ward's mother as "the mother of the person whom "your Majesty knows."[1]

But the curiosity of the Princess-Regent at last wrung from the reluctant pen of Quixada the following communication to his master:—

Twenty days after the death of His Imperial Majesty, Juan Vazquez, on the part of the most serene Princess, wrote to me that I should advise him whether it were true that I had under my charge a child, desiring me also to know that he was said to be the child of His Majesty, and that I should advise him, in a public or private manner, of the fact, in order that, if the thing were true, provision should be made for fulfilling whatever directions had been left on the matter. To which I replied, that it was true that I had the charge of a boy, the son of a gentleman a friend of mine, who had placed him under my care years ago; and that, as His Majesty had made no mention of him either in his will or codicil, the report must be taken for an idle rumour; which was the only answer I could give, either in a public or a private manner. And although I am aware that your Majesty knows what the state of the case is, and the inconveniences which may result from any such publication of it, yet for the sake of explaining why I have written as aforesaid, and because I knew through other channels that the matter has been talked about, I have thought it right to advise your Majesty of what has passed, in order that it may be evident that I have done my duty.[2]

The servants of the late Emperor having been discharged, the gratuities to the poor having been distributed, the accounts paid, and the Imperial effects packed up and sent to Valladolid, Quixada and his family bade adieu to Estremadura, and returned across the mountains to Villagarcia. Early in December he was summoned by the Princess-Regent to Valladolid, to meet with the other executors of her father's will, and arrange the details of its fulfilment. While thus employed he wrote on the 13th of December to the King in these terms:—

I find the affairs of the person, whom your Majesty knows to be in my charge, so publicly spoken of here that I am greatly surprised; and I am even more surprised by the minute facts which I hear on the subject. I came hither, fearing that the most serene Princess might press me to tell her what I knew about it; but, not being at liberty to tell the whole truth, I determined to hold my tongue, and say nothing more than I had already said and had advised your Majesty of from Yuste. But Her Highness has had the great goodness, up to this time, not to speak a word to me about the matter; and so I have no trouble in making answer to those who ask me questions, only this—that I know nothing of what people say, and that if there is anything in it, it ought to be known to the Princess. But His Majesty's wish, that your

[1] Gachard: *Retraite et Mort*, ii. p. 506.

[2] *Ibid.* i. p. 446.

Majesty may know it, was, that this matter should be kept secret until your Majesty came hither, when your Majesty's pleasure might be done. I do nothing likely to excite observation, or beyond what was done in the life of the Emperor; but I take great care that the lad should learn and be taught all that is necessary and belonging to his age and quality; for, on account of the obscure manner in which he was nurtured and has lived since he came into my charge, the greatest pains must be taken with him. And therefore I have thought it right to inform your Majesty of what is passing, and of His late Majesty's intentions, that your Majesty may be aware of it, and instruct me how to proceed. Ten days ago he (Don Juan) had a bad attack of double tertian fever; but, God be thanked, I came yesterday from home, and left him free from fever and out of danger. [1]

The only written declaration of the Emperor with regard to Don John was contained in a paper which may be considered as a codicil to his will, although it did not form part of that document, and has not hitherto been printed with it.

It is in these words:—

Besides what is contained in my will, I say and declare that, when I was in Germany, and being a widower, I had, by an unmarried woman, a natural son, who is called Jerome, and that my intention has been and is, for certain reasons moving me thereto, that if it can be fairly accomplished, he should, of his free and spontaneous will, take the habit of some order of reformed friars, and that he should be put in the way of so doing, but without any pressure or force being employed towards him. But if it cannot be so arranged, and if he prefers leading a secular life, it is my pleasure and command that he should receive, in the ordinary manner each year, from twenty to thirty thousand ducats from the revenues of the kingdom of Naples; lands and vassals, with that rent attached, being assigned to him. The whole matter, both as to the assignment of the lands and the amount of the rent, is left to the discretion of my son, to whom I remit it; or, failing him, to the discretion of my grandson, the Infant Don Carlos, or of the person who, in conformity with my will, shall at the time it is opened be my heir. If at that time the said Jerome shall not have already embraced the state which I desire for him, he shall enjoy all the days of his life the said rent and lands, which shall pass to his the legitimate heirs and successors descending from his body. And whatever state the said Geronimo shall embrace, I charge the said Prince my son, and my said grandson, and my heir, whosoever it may be, as I have said, at the opening of my will, to do him honour and cause him to be honoured, and that they show him fitting respect, and that they observe, fulfil, and execute in his favour that which is contained in this paper. The which I sign with my name and hand; and it is sealed and sealed up with my small private seal; and it is to be observed and executed like a clause of my said will. Done in Bruxelles, on the sixth day of the month of June 1554.

Son, grandson, or whoever at the time that this my will and writing is opened, and according to it, may be my heir, if you do not know where this Jerome may be, you can learn it from Adrian, groom of my chamber, or, in case of his death, from Oger, the porter of my chamber, that he may be treated conformably to the said will and writing.[2]

[1] Gachard: *Retraite et Mort*, i. pp. 449, 450.
[2] *Correspondance de Granvelle*, iv. pp. 496-8.

This paper was one of a parcel of four which seem to have been placed by the Emperor in the hands of Philip the Second before they took leave of each other on the Flemish shore in September 1556. Folded up within it was the receipt for Jerome, given by Massi, and already cited. It was sealed up with the Emperor's seal and was endorsed, in his hand, with these words :—

"This my writing is to be opened only by the Prince, my son, "and failing him by my grandson, Don Carlos ; and failing him "by whosoever shall be my heir, conformably to and at the "opening of my will." The other three papers were unsealed, and related to other matters,—the executorship of the will in Spain and the Netherlands, and the rights of the King of Spain and the pretensions of others to the kingdom of Navarre and the lordship of Piombino.[1] The whole parcel bore an inscription in the handwriting of Philip with his signature—"If I die before "His Majesty this packet to be delivered to him ; if after him to "my son, or, failing him, to my heir."

From these scattered fragments of Don John's early history the following inferences, all of them creditable to the good feeling and good sense of Charles the Fifth, may be safely drawn. Believing him to be his son, the Emperor desired that during his own life the boy's paternity should be kept a profound secret from the world ; he wished him to embrace the ecclesiastical profession, but was not disposed to thwart his inclinations for a secular career ; he desired that he should be educated and provided for in a manner befitting his princely origin ; and taking Philip the Second fully into his confidence he committed the destinies of the child of his old age to the affection and the care of his legitimate successor.

[1] All will be found in the *Correspondance de Granvelle*, iv. pp. 495, 509.

DEVICE OF DON JOHN.

CHAPTER II.

YOUTH OF DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA, 1559-1566.

T Valladolid in 1559, when the flowers of May bloomed in the gardens of the Pisuerga, the sky was darkened by the smoke which went up from the human sacrifices of the Inquisition. The past year had been marked by a movement towards religious reform, the first and the last that history has yet had to record in Spain. Compared with the mighty revolution of the north, so fruitful of great men and great events, the Spanish movement was feeble in its origin, unfortunate in its instruments, and worthless in its results. It was neither called forth by the political necessities of the nation, nor supported by its sympathy. Its chiefs were a few clergymen, chosen long before by Charles V. for their learning and worth, and employed by him, or by his son, to watch the progress of heresy in the Netherlands and Germany, and to guard from contamination the Spaniards brought by civil or military service within reach of the pestilence. These divines soon saw that the victories of reform from without were to be met only by reform from within, begun and carried on by the Church itself. In acknowledging that the reformers had some reason on their side, and denouncing the vices and abuses of the ecclesiastical system, they piously appealed to the standards of the Church, to the writings of the fathers, the bulls of popes, the edicts of councils. The question whether all or many of their doctrines were orthodox or heretical affords a wide field for argu-

ment to those who think the shadowy frontier between heresy and orthodoxy worth defining. But there is no reason for believing that their aims were schismatic, or that they were less the true

and loving children of Mother Church, than those who condemned and massacred them as apostates.

However hurtful to the permanent interests of the Church, her abuses were too profitable to many of her ministers to want zealous and powerful defenders. The hierarchy and the dominant party were resolved to resist all change. They were led by

Valdes, Archbishop of Seville, a man grown gray in civil and ecclesiastical contention and intrigue. Bold, active, and unscrupulous, he was not less remarkable for cunning and address than for energy and perseverance. As Inquisitor-General he wielded all the vast irresponsible and ill-defined powers of the Holy Office. Never had the banner of that tribunal, inscribed with the words justice and mercy, been the symbol of so much cruelty and wrong, until it was grasped by the strong hand of this remorseless old priest. In the course of a single year he had so overcrowded his prisons that the *auto-da-fé* of the 21st of May 1559 was absolutely required in order to make room for the fresh game daily caught in the toils of his familiars.

This *auto-da-fé* differed greatly, in the rank and condition of the sufferers, from those which the Inquisition was wont to provide for the entertainment of the capital. Usually the unhappy persons paraded in procession before the crowd in their dark robes of penitence and reconciliation, or in the ominous garment painted with flames and devils, belonged to classes inured to oppression and suffering. They were peasants accused of witchcraft, or Moriscos suspected of the practice of some ancient Moslem rite, or Jews not rich enough to buy off the hatred of the Nazarene. But now among the sad company of victims the populace discerned with horror and amazement nobles and gentlemen to whom hats had been reverentially doffed; ladies of highest lineage, ornaments of society and the Court; famous divines, whose sermons were wont to fill to overflowing the royal cloisters of St. Benedict, or the spacious aisles of St. Paul.

Gentle and tender as she was, Doña Magdalena de Ulloa came from Villagarcia to witness the cruel scene which, her religious guides assured her, was a spectacle well pleasing in the sight of Heaven. She was accompanied by her niece, Doña Mariana de Ulloa, and by Don John of Austria. The Regent, Doña Juana, having often expressed a desire to see Quixada's foster-son, about whom there had been so much talk in the capital, the Chamberlain considered that this *auto-da-fé* would afford her a good opportunity of gratifying her wish without attracting much public observation. Doña Magdalena and her party took their seats in one of the galleries along which the Princess had to pass in her way to the royal tribune. In passing, the royal widow, in her close-fitting dark weeds and long black veil, stopped to speak to the wife of Quixada, and asked where the "unknown" was. Don John was at the moment hidden by the mantle of his younger

companion, Doña Mariana. When its folds were drawn aside and the boy was brought forward and presented to his sister, she embraced him with much tenderness, an act somewhat surprising in a Princess with whom the rigid etiquette of Castille had become second nature. Her nephew, Don Carlos, the heir-apparent, who accompanied her, is said to have been much displeased at this display of fondness for a nameless youth, and at the invitation which followed to the royal tribune. Don John, however, rejected the honour, refusing to be separated from his "Aunt" Magdalena.[1] Meanwhile all the eyes in the expectant assembly were turned upon the royal group, and especially upon the boy who had been the object of the staid Infanta's unwonted caresses.

When the Regent had taken her place beneath the canopy of estate, the Inquisitor-General, Valdes, and his black-robed train, ascended the platform which was erected in the middle of the lists round which the multitude were assembled. Then came the long line of prisoners, the black-gowned penitents, who were to be reprimanded and set free; those in robes painted with downward-pointing flames, who were to suffer fine and imprisonment; and those whose garbs, hideous with fire and fiends, denoted that their bodies were to be burned for the salvation of their souls. A sermon was next delivered, after which the archbishop and two of his inquisitors went up to the royal tribune to administer the oath of faith to the Regent and the Prince. They rose from their seats at his approach, the Prince taking off his cap. They then swore on a crucifix and a missal held up before them to defend with their power and their lives the faith, as held by the Holy Church of Rome, and to aid the Holy Office in the extirpation of heresy at all times and without respect of persons. The terms of the oath were then announced by the secretary from a pulpit in a loud voice to the multitude, the archbishop closing the proclamation with his benediction, "God prosper your Highnesses." A crier now shouted forth the names and crimes of the accused persons and the sentences which had been passed upon them. Of these, fifteen were sentences of death, and were immediately carried into execution. The Princess-Regent of Spain, and the noble knights and dames of Castille looked on as the flames crept and leaped round the tortured limbs of men who had been their familiar friends and spiritual advisers, of fair and delicate women dragged from splen-

[1] Vanderhammen (*D. Juan de Austria*, f. 23) says that the Princess-Regent called him brother and "your Highness," which is rendered improbable by the subsequent proceedings of the King.

did homes or from the solitude of the cloister to die for opinions of which neither they nor their persecutors have been able to give any intelligible account.

The most distinguished of the sufferers was Dr. Augustin Cazalla, an eloquent and favourite chaplain of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. The enthusiasm and fervid fancy which had made this divine great in the pulpit were not of sufficient force to sustain him in the fiery furnace of the Inquisition. He was not of the metal of which martyrs are made. The cause which his oratory had upheld and adorned he disgraced and weakened at the stake. In prison, and in presence of the rack, he had already confessed and recanted his errors. At the price of a further humiliation in public he now purchased the favour, according to some of his less noted companions, of strangulation before combustion. He had been so prominent among the leaders of reform that his pusillanimity more than outweighed the advantage which the cause derived from the calm and dignified deaths of his brother and sister, who, with the exhumed bones of their mother, were also burned in this *auto-da-fé*. Among the sufferers who escaped death but were sentenced to confiscation, attainder, and perpetual imprisonment, was one whose appearance there must have wrung the gentle and pious heart of Doña Magdalena de Ulloa. It was her brother, Don Juan de Ulloa, a gallant soldier who had fought for Spain and the Cross at Tunis and Algiers. Degraded from his knightly and military rank, and condemned to prison for life, he at last obtained his release and restoration to the order of St. John only by means of a long and expensive appeal to Rome.[1]

With the last agonies of the human victims thus sacrificed to the Saviour of sinners the *auto-da-fé* was at an end. The Princess-Regent rose to depart, having first invited Don John to accompany her to the palace. As he followed in her train, the crowd, who were now as eager to see the youth reported to be the son of the Emperor as they had lately been intent on the heretic children of perdition, pressed and closed around him, breaking through the lines of pikemen and musketeers who strove to keep the passage open. He narrowly escaped being trampled to death; but the Count of Osorno came to the rescue, and holding him aloft in his arms, carried him to the royal coach, which the mob followed to the palace. He afterwards returned with Doña Magdalena to Villagarcia.

Quixada was at this time absent from home. But the visit to

[1] Llorente: *Histoire de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, ch. xx.

the *auto-da-fé* had been made by his orders, at the request of the Princess-Regent. He now instructed his wife to treat Don John with more ceremony than she had hitherto been wont to use; the seat of honour was on all occasions reserved for him; and the alms which he was accustomed to dispense were raised to an amount better suited to his rank.[1] But by the order of the King no change was made in his dress; nor was he informed of the cause which had thus suddenly converted him into an object of private and public consideration and curiosity. A letter from Quixada to the King, dated 8th of July 1559, gives us a glimpse of Don John's habits and disposition. This letter was written in reply to one in which Philip had desired the Chamberlain to give up to any person indicated by the secretary, Gonzalo Perez, a mule belonging to Perez, which the Emperor had taken with him for his own use from Flanders to Yuste. Quixada explains that this she-mule, a blind pony, and a little he-mule had been reserved by him, by the desire of his late master, for the use of "the person "whom your Majesty is aware of." "Some time ago," he continues, "the most serene Princess desired me to give up this "she-mule to Dr. Cornelio; but I excused myself for not doing "so, for the above reason, which likewise prevented these three "animals from being sold with the rest. And your Majesty may "be sure that if it had not been His Majesty's desire, I would not, "on my own authority, have interfered in the matter. The mule "is very useful, and the more so because she is very gentle, and "the rider somewhat prankish (*travieso*). The person in my "charge is in good health and, in my opinion, is growing, and, "for his age, of an excellent disposition. He proceeds with his "studies with much difficulty, and there is nothing which he does "with so much dislike; but he is learning French, and the few "words that he knows he pronounces very well; yet to acquire it, "as your Majesty desires, much time and more application is "needed. Riding on horseback both in the military style and in "that of the manège (*a la xyneta y a la brida*) is his chief delight, "and when your Majesty sees him you will think that he tilts in "good style (*corre su lanza con buena gracia*) although his strength "is not great."[2]

In the summer of 1559 the affairs of the Netherlands and the peaceful relations which had been established between the

[1] "Doña Magdalena desde aora," says Vanderhammen, "en viendole, si estava "en el estrado dexava la almohada, y se sentava en la alfombra."—*Don Juan de Austria*, fol. 25.

[2] Gachard: *Retraite et Mort*, ii. pp. 513-14.

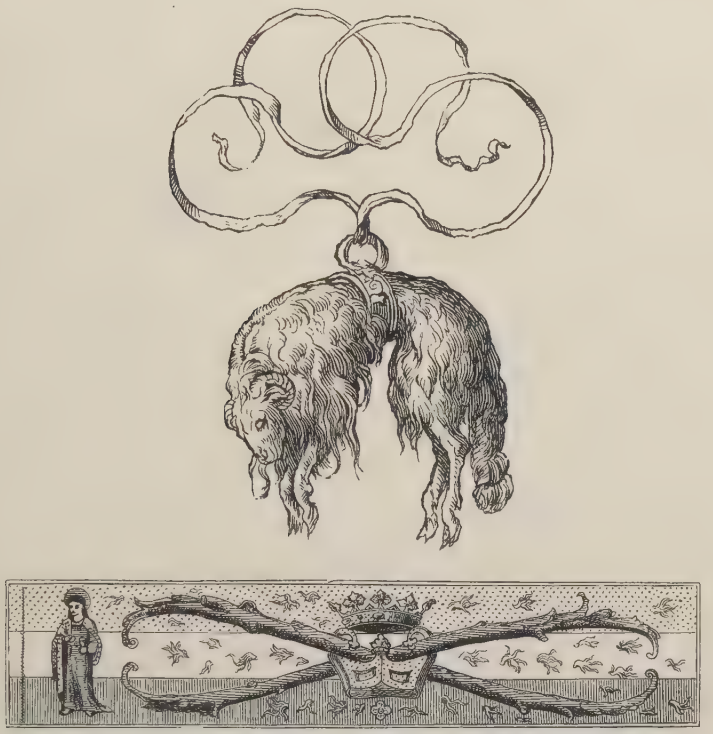
Houses of Valois and Austria permitted Philip II. to return to Spain. His bold and able sister Margaret, Duchess of Parma, the eldest illegitimate daughter of Charles V., arrived at Bruxelles on the 2d of August to enter upon her duties as Regent of the

MARGARET OF AUSTRIA. MEDAL.

dominions of Burgundy. The last regal function performed by Philip was to hold a chapter of the Golden Fleece in the good city of Ghent. The knights were summoned to meet on the 29th August in the great hall of the ancient castle. Fourteen new companions were then added to the noble brotherhood, of whom nine received the Fleece with its collar of flints and steels and fire from the hands of the sovereign. Among these nine were Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino; Marc Antonio Colonna, Grand Constable of Naples; and Charles de Lannoy, Prince of Sulmona. The remaining five, to whom these badges were transmitted in their absence, were Francis II., King of France; his brother Charles, who soon succeeded him on the throne as ninth of his name; Eric, Duke of Brunswick; Joachin Baron Neuhaus, Grand Chancellor of Bohemia; and Don John of Austria.[1] The insignia designed for Don John were conveyed

[1] In a letter dated 1st August 1566 Tisnacq informs the president, Viglius, that the King had on the 24th July (seven days before) given the Golden Fleece to Don John of Austria.—Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, ii. 465, note 1. Vanderhammen tells what is given in the text; but it always struck me as improbable that the order should have been publicly conferred on Don John, or at least that there should have been a public nomination of him to it, before he had been publicly recognised, and, in fact, before he had any name in the world at all.

to Spain by the King, to be conferred by himself in person. On the 30th Philip gave a grand banquet to the knights, at which he himself presided, sitting on the dais beneath the jewelled canopy of his aunt Mary, Queen of Hungary, who had so long and so



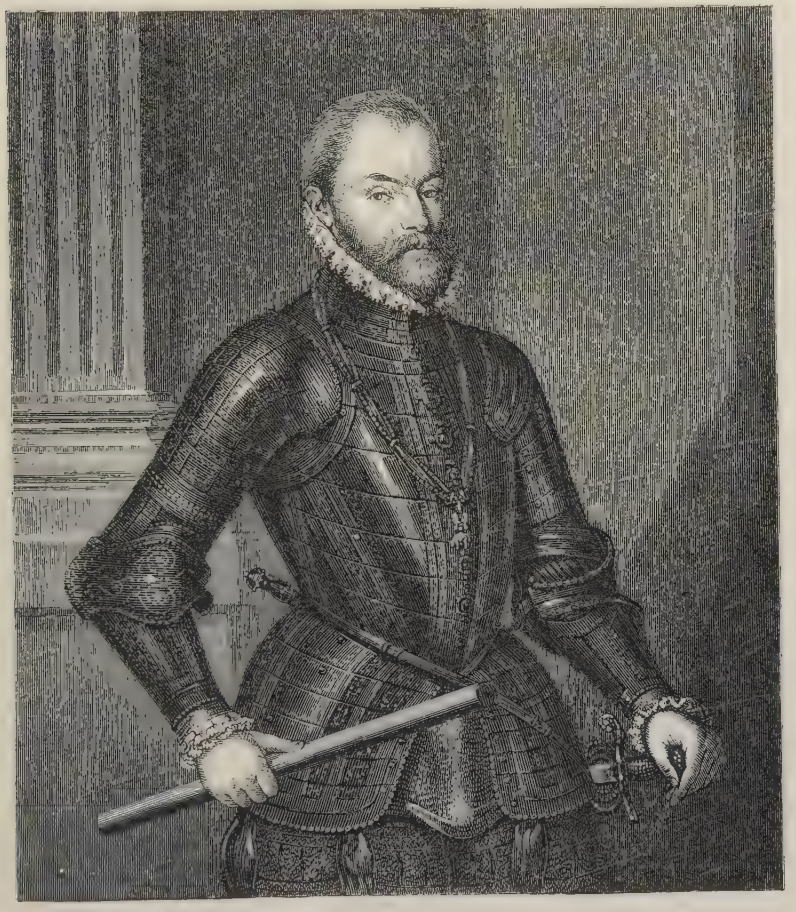
BADGE AND PENNON OF THE ORDER OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE.

ably swayed the delegated sceptre of Burgundy. He embarked at Flushing for Spain on the 5th of September, and after a prosperous voyage of nine days landed at Laredo in Biscay.

Processions, triumphal arches, thanksgivings in the churches, and all other displays of civic, courtly, and religious joy celebrated the King's arrival at Valladolid. The Regent Doña Juana resigned the reins of Government, and retired, well pleased, to her beads and prayers and scourgings in the pine-shaded cloisters of Abrojo. Philip immediately summoned his Inquisitors about him, and fitly inaugurated his reign of terror and superstition by the butcheries of a new *auto-da-fé*. He was then at leisure to make the acquaintance of his stranger brother. Luis Quixada was instructed to bring Don John in his ordinary dress on St.

Luke's Day, to meet him at the convent of San Pedro de la Espina. This convent of Bernardines owed its name to the most famous of the relics venerated in its church, a thorn of the crown worn by Our Lord on Calvary. Its sumptuous buildings, the pious work of Doña Sancha of Castille, were situated about a league from Villagarcia, on the side of a hill abounding in game. Hither the King was to come on a hunting expedition. Quixada therefore summoned his vassals to join the royal sport. Before setting out he went to his wife and unbosomed himself of the secret of which he had been so long the faithful depositary. He told her, what indeed she must long ere now have guessed, that her foster-son was the child of his master the Emperor, and that on the morning of the day when the King was about to proclaim the fact to the world, he wished to assure her that it had been concealed from her thus long not from any doubt of her discretion, but solely from a sense of duty. Don John and he then mounted their horses and rode off to the chase, followed by the vassals and servants on foot and horseback, in their best array. Parties of yeoman-prickers, and the cries of men and hounds in the distance, soon announced the approach of the royal cavalcade. A groom presently met them leading a very handsome horse. Quixada now dismounted, telling Don John to do the same. The ancient soldier then knelt before his pupil and asked leave to kiss his hand, saying: "You will soon learn from the King "himself why I do this." Don John hesitated, but at length held out his hand to be kissed; and when Quixada desired him to mount the new horse, he said gaily to his old friend: "Then "since you will have it so, you may also hold the stirrup." They rode onward towards the rocky pass of Torozos. Here a group of gentlemen came in sight. As they drew near, Quixada once more halted, and alighting from his horse caused Don John to follow his example. A short spare man in black, with a pale face and sandy beard, advanced towards them alone, and checked his horse when within a few paces. "Kneel down, Don John," said Quixada, "and kiss His Majesty's hand." As the youth obeyed the instruction he found bending over him a pair of cold gray eyes and a pouting under lip, which may well have recalled the features of the august invalid whose gouty fingers he had knelt to kiss at Yuste. "Do you know, youngster," said the King, "who your father was?" The abashed youth made no reply. Philip then dismounted, and embracing him with some show of affection, said: "Charles the Fifth, my lord and father,

" was also yours. You could not have had a more illustrious " sire, and I am bound to acknowledge you as my brother." He then turned to the gentlemen behind him and said: " Know and " honour this youth as the natural son of the Emperor, and as " brother to the King." At these words a loud shout burst from



PHILIP II. KING OF SPAIN.

the crowd of hunters and peasants who had by this time collected round the spot. Don John, by Philip's desire, remounted his horse, and received the salutations and felicitations of the lords and gentlemen. The real object of the hunting party being now accomplished, the King, who was no sportsman, turned his horse's head towards Valladolid, saying that he had never before captured

game which had given him so much pleasure. Don John entered the capital riding at his side, amidst the acclamations of the multitude, amongst whom the news of the recognition of the new prince, son of their great Emperor, had already been promulgated. In truth the secret was by this time worn somewhat threadbare. The existence of such a personage had been for some time extensively rumoured and believed in Spain. Even before the death of the Emperor, the last Venetian Envoy at his Court at Bruxelles, Federigo Badoer, had mentioned the fact in his report to the Doge and Senate, written probably in the summer of 1557. After sketching the character of Philip II. and Don Carlos, the Venetian remarks that it is not necessary to speak of the Emperor's natural son, "seeing that he is very young, never seen "by His Majesty, and held in little public consideration."[1] To the general belief in the popular rumour the attentions bestowed at the *auto-da-fé* by the Princess-Regent on the foster-son of Doña Magdalena de Ulloa had given great strength, and when the veil was at length removed from the lad's paternity, there remained little room for surprise. Why the name of John was now bestowed upon him has never been explained; it was probably one of his baptismal names; and it is certain that that of Jerome was from this time dropped.

At Valladolid a house had been prepared for Don John, of which he now took possession with his friends the Quixadas. A household was appointed for him according to the Burgundian form established in the Spanish Court from the time of Philip the Handsome, the first of the Austrian kings. Luis Quixada, as *ayo* or tutor, of course held the chief place in it. The Count of Priego, the King's grand falconer, was Don John's chamberlain, or *mayordomo mayor;* Rodrigo de Benavides, *sumiller de corps*, or steward; Luis de Cordoba, master of the horse,[2] and Juan de Quiroga, secretary. The eldest son of Priego, Luis de Castrillo, was Captain of the Guard, Rodrigo de Mendoça, Vice-Chamberlain, and there were besides three gentlemen and two grooms of the chamber. In attendance, service, and privilege, he was treated like an Infant of Castille, except as regarded the style and title,

[1] Gachard: *Relations des Ambassadeurs Venetiens sur Charles-Quint et Philippe II.*, 8vo, Bruxelles, 1856, p. 15.

[2] In a letter to the King, dated Bruxelles, 22d December 1559, Cardinal Granvelle says he hears His Majesty is about to give a household to the natural son of the Emperor, and he suggests as a proper person to be his Master of the Horse, Martin Alonso de Cordoba y de los Rios, "who having seen Spain, Italy, Germany, Africa, and the "Indies, is likely to assist his colleagues in putting the youth in the way of doing His "Majesty good service hereafter."—*Correspondance de Granvelle*, v. p. 671.

and a few points of precedence. He was addressed as His Excellency instead of His Highness; the right of lodging in the royal palace was not accorded to him, nor was he permitted to sit within the curtain of the royal tribune in the chapel-royal.

At the end of October the Court removed for some months to Toledo. On the 2d of February 1560 Philip the Second met

ISABELLA OF VALOIS, THIRD QUEEN OF PHILIP II.

at Guadalajara his third bride, the beautiful Elizabeth of Valois, daughter of Henry the Second of France, called in Spain, on account of the political result of her marriage, Isabella of the Peace. The rejoicings which followed her arrival in Spain were abruptly broken off in the middle in consequence of her being seized with smallpox, from which, however, she recovered without damage to her beauty.

On the 23d of February the states of Castille met at Toledo

to take the oath of allegiance to Don Carlos as heir of the monarchy. This important feudal ceremony was performed in the magnificent cathedral, in the space betwixt the high altar, a masterpiece of Gothic carving enshrined in a chapel which is itself a triumph of pointed architecture, and the choir, where the sculptor Berruguete, the Michael Angelo of Spain, had lately exhausted on the new stalls all the skill which he had acquired in the schools of Florence and Rome. The whole pile was hung with the richest tapestry that could be furnished by the treasure-house of the chapter and the looms of Flanders; each altar was decked with its utmost pomp of drapery and plate; and the lay and ecclesiastical grandees of the kingdom vied with each other in embellishing and ennobling the spectacle with all their private and personal magnificence of equipment and costume. One important functionary was absent from his post, and that a personage no less important than the Primate himself. Archbishop Carranza had worn the mitre of Toledo little more than a year when he was arrested by the familiar of the Inquisition. He was at this moment in confinement at Valladolid, and his mortal enemy, the Inquisitor-General Valdes, had the triumph of presiding, as Archbishop of Seville, in the fallen prelate's own cathedral over the ceremonies of the day. In the procession which wound through the steep and picturesque streets amongst the palaces and shrines of the old city, down from the rock-built Alcazar and up to the metropolitan church, it was remarked how strangely the figure and mien of Don Carlos contrasted with the splendour which surrounded and awaited him, and with the brilliant destiny of which these solemnities seemed to be the first-fruits. For this heir of so many crowns had a heavy downcast countenance, wan with intermittent fever, from which he was seldom free. He was short for his age, and slightly humpbacked, and had one shoulder higher than the other, and the left leg longer than the right.[1] He wore a suit of cloth of gold, embroidered with silver, glittering with gems, and was mounted on a fine white charger. Beside him, on his left, rode his uncle Don John, about his own age, dressed in crimson velvet enriched with gold, his blooming cheek, his gallant bearing, and his graceful horsemanship, making more obvious the want of these advantages in the unfortunate heir-apparent. In the cathedral Carlos was seated between his father, the King, and his aunt, the Princess of Brazil, late Regent of the Kingdom, who appeared in her widow's weeds,

[1] Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, i. pp. 147, 152.

veiled as usual from head to foot, sparingly adorned with pearls, and attended by her black-robed ladies. Don John occupied a lower place outside the canopy, between the throne and the seats of the ambassadors. After the sermon and prayers were over the Princess was first called upon to take the oath, which was administered to her by the Cardinal Bishop of Burgos. The crier next summoned "the most illustrious Don John of Austria, natural son "of the 'Emperor-King.'" After taking the oath Don John knelt before his nephew and kissed his hand. The same ceremony was then gone through by the prelates and grandees according to their several degrees. The last to present himself was the Duke of Alba, who had been officially engaged during the ceremony, and who moved the ire of the punctilious and ill-tempered Prince by forgetting for a moment to kiss his hand. The proceedings closed with an oath taken by Don Carlos to respect and maintain the laws and privileges of the kingdom and the Catholic faith, and received by Don John of Austria as the official representative of the nation.[1] The young Queen, being still unwell, was unable to appear, greatly to the contentment of the sable-garbed dames of the Princess, who were thus saved the mortification of being eclipsed in the procession by a bevy of fair French rivals. In a few days, however, Isabella emerged from her sick chamber, and the old Alcazar of Toledo once more rung with banquets and revels, and the Vega again was gay with the bright banners and pavilions of the tournament.

During the Regency of the Infanta Juana so much sickness had prevailed at Valladolid that there had been much discussion of a plan for changing the seat of government. It was one of the last subjects submitted to the Emperor for consideration in his retirement at Yuste. A central situation being deemed advisable, the relative merits of the chief towns of the Castilles had been examined by the Princess. Old Castille had Burgos with its beautiful cathedral and its historical associations as the seat of the early counts of Castille, and Guadalajara, a place of no great importance, but seated in the midst of extensive domains of the Crown. New Castille had Toledo, the venerable metropolis of the Spanish Church and of the Gothic monarchy, and Madrid, a town of considerable size, possessing a fine old castle, a favourite residence much enlarged by Charles V. Philip was in favour of a change. Valladolid had become distasteful to him, no less for the heresy of its people than for the insalubrity of its air. But

[1] Vanderhammen: *Don Juan de Austria*, fol. 30.

he did not share his sister's predilections for Madrid. He therefore fixed his residence for a while at Toledo in order to test the capabilities of the ancient city. Here too so much sickness prevailed, and the want of accommodation excited so much discontent among the courtiers, that he was obliged to cast his eyes on some other town. In spite of his dislike to Madrid, it became the ultimate object of his choice. The central position and finely-seated palace were its sole claims to the distinction. Placed as it was in the middle of a peninsula without roads and far from any considerable river, Madrid's advantages of position were rather imaginary than real. Valladolid possessed a far shorter and easier access to the Biscayan shore and the sea-road to the Netherlands. Seville, with its commerce, its colonial archives, and proximity to the coast, was a more commanding point from whence to direct the maritime interests and energies of Spain. But when the choice of a capital was a matter of question and difficulty, a wise choice was little likely to be made by the monarch who afterwards neglected the opportunity of fixing the seat of his dominion at Lisbon, when he became master of that noble city, which a fine river, a magnificent harbour, and a genial climate combined to render the natural capital of Iberia, and the position in Western Europe from whence the old world could best govern the new.

To the bleak tableland of Madrid the Court accordingly removed in 1560. A house belonging to Don Pedro de Porras, which in aftertimes became the residence of the Duke of Lerma, was assigned to Don John of Austria. He had not been there long when a fire broke out in it at night. A peasant passing by at early morning, observing the smoke, knocked at the door and gave the alarm. Quixada's careful head was soon at the window. The fire was already raging between Don John's room and his own. But he once more succeeded in rescuing him from the flames; and taking him in his arms he carried him to the steps of the adjacent church of S.ª Maria. He then returned for his wife and deposited her also in the same place of safety. But he saved nothing else of his property. The fire was not extinguished until mid-day, and the whole contents of the house were consumed except a bronze Christ upon an ebony cross, which hung over Don John's bed, and which was found miraculously unhurt among the ruins. Among other things the Chamberlain especially lamented the destruction of an iron chest containing the charters, title-deeds, and ancient muniments of the long line of Quixadas.

He estimated his loss at one hundred thousand ducats. Philip the Second was not insensible to the courage and devotion of his father's old and faithful servant. He made him master of the horse to Don Carlos, a member of the Councils of State and War, and President of the Council of the Indies ; and in 1564 he gave him the commandery of El Moral in the order of Calatrava.

Early in November 1561[1] Don John, then in his sixteenth year, was sent with his nephew Don Carlos, and Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, to complete his education at the University of Alcalá. This noble seat of learning, although founded only sixty years before by Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, was already near the zenith of its reputation. The little country town, six leagues west of Madrid, had become in that time a city of palaces, each year adding some new dome or belfry to the crown of collegiate and conventual towers which rose above its ancient walls by the banks of the Henares.

Salamanca had good reason to look with a jealous eye on the progress of her young and vigorous rival. The presses of Alcalá were no less busy and prosperous than her colleges. The polyglot of Ximenes, still the most beautiful specimen of biblical typography that four centuries of printing have given us, led the van of a goodly array of tomes in all branches of erudition. The printers Brozas and Angulo were still maintaining the fame of the elder Brocarius, and were making known to Spain the scholarship of Gomez de Castro and Villalpando and the science of Segura.

Don Carlos and Don John were lodged in the sumptuous archiepiscopal palace built by Ximenes for his successors in the primacy, but now left untenanted by the unhappy owner during his captivity at Valladolid. The Prince of Parma occupied other quarters in the town. Honorato Juan, the tutor of Don Carlos, superintended the studies of the three royal youths. This learned Valencian had been in his youth a favourite pupil of his celebrated countryman Vives, at the university of Louvain. He then embraced the career of arms, following the standard of the Emperor, and sharing in 1541 the perils and humiliations of his expedition to Algiers. Charles made him preceptor of his son Philip, under Cardinal Siliceo ; and when the heir-apparent went on his travels through the Netherlands and Germany, Honorato Juan had an honourable place amongst his attendants. Don Carlos was soon afterwards placed under the care of his father's tutor, who probably owed his reputation more to the rank than the proficiency of his

[1] Gachard : *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, i. p. 69.

royal pupils. No Spaniard of his time was more lavishly praised by his contemporaries or has left behind him less to justify such loud laudation. Popes, princes, and men of letters agreed that he

HONORATUS IOANNIUS CAROLI HISPP PRINCIPIS MAGISTER.

was a miracle of genius and learning;[1] yet his writings escaped the diligent search, in the next century, of the historian of Spanish

[1] His nephew, Antonio Juan de Centilles, compiled a work entitled *Elogios del ilustrissimo Honorato Juan, Gentilhombre del S^r. Emp. Carlos V., Maestro del S^r. D. Carlos, y Obispo de Osma, sacados de diversas cartas pontificias y reales*, fol., Valencia, 1649.

literature, who has nevertheless joined in the universal homage.[1] Towards the end of his life he laid aside the cloak and sword, received the tonsure, and was made Bishop of Osma.[2]

For a brief and miserable career in this world fate has rewarded Don Carlos with a bright immortality in the paradise of romance. Sir John Falstaff, possibly as brave and honourable, as spare, and as dull a knight as any that ever couched a spear or mounted a breach in the wars of Henry IV., is nevertheless, for us and for all time, the fat, witty, knavish poltroon which Shakespeare made him. So the passionate lover and martyred hero, portrayed by Schiller and Alfieri under the name of Don Carlos, will ever reflect somewhat of his brightness upon the commonplace, ill-conditioned Prince. It is certain that neither his childhood nor his boyhood afforded any promise of those qualities which were ascribed to him later in life. When the retired Emperor and his sisters, the Queens of France and Hungary, came to Valladolid in 1556, Carlos was the only child of the King, who had just contracted a second marriage with Mary Tudor which gave little hope of further progeny. There was every reason why the young heir-apparent should be petted and caressed, why his kindred should shut their eyes to his faults, why his attendants should hold him up to their admiration as the pattern of boys and princes. Yet all of them looked forward to his future with more anxiety than hope. His aunt, the Infanta Juana, reported him to her relations as a bad boy; the gentle Queen Eleanor, tenderest of mothers, shook her head at him; and the Emperor, after a few days of silent observation of his character, recommended that the rod should be freely used in his education. In writing afterwards to Yuste, his tutor, Garcia de Toledo, complained of his ungovernable and choleric temper, and of his backwardness not only at his books, but in the accomplishments of riding and fencing, in which the descendant of a long line of knights and Nimrods might be expected to delight and to excel. Carlos early showed a jealousy of his

[1] N. Antonio (*Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, 2 vols. folio, Madrid, 1787, ii. p. 389) closes his work with a respectful mention of three Spaniards celebrated for their learning, yet unqualified for a place in the catalogue of national writers, because they had written nothing—Cardinal Ximenes, Honorato Juan, and Fr. Nicolas Bautista.—V. Ximeno (*Escritores de Valencia*, 2 vols. folio, Valencia, 1747-9, i. p. 147) ranks Honorato Juan amongst Valencian authors, on the strength of a *Catechism*, a *Limousin Vocabulary*, and some *Letters*. There is a life of him by Athanasius Kircher, in his work entitled *Principis Christiani Archetypon politicum, sive Sapientia Regnatrix, quam regiis instructam documentis ex antiquo numismate Honorati Joannii, symbolicis obvelatam integumentis, reipublicæ litterariæ evolutam exponit A. Kircherus*, 4to, Amstelodami, 1672, pp. 88-222.

[2] He died in Estremadura, whither he had gone for his health, on 30th of July 1566.

position as heir of the monarchy; and on learning that the Netherlands were settled upon the issue of his father's marriage with the English Queen, he said he would fight any brother that might be born to him, in maintenance of his rights to the undivided succession. As he grew up, his morose and haughty demeanour gave constant offence to those around him, and argued ill for his popularity when it should be his turn to reign. He was now in his seventeenth year.[1] He came to Alcalá in a state of great prostration from the effects of a quartan fever, which for upwards of two years had been sapping his strength, and the university town had been chosen for his residence on account of its reputation for salubrity.[2]

The Prince of Parma was in all respects the opposite of his cousin of the Asturias. His mother, Duchess Margaret, the eldest child of Charles V., inherited more of her sire's spirit and capacity than any one of his offspring, except the youngest, Don John. To her courage, energy, resolution, and sound intelligence, Alexander added the subtler powers and softer graces which belonged to his father's Italian blood. Few keener intellects were to be found among the students who read Aristotle or Cicero in the schools; no handsomer youth flung the quoit, or rode at the ring on the banks of the Henares. In his well-knit vigorous person, his discursive mind, and his joyous and generous disposition, he recalled to mind his ancestor Maximilian, when in hot youth, after the French victory at Nancy, he flew to protect the domain and win the heart of the heiress of Burgundy.

The royal students had been at college about six months when a serious accident befell the heir-apparent. Don Carlos had taken a fancy to the daughter of the Archbishop's porter, and some observers of this preference hoped that it might develop the more amiable points and the dormant energies of his character. He used to meet the girl in a garden, which he reached by descending a dark and steep staircase, somewhat out of repair. Going down these stairs one day after dinner (19th April 1562) his foot slipped, and, falling to the bottom, he screamed for assistance. On being carried to his room, he was found to have received on his right temple, near the ear, a severe contusion, which, though not at first deemed dangerous, proved to be an obstinate wound. In spite of remedies applied by no less than six physicians and surgeons, it was followed by fever, violent

[1] He was born at Valladolid on the 8th of July 1545.
[2] Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, i. 66.

pain and swelling in the head, vomiting, blindness, paralysis of the right leg, and other alarming symptoms. The King himself hastened to Alcalá, bringing further medical assistance, and leaving orders that he should be followed by the miraculous image of Our Lady of Atocha. Everything that parental solicitude could suggest Philip seems to have done. When he was not watching by the sick-bed, or consulting with the doctors, he was on his knees praying for his son's recovery. His prayers were aided by services and processions in every church in Spain, and by the sufferings of long lines of flagellants, scourging themselves through the streets of Madrid and Toledo. The Queen passed hours in her oratory, and the Infanta Juana, in a night of unusual cold, walked barefoot to pray before a famous shrine of Our Lady of Consolation. Quixada and Honorato Juan attended Carlos so closely that their own health suffered, and their fatigues were shared by the Duke of Alba, who sat up with the Prince night after night without changing his clothes. In spite, however, of care and kindness and prayers, the patient grew worse and worse; every moment he was expected to expire, and the King, having given directions for the funeral, returned to Madrid "the most "woe-begone of princes."[1] Some of the nine doctors were of opinion that trepanning should be tried, and that operation was performed, as it appears, without either necessity or advantage. The corpse of one Fray Diego, who had died a hundred years before in the odour of sanctity, was brought from a neighbouring Franciscan convent and laid on the Prince's bed. As a last resource, a Moorish leech, who had been summoned from Valencia, was allowed to apply an unguent of which he possessed the secret. The Prince began to mend, and the doctors resumed the conduct of the case. By the middle of May Carlos was pronounced out of danger; and before the end of the month the King, walking bareheaded for an hour beneath a burning sun, appeared in a solemn procession in token of his gratitude for the cure. It is noticeable that the poor lad, who when in comparative health was so peevish and refractory, bore his illness with gentleness and patience, following with ready obedience every direction of the King and the physicians. In one of the lucid intervals between his fits of delirium he told his father that his chief regret in dying was to die before he had seen the birth of a child of the

[1] "Estant le plus triste et exploré prince du monde." Lib. de l'Aubespiere, Bishop of Limoges, to Charles IX., 11th May 1562; Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, ii. 635. The interesting despatches from which M. Gachard has drawn the materials of his graphic account of the Prince's illness are printed in his Appendix A.

Queen,—a touching speech, in which the French ambassador, a bishop, noted with offensive glee evidence of great jealousy between the two branches of the House of Austria. By the end of June Carlos was able to take the air, and on the 5th of July he attended mass, and had himself weighed, in order to ascertain the cost of a vow, made in his illness, of four times his weight in gold and seven times his weight in silver to certain religious houses.

The recovery of the heir-apparent was hailed with great joy throughout Spain. It has, however, been suspected, perhaps with reason, that it was not so complete as it at first appeared, and that an injured brain may have been one cause of the Prince's unhappy end. Meanwhile the merit of the cure was claimed by all parties concerned: the doctors, who had considered the case hopeless; the Morisco leech, who was nevertheless dismissed as a blockhead; the votaries of the Virgin of Atocha; and the Franciscans of Alcalá, for their late brother Diego, for whom the grateful Prince obtained from an obliging Pope the first step towards a canonisation which has made him one of the favourites of Castillian hagiology.[1]

Don Carlos was soon after removed for change of air to Madrid. He returned to Alcalá[2] in the autumn, better but not well. In the following winter and spring he was again attacked by the fever which had been for so long undermining his constitution. One of these attacks was so severe that he made his will, a document still extant, which was drawn up according to his wishes by a favourite officer of his household Hernan Suarez de Toledo. It was signed and sealed on the 19th of May 1564.[3]

The royal youths Don John and Prince Alexander remained at Alcalá for nearly two years, learning what Latin and dialectics

[1] I have followed, in a great measure, the narrative of Mr. Prescott, *History of Philip II.*, 3 vols. 8vo, London, 1855-8, ii. pp. 468-72, adding a few facts from the unpublished despatches of the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Tiepolo, for a perusal of copies of which I have to thank my friend Mr. Rawdon Brown, so well known for his rich collection of papers belonging to the history of Venice.

[2] Don Carlos appears to have been at Alcalá de Henares in 1563. On the 15th December 1563 Don Garcia de Toledo writes to Francisco de Etaro from Alcalá:—"En esta casa de S. A. no hay un real ni para pagalla (a sum owing for the allowance "of the previous year) ni comer, y cualquiera socorro que se hace en casa de Nicolao "de Grimaldo cuesta dineros, y asi de la falta que hubo el año pasado le hemos pagados "en esta feria quinientos mil mas de interes. Vm. lo haga remediar, porque yo le "certifico que la necesidad es extrema . . . Todos estamos necesitados de contentar "los medicos este año, que hemos de ser sus procuradores."—*Doc Ined.*, xxvi. 506. *Documentos relativos al P. D. Carlos.*

[3] It is printed nearly entire by M. Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, Bruxelles, 1863, 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 128-142.

their professors could induce them to acquire, and daily improving themselves in the use of their fowling-pieces and the management of their chargers.

While Don John was thus preparing himself for a career of arms, his brother the King was endeavouring to carry out his father's wish to place him in the Church. During the sitting of the Cortes of Aragon at Monçon, early in 1564, Philip requested Pope Pius the Fourth to grant his brother a Cardinal's hat. The Pontiff promised compliance. But a question of precedence—the eternal subject of dispute between the French and Spanish ambassadors at the Holy See—being decided by Pius in favour of France, the diplomatic relations between Madrid and the Vatican were interrupted, and the bestowal of the purple was postponed. Don John was soon afterwards recalled to Court to meet his cousins the Archdukes Ernest and Rodolph, who had been sent by their father, Maximilian the Second, to be educated under the eye of the Catholic King, and removed from the atmosphere of heresy which pervaded the northern world. The young man's university career was thus brought to a close in the eighteenth year of his age.

In 1565 an opportunity was afforded him of giving evidence not to be mistaken that he preferred the laurels of war to the peaceful splendour of the Roman purple. On the 18th of May the fleet of Sultan Solyman, under the command of Mustafa and Piali, the most famous seamen in the Turkish empire, invested Malta. But for the gallantry of John de Valette, the Grand Master, that island would have shared the fate of Rhodes, and the knights of St. John would have been driven back upon astonished and humiliated Christendom. The Christian princes had been long too deeply engaged in their own religious wars and intrigues to take note of the advance of their common enemy the Turk. The imminent danger now forced itself upon the attention of Philip the Second. He therefore ordered Don Garcia de Toledo, his Viceroy in Sicily and the commander of his fleet in the Mediterranean, to sail to the relief of Malta with all the forces he could raise. An auxiliary squadron was fitted out at Barcelona. Don John entreated to be allowed to join this expedition. Philip refused his request, saying he was too young, and besides that he intended to fulfil his father's plan of placing him in the Church. Unable to obtain leave, Don John determined to go without leave. On the 9th of April 1565 Don Carlos and Don John attended the Queen from Madrid to Guadar-

rama, a village which gives its name to the mountain range a few leagues north of Madrid. Isabella being on her way to hold a meeting with her mother, Catherine de Medicis, at Bayonne, the population of Madrid turned out to witness her departure. At Guadarrama they overtook the King, who had preceded them hither. Thence the Queen went to the convent of Mejorada, and the King to that of Guisando. They again met at Valladolid, where they remained for some weeks. Magnificent bull-fights and cave-plays, in which the combatants were the young nobles, were held in their honour. The afternoons were often devoted by the Queen to visiting the monasteries, gardens, and country-houses near the city, and in these excursions she was always accompanied by Don Carlos and Don John. Isabella began her northern journey on the 15th of May, and her beautiful eyes were wet with tears as she took leave of her husband at the neighbouring village of Cigales.[1]

The Court soon afterwards moved to Segovia. It was here that Don John seems to have determined to execute his plan of escape. Don Carlos and he were on their way to the palace of the Wood of Segovia, when he quietly left the cavalcade at Galpagar,[2] and accompanied by two attendants rode off towards the sea, with the intention of embarking at Barcelona or Bivaroz. At Frasno, a town eleven leagues from Zaragoza, he fell sick of a tertian fever, and was overtaken by Don Juan Manuel, whom the King, on hearing of his flight, sent after him to bring him back. Manuel was the bearer of a letter from Quixada urging him to return, and representing the anxiety which his absence caused him. The Archbishop, Governor, and other dignitaries of Zaragoza came from that city to visit him, and as soon as he was able to move, conveyed him thither to the archiepiscopal palace. They joined Manuel in entreating him to give up his project. The King, they assured him, would be very angry, and they alleged that the galleys in which he intended to have taken his passage had already sailed from Barcelona. They invited him at least to wait until a body of fifteen hundred men should be raised at the expense of the kingdom of Aragon to enable him to appear at the head of a force befitting his rank; and finally, finding him obsti-

[1] Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, Bruxelles, 1863, pp. 167-8.

[2] Galpagar is mentioned by Vanderhammen as the point of Don John's evasion, but the probability of this being true depends on the position of that place. If it lies between Segovia, or Valsain, and the Bosque, Galpagar may have been the place, but not if it lies on the Madrid side of that *sitio*. Gachard's account is so precise that there is little reason to believe the King returned to Madrid during the Queen's absence.

nate, they offered him a loan of money for the voyage. All these reasons and offers he resisted and rejected, and sent off one of his attendants to Barcelona to inquire after the means of transit. He himself went by way of Belpuche, where he was hospitably received by the Admiral of Naples, and afterwards visited the Benedictines who dwelt among the famous crags of Monserrate.[1] On reaching Barcelona he was entertained by the Viceroy of Catalonia, the Duke of Francavilla, and received with distinction by the bishop and other authorities of the Catalonian capital. The galleys having sailed as had been reported, he found that he would be compelled to proceed on his journey through France. Meanwhile the King had issued injunctions that he was not to be permitted to embark, and now sent him a formal order, addressed to himself, commanding him to return under pain of disgrace. Time was passing; if evasion were possible the land journey would be difficult and tedious; and Don John had at least done enough to show the bent and the strength of his will. He therefore reluctantly gave up his enterprise and returned to Court.

The Court was still at Segovia, waiting for the Queen's return from Bayonne. When Don John made his appearance the King had already gone to meet her at Sepulveda, a village ten leagues off. On the 30th of July Don Carlos and Don John rode out to meet the royal pair three leagues from Segovia. As soon as they came in sight Don Carlos dismounted and advanced on foot to kiss his stepmother's hand. Don John approached the King, and begged pardon for his flight to Aragon, and the trouble it had caused. Philip embraced him kindly, and bade him go and kiss the hand of the Queen. Isabella laughingly asked him if he had found the Moors and the Turks brave warriors. The crestfallen volunteer replied somewhat dolefully, that he had unfortunately had no opportunity of judging of their prowess.[2]

In the autumn he was with his brother the King at the Escorial, where the gray granite walls of the vast palace-convent were just beginning to rise above the rocky soil of the Guadarrama hills. He accompanied him thence to Madrid, to meet the Queen on her return from her visit to her family at Bayonne.[3]

[1] *El Monserrate* de Cristoval de Virues, Madrid, 1587, sm. 8vo, a very striking poem, contains some fine stanzas at beginning of canto v. describing the hill, and in canto xx. a description of the splendour of the convent in the author's days.

[2] Letter of St. Sulpice, the French ambassador, to Catherine de Medicis, 11th August 1565, quoted by Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, Bruxelles, 1863, 2 vols. 8vo, i. 169-170.

[3] Vanderhammen: *D. Juan de Austria*, f. 33-36.

On the 15th of November he revisited, as a Prince, the village of Getafe, where he had formerly been at school as a nameless peasant boy. It was on occasion of the arrival there of the holy corpse of St. Eugenius, which was being transported from its long repose at St. Denis to the cathedral, where the saint had once reigned as primate, of Toledo. Philip II. had purchased the precious bones from Charles IX. at the moderate price of the skull of St. Quintin, of which he had despoiled the town so called, after his victory in 1557. An infinity of documents and seals recorded and ratified the bargain; and a deputation of French nobles and prelates placed the remains of the Toledan saint in the hands of a similar embassy from Spain at Bourdeaux. They were thence conveyed with almost royal pomp to Toledo, receiving at each halting-place the adoration of the faithful. Getafe being only two leagues from Madrid, it was there that Queen Isabella and the devout Infanta Juana, attended by Don John, went to pay their homage. Three days afterwards the venerable skeleton made its entry into the old archiepiscopal city, the King and Don Carlos kneeling in the wayside dust to do it honour.

Next year, 1566, on the 19th of May, the Court moved to the country palace of Valsain, or, as it was also called, of the Wood of Segovia, for the approaching confinement of the Queen. The Infanta Juana went to Aranjuez with the two archdukes. Don Carlos and Don John remained at Madrid, and were constant companions. At night they used to seek fresh air and coolness by going to sup at the Casa del Campo, a small royal seat beyond the Manzanares. Towards the end of June they joined the Court at Valsain.[1]

The Queen was delivered of a daughter on the night between the 11th and 12th of August. An attack of fever placed the mother's life in considerable danger, but she happily recovered. The Infanta was baptized on the 25th in the chapel of the palace, by the Papal Nuncio, Giovanni Battista Castagna, Archbishop of Rossano, and long afterwards Pope under the name of Urban VII. The child's godfather and godmother were her aunt the Infanta Juana and her brother Don Carlos. But the heir-apparent, suffering from one of his frequent attacks of illness, during which no strength was left him except in his teeth, was so weak that he was unable to perform the duty of holding the babe at the font.

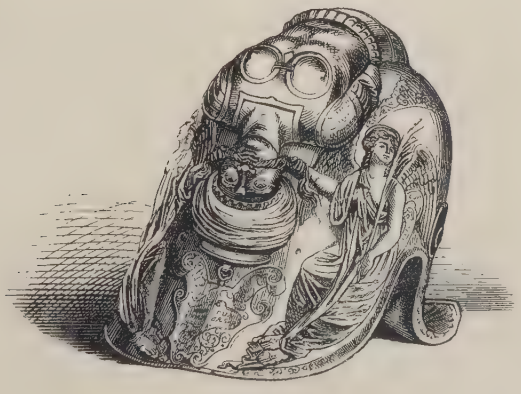
[1] Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, Bruxelles, 1863, 2 vols. 8vo. i. 282-3.
[2] *Ibid.* i. p. 285.

Don John therefore supplied his place there, and carried his little niece back to the apartments of the Queen. The name conferred on her by the Nuncio was one which afterwards became well known in history, Isabella Clara Eugenia,—the first in honour of the Catholic Queen of Castille, the second in honour of the saint on whose day she was born, and the third in fulfilment of her mother's vow while adoring the relics of St. Eugenius at Getafe in the previous year.

During this autumn at Valsain, Don Carlos and Don John, who were both fond of swimming, used to bathe together in one of those clear, cold, mountain streams which the lofty Guadarrama pours through the woodlands at its northern base, and which now feed the matchless fountains of the modern San Ildefonso. In September Don John was for a while affected with a kind of paralysis of the hands and arms, which was attributed to over-indulgence in his watery pastimes.[1]

[1] Gachard : *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, Bruxelles, 1863, 2 vols. 8vo, i. p. 283, note 2. Letter from Tourquevaulx to Charles IX., 11th September 1566.

It is somewhat remarkable that in spite of the recognition of Don John as son of the Emperor by his brother the King, the fact of his existence should not have become known to Lodovico Dolce, who, in his *Vita di Carlo Quinto*, Venezia, 1567, 4to, says that Charles V. left three legitimate children, and one illegitimate daughter, "una naturale "maritata al Duca Ottavio," p. 173, making no mention of Don John. The book is dedicated to Emmanuel Filibert, Duke of Savoy, and the dedication is dated 24th October 1565.



HELMET OF CHARLES V.

GALLEY UNDER SAIL.

CHAPTER III.

YOUTH OF DON JOHN AND HIS FIRST NAVAL COMMAND, 1566-1568.

EXCITEMENT and anxiety rarely rose higher in the councils of Philip II. than during the spring and summer of 1557. Since his accession to the throne, the Netherlands, the wealthiest and most important of his possessions, had been in a state of growing discontent with the management of their religious and political affairs. The reformed doctrines had spread far and wide over the provinces, and the bloody laws of Charles V. against heresy, which a mild and careless administration had rendered tolerable during the reign of that monarch, were not only enforced with great severity, but were accompanied by other measures subversive of the ancient charters and liberties of the Netherlands. Disaffection was not confined to the lower classes to which the

converts chiefly belonged. A hostile and suspicious nobility seemed ready to place itself at the head of an exasperated people. Popular tumults began to rise to the dimensions of a religious revolution. Every month brought worse tidings. At length, in August 1566, the cathedral of Antwerp was invaded by the lowest of the people, its altars desecrated, and its decorations destroyed. The infection spread from city to city, and churches and monasteries were sacked by furious mobs. The havoc was the work of the lowest class, but their wealthier neighbours looked on with complacency. Of these events this history will take cognisance in a later chapter. Suffice it for the present to say that the terror-stricken Regent of the Netherlands, Margaret, Duchess of Parma, found it necessary to lull this popular storm by making to her subjects the concessions which were most hateful to the principles and policy as well as the pride of the King of Spain. While fire and faggot punished the slightest taint of heretical opinion at Valladolid and Seville, the representative of Philip II. was forced to suspend the Inquisition, and to permit the open preaching of heresy, sometimes in desecrated churches, in almost every town of the Netherlands.

The suddenness of the outburst, and the insufficiency of the royal forces on the spot, compelled the King for a while to dissemble his deep indignation. He would not ratify the concessions of the Regent; but he spoke the provinces fair, and assured them that he would soon appear at Bruxelles to hear their complaints and to come to an understanding with his subjects. The Emperor, the Pope, and other Princes who were interested in the well-being of the Netherlands, strongly urged him to lose no time in fulfilling this promise. To them the same promise was repeated in the most solemn manner. Meanwhile he sent to the Duchess of Parma all the money he could spare to be spent in secretly levying troops and in repairing the fortresses. The winter was spent in concentrating in the Milanese the flower of the armies of Spain. This choice force was placed under the command of the Duke of Alba, and leave was obtained for it to pass through the territories of the Swiss Republic and the Dukes of Savoy and Lorraine. Alba was also appointed successor to the Duchess of Parma, with extraordinary powers. He arrived at Bruxelles in August 1567, and immediately set himself to complete the conquest of the provinces which the reaction after the mob-violence of the past year had enabled Margaret of Parma to begin.

The first object of Alba and Philip was to gain as far as possible the confidence of those upon whom they intended to inflict signal punishment. Above all, the great nobles who favoured the popular cause were to be cajoled until the net could be securely spread around them. It was therefore of great importance to foster belief in the King's speedy arrival at Bruxelles. On the 26th of June Don Carlos, the Archdukes Rudolph and Ernest, and Don John of Austria, received a formal notification that they were to be ready to accompany the King to the Netherlands. Don Carlos immediately applied for leave for his stable of fifty horses to go through France. As the royal party were to go by sea, a squadron was assembled at Coruña. Quarters were ordered along the road to Biscay. Boxes of glass for the royal cabins were sent to the coast; large quantities of furniture and baggage were packed; the King's chaplains were ordered to hold themselves ready with their portable chapel furniture; and Philip himself discussed with the ambassadors the relative advantages of travelling by sea and land. It was said that the Queen, whose confinement was again at hand, was to be Regent of Spain, and that, when she followed the King, the Infanta Juana would take her place.[1]

All these preparations came to nothing. The whole plan was an elaborate and not very successful hoax. The journey never took place, and the shrewdest persons at Madrid and Bruxelles never could be brought to believe that it had ever been seriously intended. The King did his best to maintain the delusion long after it was threadbare. Being anxious to obtain the concession of the bull of the Crusade and other sources of revenue usually granted by the Holy See to princes about to wage war with the infidel, he instructed his ambassador at Rome to explain his plans to the Pope. The Duke of Alba, the ambassador was to say, had been unable to arrive in the Low Countries so soon as had been expected; certain acts must be accomplished by him ere the King could go thither with advantage; and, as the season was now too far advanced for a sea voyage, he had been most reluctantly compelled to put it off until the spring.[2] It was, however, clear to most of those concerned that the journey was abandoned altogether. The first campaign of Don John of Austria was not to be made in the Netherlands.

A Court christening enabled the King again this year to

[1] Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, Bruxelles, 1863, 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 427-430.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 439-441.

bestow on Don John a public mark of his favour. On the 10th of October 1567 Queen Isabella gave birth to a daughter, who was baptized on the 19th of the same month. The last royal baptism had taken place in comparative privacy at Valsain.[1] The sacred rite was now performed in the church of San Gil, adjoining the palace, with all the pomp which belonged to the reception of a daughter of the Catholic King into the bosom of the Catholic Church. At three o'clock in the afternoon the procession filed through the covered way which led from the palace to the church. It was headed by a long array of officers of the household, of State, kings-of-arms, and bodyguards. The Duke of Arcos, chief of the great house of Ponce de Leon, carried the white baptismal hood (*capillo*);[2] the Duke of Medina de Rioseco, the taper; the Duke of Sesa, heir of the great captain, the marchpain (*maçapan*);[3] the Duke of Bejar, the saltcellar; the Duke of Osuna, the basin (*aguamanil*) and napkin; and the Count of Benevente, the ewer (*fuente*) and another napkin. Behind these nobles came Don John of Austria, in cloth of silver, and a furred crimson mantle, and wearing a rich chain of rubies and pearls, presented to him for the occasion by his sister, the Princess of Brazil. In his arms he carried the royal babe, wrapped in a mantle of crimson velvet edged with gold lace (*cañutillo*). At his right hand walked the Papal Nuncio, and at his left the ambassador of the Emperor, who were followed by the ambassadors of France and Portugal. Next came the godfather and godmother, the Archduke Rudolph and the Princess of Brazil; and a long line of ladies in waiting and maids of honour closed the procession. Cardinal Espinosa and four bishops awaited its arrival at the door of the church, in which were drawn up the various Councils of State, Luis Quixada appearing as president at the head of the Council of the Indies. Beneath a rich canopy was displayed the ancient silver font at which St. Dominic had been admitted into the Christian Church, and at which the Infanta now received from the Cardinal the name of Catherine.

In the same month, October 1567, Don John received at the King's hands a still more signal distinction in being appointed to the office of Admiral of the Fleet, or as it was called in Castillian, "General of the Sea." His martial predilections were now to be suffered to have their own way. He was, of course, overjoyed at

[1] Chap. II. p. 48.

[2] Hence the proverb *Lo que en el capillo se toma, con la mortaja se deja;* What is put on with the hood is put off with the shroud.

[3] A sweet cake of almonds and sugar.

having thus obtained the fitting career for his ambition. Expressing his rapture to the Nuncio, he said he wished his first voyage might be to kiss the feet of His Holiness the Pope, after which he felt assured everything would be well with him.[1] The appointment gave so much satisfaction to Don Carlos that he went from Madrid to the Escorial in order to thank his father for having made it—a pleasing proof of the friendship which prevailed between the two youths.[2]

A few weeks later events which have made the sad story of the heir-apparent of Philip II. one of the riddles of history began to unfold themselves. The strange and violent temper and conduct of Don Carlos, his supposed intrigues with the malcontents of the Low Countries, his abortive attempt to escape from Court, his arrest and his suspicious death in prison, have frequently been narrated; but the true cause of his tragic end is still unexplained. As a trusted companion of the Prince, Don John was a spectator of several of these events; in some of them he was engaged as an actor, and his conduct while so engaged may well be supposed to have influenced in no unimportant degree his subsequent career. During their boyish companionship in the palace and at Alcalá, and for the most part of their life at Court, Don John and Don Carlos seem to have lived on the most affectionate terms. Persons about the Court, with excellent opportunities of learning and hearing the truth, agree in representing the wayward heir-apparent as very fond of his bastard uncle. In the account-books of Don Carlos still extant are various entries showing that he was in the habit of making costly presents to Don John. One records the payment of 800 ducats to Giacomo Trezzo, the famous medallist and engraver, for a ring set with a table diamond given to his uncle; and another of these gifts was a sword, mounted in black and gold.[3] Many wagers are also set down as lost to Don John, which are evidence, at least, of their frequent companionship. The affectionate interest displayed by Don Carlos in the promotion of Don John to the post of admiral is a proof of the friendly terms on which they were living with each other within little more than two months of the arrest of the Prince. There is no record of any misunderstanding between them except a quarrel which is said on very questionable authority to have occurred just before the arrest. Brantôme, speaking as it seems of that quarrel, and with perhaps no other

[1] Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, ii. p. 465, note.
[2] *Ibid.* ii. p. 463.
[3] *Ibid.* ii. p. 463.

ground for his assertion, relates that Don Carlos had been tenderly attached to Don John, but on finding that his uncle had narrated to the King something which he had told him, conceived so great an aversion for him that they rarely met without high words. During this period of enmity the same chronicler says that Carlos thought fit to reproach Don John with his illegitimate birth and the character of his mother, calling him "*bâtard et fils de putain.*" "So I am," retorted the son of Charles V., "but I have a better "father than you."[1]

It may be as well here to cast a glance at the character of the brother at whose expense this impudent repartee was made, and upon whose favour the career of the young wit depended. Philip II. is unquestionably the most important personage among the princes of the latter half of the sixteenth century. His long reign of forty-three years (1555-1598) gives him no less prominence in history than the extent of his dominions gave him influence in the affairs of the world. The good fortune and the sagacious policy of the House of Austria had accumulated under his sceptre an empire such as will probably never again be swayed by a single hand. The rich provinces of Belgium made Spain a northern power of first-rate importance. In the south the Dukes of Savoy and Florence, the Republics of Genoa and Venice, and the Holy See, possessed about one-third of Italy; the other two-thirds were Spanish, as well as Sicily and the greater islands which intervene between the peninsulas of Italy and Spain. Oran and a considerable territory on the African shore owned the same sway. The death of Don Sebastian united under the rule of Philip II. all the kingdoms of the Spanish peninsula, nearly all that was European in the New World, all that was European in Southern Asia and the Indian Archipelago.

Considering the theories and political speculations of the philosophers of that age, it was not surprising that the master of so vast a dominion should have dreamed of becoming master of the world. The policy of Philip II. does not appear to have differed very far from the dream of Campanella.[2] The history of the king not improbably suggested to the imprisoned monk the idea of his picture of the possible future of the monarchy

[1] *Si, yo lo soy, mas yo tengo padre mejor que os.* Brantôme, *Œuvres*, 7 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1822. *Discours* xli. i. p. 324.

[2] Th. Campanella: *De Monarchia Hispanica discursus*, 12mo, Amstelodami, 1640. There is an English translation entitled, *Th. Campanella, his advice to the King of Spain for attaining the universal monarchy of the world*, trans. by Ed. Chilmead, with a preface by Wm. Prynne, 4to, London, 1659.

of Spain. In his treatise war is assumed to be the proper and natural business of a king, as the chase is the natural business of a country gentleman. The king is advised to rule his subjects with justice and moderation, chiefly because that course will best enable him to execute those schemes of violence and aggression upon his neighbours which, it is taken for granted, no royal person of proper spirit can fail to entertain. This view of the relations existing between a Prince and his subjects, and between a Prince and his neighbours, is precisely the view taken by Philip II., who in all cases likewise reserved to himself the power of dispensing with justice and moderation. His government at home and his diplomacy abroad were therefore carried on upon principles, which, if uniformly adopted by rulers and efficiently applied by their ministers, would soon bring all government and all diplomacy to an end. To wring as much as possible from his people at home, and to acquire as much secret influence as possible in the affairs of other nations, was the rule of his conduct and the object of his life. His emissaries were at work all over Europe, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, not merely in the greater courts, at Paris and London and Rome, but in those most removed from the natural field of Spanish ambition, at Copenhagen and Stockholm, Dantzig and Cracow. The resources of his power were lavished not only in the great religious and political contests of England and of France, but in the distant wars of the Danish succession, in the struggle of Reformation in Sweden, and in the ceaseless and unintelligible strife which raged among the barbarian magnates of Poland. This lust of foreign dominion and the consequent neglect of weightier interests at home were the chief causes of the decay of Spain under the House of Austria.

No Prince ever held a higher sense of the dignity of the throne, or more fully recognised the law of his own will as the sole law by which a monarch is bound, than Philip II. He it was who first stamped on Spanish royalty that character of rigid state and inexorable etiquette for which it has become proverbial. His propensity for ceremony showed itself in very early life. As a boy, he was one morning being dressed by his valets when the Cardinal Primate, Juan de Tavera, was announced. His tutor whispered to him to desire His Eminence to be covered. But the Prince called for his own cap and cloak, and put them on before he would pay the usual courtesy to his visitor.[1] When

[1] D. Porreño: *Dichos y Hechos del Rey D. Felipe Segundo*, sm. 8vo, Madrid, 1639, fol. 16.

he became King his principal ministers risked the loss of his favour if they shut a door too soon, or omitted appearing at Court at some reception which they were expected to attend. An angry word from his sullen mouth, or even an angry look from his cold gray eye, was said sometimes to have shortened the life of a secretary, or a president of a council. The sternness and severity of his aspect sometimes caused a friar to forget the sermon by which he hoped to grasp a mitre, or even a glib-tongued lawyer to forget the address with which he had approached the throne.

Philip prided himself on a marble immobility of countenance and person, which he considered regal and commanding, and in which he was imitated and caricatured by his descendants. No joy or sorrow was sufficient to break the ice of his deportment; and he heard the news of the victory at Lepanto and the news of the loss of the Invincible Armada with equal composure and apparent unconcern. Haughty and punctilious with those whom birth and fortune placed near the throne, he unbent himself only to his subjects of lower degree. To churchmen he was no less gracious than he was munificent to the Church. Rearing splendid temples to her worship, and enshrining the bones of her saints in golden reliquaries, he treated the meanest of her ministers with a consideration not always extended to his own chief statesmen. Alba and the great nobles were expected to approach his person with all the forms prescribed by an elaborate ceremonial. Even when he thought fit to unbend to those about him, his affability had in it something hardly less repulsive than his habitual gravity and coldness. If he smiled, some sinister purpose was supposed to be in his secret meditations; and the experience of his courtiers was embodied in the saying—redolent of a land where the imperfections of public law were redressed by the secret movements of private revenge—that with him a smile was akin to a stab.[1] But the dirty mendicant friar, who had achieved the slightest reputation for sanctity, was allowed to wander at will, with a troop of beggars at his heels, through the palace and into the chamber of audience,

[1] "De su riso al cuchillo avia poco distancia." Luis Cabrera de Cordoba: *Don Felipe el Secundo*, fol. Madrid, 1619, p. 736. The Prince of Orange in his *Apologie* (Leyden, 1581, 4to, p. 103) says that his suspicions of the King's intentions towards him were especially awakened by the civil messages which the Seigneur de Selles brought him in the autumn of 1577. "Cor a qu'il me disoit que j'estoi tout en la "bonne grace du Roi, qu'il n'y a Seigneur por deça duquel il eust meilleure opinion "que de moi, qu'il me vouloit tant emploier; me faisoit de plus en plus penser qu'on "eust bien en affaire de une teste, si j'eusse voulu faire tel marché que cest espaignolizé "me vouloit persuader."

in spite of the warnings of the physician that disease might thus be spread within the walls which contained the hopes of the nation.[1]

The intellect of Philip II. did not rise above the level of mediocrity. He had neither the vigorous understanding nor the strong will of Charles V. Had the father been born in a private or even in a lowly station, he would probably have been a great minister, a great captain, or a great churchman. He might still have commanded at Muhlberg, or directed the administration of Spain, or led the Catholic world against Luther. But had the son been born obscure, it is very unlikely that the world would ever have heard of his name, or that he would ever have attained any position superior to that of secretary to a council, or guardian of a monastery. Charles was slow in forming his plans; but when they were formed he was no less prompt than patient and indefatigable in executing them. Philip was still slower in coming to a decision, and he was so addicted to a policy of delay, that, in order to gain time, he would risk the loss of precious opportunity, and the ruin of the objects and interests at stake. The moment for action found him still consulting, still hesitating, and passed away unimproved. He had a strong desire to govern, and boasted that he ruled half the world with a slip of paper from his cell in a monastery in Spain. Jealous of interference, and by nature no less suspicious than timid, he could rely neither upon himself nor upon others. He therefore sought safety in a variety of counsels, and his cabinet was always divided into two parties striving for ascendency in the State. For many years one of these parties had been headed by Fernando, Duke of Alba, upright and haughty, stern and unpopular, rather a soldier than a statesman. The other was led by Ruy Gomez de Silva, Prince of Eboli, a clever, affable, and unscrupulous courtier, versed in affairs from his earliest youth, and uniting the energy of Castille to an Italian fertility of resource. In holding the balance between the rival influences of men greatly superior to himself, Philip II. undoubtedly showed considerable skill. Nature had endowed him with a strong faculty of dissimulation, a gift which he had improved by daily exercise, until it was as impossible to judge of his feelings and intentions by anything that he said or did, as by the inscrutable and changeless features of his face. His powers of application were also well developed, and his love of business was insatiable. In his cabinet at Madrid, or in a closet at the

[1] Porreño: *Hechos y dichos*, fol. 40.

Escorial, he would sit day after day from morning to night over his papers, reading, annotating, and dictating, consulting and hesitating; determined to hear everything with his own ears, decide everything with his own mouth or pen, and work with his own hand the minutest springs which moved his vast empire. Under this course of anxiety and labour he early grew pale and gray, lean and gouty; but he pursued it to the end, even through the long and agonising sickness which at last carried him off. All this industry and vigilance, however, reduced his empire to a state of exhaustion such as could hardly have been the result of mere indolence and neglect.

With a father like Philip it was hardly to be expected that a son like Carlos could live in any comfort or amity. From his infancy to his fifteenth year Carlos, having been brought up in Spain, had never seen his father, who had spent these years in England or the Netherlands. From the time when the education of the Prince was concluded, and his age rendered it necessary for him to appear regularly at Court, the dislike and distrust with which each soon learned to regard the other rapidly ripened into intense hatred. The passion entertained by Carlos for his step-mother, Isabella of Valois, who had once been destined as his own bride, his resentment against his father for marrying her, and the consequent jealousy of Philip, are now generally allowed to be fictions, founded on an ambiguous expression of Brantôme, in which poets and romancers thought they had discovered a key to the mysterious death of Carlos.[1] The truth seems to have been that from the first the beautiful bride who came to brighten the Court of Spain in 1560 treated her husband's sickly peevish son with a motherly and delicate consideration to which he had been little accustomed, and which at once won his affection, and secured for her ever afterwards his respect and gratitude. Isabella's own kind heart alone may well have inspired this amiable conduct; but it is also certain that her mother, Catherine de Medicis, must have strongly impressed on her ere she left the Louvre the policy of conciliating the heir-apparent of Spain, on whom, if his father died, Isabella's destinies would mainly depend, and whom, besides, Catherine had already fixed upon as the proper mate for her other daughter, Margaret. However impertinent or outrageous his deportment towards his aunt Doña Juana, or towards his father, Don Carlos not only always behaved like a gentleman to the

[1] Brantôme: *Discours* xli. *Art.* 2, *Don Carlos; Œuvres*, 7 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1822, i. p. 322. See Raumer: *Hist. of 16th and 17th Centuries*, 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 123-164.

Queen, but he sought her society, made her frequent presents, and, when she was ill, evinced the most marked solicitude for her recovery. She, on her side, did what she could to engage him in pursuits and amusements befitting his rank, and to keep him upon good terms with the King.

Catherine de Medicis, of course, did not stand alone in her desire to provide a wife for the heir of the Spains and the Indies. Her blooming Margaret, destined to become the unworthy wife of a Prince of a far different order, had for rivals a maiden princess, the Archduchess Anne, and two fair widows, the Infanta Juana and Mary Queen of Scotland. For the Infanta, who, in spite of her extreme piety and her golden tresses deposited in the shrine of her favourite Barefooted Nuns, was much bent on this indecent union with a nephew ten years younger than herself, Don Carlos expressed the most open aversion. As to Margaret, he reserved his opinion. Towards Mary he was for a while favourably disposed, saying to his confessor, who being in the French interest told the French ambassador, that her Scottish throne and English pretensions made the Queen of Scotland well worthy of his notice.[1] These prudential and truly Austrian considerations were, however, dissipated by the arrival of a portrait of the Archduchess, with whose pale sad countenance Don Carlos fell in love at first sight.[2] He vowed he would marry her, and her alone, and remained of the same mind until his early death.

In a newsletter sent by William of Hesse to Augustus, Elector of Saxony, the imprisonment of Don Carlos is mentioned, and the reason is said to be his remonstrances in favour of the Netherlanders, "that the poor folk should not be so much vexed and "persecuted," or that he, the heir to the Crown, "should be sent "to see and hear for himself." The King at first answered graciously, but being told by his counsellors that the Prince would be corrupted, determined on his arrest.[3]

Always strange and wayward in his moods and habits, Don Carlos, as he grew older, became more violent and dangerous in

[1] Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, Bruxelles, 1863, 2 vols. 8vo, i. p. 186, note 2.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 186, 187.

[3] Secretary Pfinzing, in a postscript to a letter to the Elector from the Duke of Bavaria, says the Prince died of a strange and ill-ordered life with respect to eating and drinking during the prevailing heats, and mentions snow water, twenty or thirty flasks, which he would pour on the floor and roll naked in; fruits, drinking iced water, and the last great pasty weighing many pounds (p. 25, vol. i.). He seems to have been generally considered insane enough for restraint. *Aus vier Jahrhunderten: Mittheilungen aus dem Hauptstadtsarchive zu Dresden.* Von Dr. Karl von Weber. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1857-1861.

his eccentricities. His temper was ungovernable. On the slightest provocation he would box the ears of his attendants, or rush upon them with his poniard, or try to throw them out of the window. Suitors and other persons seeking audience, who did not please

him, he would sometimes order to be beaten, and one poor man, for no other reason, was ordered to be castrated.[1] He would strike his tutor, Don Garcia de Toledo; he once collared and threatened to kill Don Diego de Espinosa, afterwards Cardinal,

1 Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, i. 153. The fact is related by Paolo Tiepolo, the Venetian ambassador, in his *Relazione*.

and then one of his father's chief ministers, because he had refused a certain player admission to the palace; and when the Duke of Alba, on his appointment to the government of the Netherlands, a post which Carlos himself desired, came to take leave, the Prince drew his dagger upon his old friend, and but for the Duke's superior strength might have executed his threat to take his life unless he would promise not to go to Flanders. He cut up a pair of new boots which he thought was ill-made, had them stewed, and under a similar menace caused the maker to eat a portion of his unsatisfactory work. A few drops of water having fallen upon him from a window as he passed along the street, he ordered his guard to burn down the house whence the drops came, and to evade the order without further stimulating his rage it was necessary to pretend that the sacrament had just been taken thither to a dying lodger.[1] He would order children to be beaten, as appears by entries in his accounts of sums of money given as compensation to their parents; he would scour the streets at nightfall, and after kissing the women he met, revile them in the foulest language. One day he shut himself up in his stable alone, and so cruelly maltreated twenty-three horses that some of them died. By similar usage he caused the death of his father's favourite hackney, to which the master of the horse, knowing his ways, had given him access only after receiving his solemn promise that he would do the animal no harm. He was suspected, not, as it appears, without some reason, of being impotent; but he nevertheless was fond of passing his evenings amongst the lowest class of prostitutes. In his attendance on religious rites he was somewhat remiss, but if he lost a favourite jewel he would order masses to be said for its recovery. He never learned the value of money, and for any article for which he took a fancy he would offer ten times its value; and he would buy a diamond for 25,000 crowns, without having a single crown in his purse. His hatred for his father he never attempted to conceal; he was always making indecorous jests at the King's expense; and those courtiers who were supposed to be his father's favourites were sure of being treated with coldness, or positive rudeness, by the son.

Traits like these might well lead us to doubt whether Carlos is to be considered an odious fool or a mischievous maniac. Yet his conduct had its redeeming points. The will which he made at Alcalá, the only existing document emanating from himself

[1] Calvera: *Felipe II.*, p. 470.

except a few insignificant letters, presents him to us in no unamiable light, anxious about the payment of his creditors, and thoughtful in distributing legacies amongst his friends and dependants. To his tutor, Honorato Juan, for whom he had obtained from the King the bishopric of Osma, he bequeathed his tapestry of silk and gold representing the capture of Francis I., and the executors were further directed to pay his debts "as a small mark "of his friendship." Luis Quixada, his master of the horse, was to retain anything belonging to the Prince which he happened to have in his custody, and also to have all his pieces of artillery at Segovia. For Don Morten de Cordova's gallant defence of the African fortress of Mazalquivir, he entreated the King to bestow some permanent provision on that gallant soldier. His own slaves, Diego and Juan, probably Moriscos, who were learning sculpture under Giacomo Trezzo, were to have their freedom and a gratification in money if they became proficients in their art. The King and a number of personages whom Philip himself might have selected as colleagues were named as executors of the will. It seems strange that the lad who dictated this kindly and reasonable testament should have grown up into the terror and pest of the Court and capital. Existing accounts of his expenditure show that he was not incapable of works of charity, that he would sometimes pay the debts of poor debtor-prisoners, and sometimes undertake the maintenance of foundlings or orphans. He seems always to have retained a regard for Quixada, Honorato Juan, and Suarez de Toledo, and to have been as little offended as improved by the plain and manly letters in which the two latter faithful friends set before him the error and danger of his foolish ways.

Poets have depicted Carlos as full of generous pity for the Netherlands, and solicitous to save their people from butchery for the maintenance of chartered rights which he respected, and from burning for entertaining religious opinions with which he sympathised. The theory which makes him a friend of liberty and free thought rests on no better foundation than that which makes him the lover of his stepmother. Historians appear to have adopted it as a specious method of solving an otherwise insoluble mystery. The single fact upon which the theory is built seems to be that Carlos, having been permitted to grow up in the expectation of being one day Regent of the Netherlands, was impatient because the post was withheld from him. The general tenor of his sad story renders it incredible. That he had little respect for popular

rights, and no suspicion that there were bounds to royal prerogative, is proved by his extreme insolence to the Cortes of Castille, when he burst in upon their deliberations and rudely rated them for having presumed to present an address to the King, praying him to take steps towards the marriage of the heir-apparent.[1] That he held any private communication with the representative-lords, who carried the wrongs of the Netherlands to the foot of the throne, is not supported by any sufficient evidence; and it is also highly improbable that these statesmen would have incurred the great risk of offending their ever-watchful sovereign by entering into secret relations, of very questionable utility at best, with his madcap son. As to his religious opinions, if the crude notions of an ignorant lad deserve the name of opinions, there is no reason to believe that they were unorthodox. The Papal Nuncio, directing his attention to this point immediately after the Prince's arrest, could find nothing to justify the imputation.[2] The strongest ground for suspecting him of having favoured the new doctrines is a somewhat obscure passage in a letter of remonstrance addressed to him by Suarez de Toledo, where "His Highness is "entreated to bethink himself, and consider what people will say "and do when they know that he neglects confession, and when "certain things are discovered, terrible things which, in the case "of any other person, would afford ground for inquiry by the "Holy Office, whether he were a Christian or no." Looking at the intellect and habits of Carlos, we may probably interpret this mysterious warning as referring to some loose talking or irreverent jesting, and not to any definite form of heresy or scepticism.

The characters of Philip II. and Don Carlos were so diametrically opposed to each other, that in their case the antagonism, which seems innate in every king and his heir-apparent, reached at a very early period the highest pitch of mutual aversion. The moods and ways of each were supremely offensive to the other. Outward self-control and habits of order were the qualities which Philip most esteemed, and of which Carlos was most hopelessly devoid. Philip, knowing the force of public opinion, was careful to combine the pleasure of sin with the credit of sanctity. Carlos, ruled only by the caprice of the moment, grasped at the present

[1] His extraordinary speech, reported by various ambassadors, will be found in Gachard's *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, ii. 390. It was spoken towards the end of December 1567.

[2] See the despatch of the Archbishop of Rossano, 4th February 1568. Gachard, ii. pp. 665-6.

pleasure and spurned the remote advantage. To the haughty frugal King it must have been wormwood to feel himself, as he sometimes did, compelled to make excuses, and sometimes more substantial compensation, to important personages outraged by the foolish Prince. If we consider the perpetual provocations given by Carlos, and the absolute power of Philip, some credit seems due to the one for permitting the other to go at large to the age of twenty-three.

By those who would make a hero of Don Carlos it has been pleaded that the historians near his own time, who give so unfavourable a view of his character, probably exaggerated his faults and follies in order to justify Philip II. or flatter Philip III. Unfortunately for this argument, the unfavourable view is also given by contemporary despatches of ambassadors to whom no such suspicion can attach. The Imperial ambassador, Dietrichstein, was charged to obtain the hand of Don Carlos for an archduchess, and well knew how strongly the two emperors whom he served were bent upon the match ; yet he found himself under the necessity, as a man of honour, of sending to Vienna a very disagreeable picture of the Spanish Prince. His first account, written before he had seen him, proved, at least, that the Spanish courtiers, when they talked of Don Carlos, had very little good to say of him. After he had seen him Dietrichstein confirmed his first report of the Prince's bodily defects, and was not able to speak with much more favour of his character and habits. He described him as passionate, obstinate, and unforgiving, but truthful, and endowed with a good memory. According to his wont, Carlos had asked him many questions ; these were not so foolish as he had been led to expect, but were pertinent and sensible. The despatch closed with these significant words :— " In conclusion, Carlos is a feeble and infirm Prince, but he is the " son of a mighty monarch."[1] Other foreign ministers, with no Princesses to marry, spoke of him with undisguised contempt. The Venetian, Tiepolo, gave his Government a most deplorable account of his person, intellect, and manners, and said that his sole delight was in doing mischief. The English envoy, Dr. Mann, reported, " with Her Majesty's pardon," that he had " never " dealt with a more dissolute, desperate, and unconvertible " person."[2]

The chief grievances which Don Carlos alleged against his father were that he was not entrusted with the government of the

[1] Gachard : *Don Carlos*, i. 151. [2] *Ibid.* ii. 662.

Netherlands, or any other important employment, and, after he had been seized with the passion for his cousin's picture, that the hand of the Archduchess was not immediately obtained for him. On neither of these charges does Philip II. seem worthy of blame. To have sent Carlos to govern the malcontent Netherlands, at a moment when the royal authority was almost in abeyance, would have been mere madness. But, as if willing to give him a fair trial, the King placed him in the Council of State, and even after his outrage on the Duke of Alba promoted him to the presidency of the Councils of State and War. For a while the Prince was pleased with the occupation, and discharged his duties creditably; but he soon wearied of them, and threw the public business into confusion by his ill-timed pranks and by abuse of authority. His extravagant private expenditure, though a vexation to his thrifty sire, does not appear to have been checked by any severe repression. As to his marriage, it was surrounded, for the King, with difficulties of which the question whether he was fit to marry at all was not the greatest. The critical condition of the Netherlands necessitated the most cautious and conciliating foreign policy. Philip could not afford to lose the good-will of the House of Valois, as holding the throne of France; or of the House of Lorraine, as head of the Catholic or Spanish party in France; or of Elizabeth of England; or of his cousin, the Emperor. Yet of these four powers at least two were likely to resent the selection of any one of the four Princesses who aspired to become the wife of his son. Choosing what seemed the least of inevitable evils, Philip seemed for a while inclined to marry Carlos to his aunt Juana, the match on all grounds, apart from foreign policy, the least desirable of the four. But he never distinctly declined the offers of the Emperor, and the negotiations with Vienna were still on foot when Carlos was arrested.

As the autumn of 1567 wore away it became plain that the journey of the Court to Bruxelles would be again put off, and probable that the project, if it ever had been seriously entertained by the King, would be abandoned. The negotiations for the hand of the Archduchess languished. These circumstances are supposed to have determined Don Carlos to attempt his escape from the kingdom. His plan for this purpose was characteristic of the author, being so contrived as to insure its own frustration. His purse being as usual empty, and his credit in the capital low, he sent two of his attendants on a money-raising mission to Valla-

dolid, Medina del Campo, and Burgos. The sum required being 600,000 ducats, the agents returned with so small a part of it that one of them was despatched to Seville. The bankers there were more liberal, so liberal that according to one historian the Prince found himself in possession of 150,000 ducats in cash, and the rest in bills; but the fact is doubtful, as no more than 100 ducats were discovered when he was arrested two months afterwards.

These financial negotiations took place in November and December. On the 20th of December the King went for some weeks to the Escorial; and the Prince determined to be gone during his absence. The project demanded promptitude and secrecy; his proceedings were dilatory and almost public. Addressing formal letters to many of the chief grandees of the kingdom, he ordered them to be in readiness to accompany him in a journey of importance. Some of these nobles, amongst them the Dukes of Sesa and Medina del Rioseco, it was believed with the privity of the King, returned a reply of acquiescence; others answered that they would obey him in anything not contrary to religion or the service of the Crown; and some, amongst whom was the Admiral of Castille, sent his letters to the King. Don Carlos also prepared other letters, to be despatched after his departure, to the King, the Pope, and the Emperor, the other Princes of Europe, to the Courts of Law and chief towns of Castille, and the other kingdoms of the monarchy. These letters set forth the reasons of his departure, and declared them to be the unjust treatment of his father, and the undue postponement of his marriage, for the purpose of securing the succession to another son of the King's own body. The grandees and the public functionaries were reminded that they had taken the oaths to Carlos as heir-apparent, and in consideration of their fidelity they were promised various favours, the nobles being assured of the restoration of certain rights of imposing taxes, of which they had been lately deprived by the King, and the towns of the reduction of their present imposts.

Although Don Carlos had hitherto lived on terms of close intimacy with Don John of Austria, these preparations were well advanced ere the uncle was informed of the design of the nephew. It is probable that Carlos counted on his companion's active co-operation; and it is obvious that the aid of the Admiral of the Fleet was almost essential to his escape from Spain by sea. On the 23d or 24th December Don Carlos sent for Don John, and

when they were alone unfolded his plans, and pressed him to join him in his flight. He pointed out that to remain with the King was to condemn himself to perpetual poverty and dependence, as the King could hardly be expected to treat him better than he treated his own son; and he promised to reward his adherence to his cause by giving him the kingdom of Naples or the duchy of Milan. Gratitude to the King, as well as common prudence, forbade the acceptance of this offer. To sacrifice the high post to which he had just been preferred for the sake of a prospective crown depending on the success of a rebellion led by Don Carlos would have been no less foolish than wrong. But it would have also been injudicious to exasperate the Prince by a direct refusal. Don John therefore urged upon him the great difficulties and dangers which surrounded his scheme, and entreated him to abandon it. Finding that his nephew's resolution was not to be shaken, he asked for twenty-four hours to make up his own mind. This time being accorded, he gave out that he had been sent for on the business of the fleet; and, mounting his horse, rode to the Escorial and reported the conversation to the King.

The Christmas of 1567 provided Philip II. with an unusual amount of religious business, public and private. He had various exercises to perform in order to fit himself to obtain the benefits of the Jubilee proclaimed by Pius V. to celebrate his own elevation to St. Peter's chair, and to raise funds for a war against the infidel. He had also summoned to the Escorial some monks from each of the chief Jeromite houses of Spain, to form the brotherhood of the mighty convent which he was now constructing, and they were about to make their profession in a temporary residence provided by the King. For this ceremony Philip had fixed the 28th of December, which was also the day of the Jubilee. It is impossible to doubt that the news brought by Don John gave him considerable anxiety. He took measures to have the movements of Don Carlos closely watched, and he would not allow Don John to return to Madrid; but he himself remained at the Escorial for the period he had originally fixed, going through all the prescribed public ceremonies as if all were well at home. On the 6th of January he was present at the consecration of the provisional church of his temporary convent, and on the 11th at the profession of a new friar; and it was not until the 15th that he set out for the capital.

Don Carlos likewise proposed to share the indulgences of the

Papal Jubilee. Previous confession being an essential qualification, he went for that purpose, on the 27th of December, to the royal convent of St. Jerome. There, amongst his other sins, he confessed that he entertained a mortal hatred against a certain person, and desired to compass his death. With these feelings, the confessor said it was impossible that he could receive absolution. The Prince insisting that it should nevertheless be given him, the friar suggested that the matter should be referred to some other theologians. Don Carlos immediately summoned some monks from the convent of Atocha, and an Augustinian and a Trinitarian father,—in all, sixteen. Failing to convince these churchmen that his demand was reasonable, he next proposed, as a compromise, that he should be allowed to attend the communion next day, in order that the people might see him there ; but that the wafer given him should be unconsecrated. The monks with one accord told him that such a transaction would be nothing less than sacrilege. The Prior of Atocha, taking the Prince aside, suggested that if he would name the person whom he wished to kill, some means might yet be found of giving him absolution. Carlos coolly replied that it was his father. The singular conference broke up at two in the morning, and the Prince went home unabsolved, and therefore unfitted to partake in the Jubilee. This shocking avowal was immediately communicated by the Prior of Atocha to the King.

Philip II. left the Escorial on the 15th, and spent that night and the following day at the Pardo. Hearing that the King was expected there, Don Carlos made an appointment to meet Don John of Austria and the Prior, Don Antonio de Toledo, on the day of their arrival in the grounds of the palace, an appointment which they kept with the King's sanction. The only question connected with himself which the Prince asked was how his father had taken his failure to obtain the Jubilee ? They replied that His Majesty had been much displeased. After some further talk of no importance Don Carlos returned to Madrid.

On the 17th January the King was again in his capital. Accompanied by Don John of Austria, he immediately went to the Queen's apartments ; and they had not been there long when Don Carlos entered to pay his respects to him. For a considerable time before Christmas the father and son had hardly spoken to each other when they met ; but on this occasion the one was very respectful in his demeanour, and that of the other betrayed

neither anger nor displeasure. When Don Carlos retired he took Don John with him to his apartments, and there they remained closeted for two hours. Of what passed at this interview there are several accounts. One, perhaps the more probable one, is that Carlos repeated his former efforts to induce Don John to join him, informing him that he had ordered fresh horses to be ready for his departure; that he begged him to bring at midnight the order necessary for his embarkation, and a paper declaring himself prepared to serve him at whatever time or in whatever manner his service might be desired; and that Don John, to gain time, promised these papers by the next day at one in the afternoon, and on that condition was suffered to retire.[1] Another version is that Carlos, unable to prevail with his uncle, attacked him with sword or pistol, and that Don John defended himself until the servants, hearing a great noise, opened the doors and enabled him to withdraw.[2] A third account makes it appear that Carlos, having given up all hope of enlisting Don John on his side, inveigled him to his room in order to punish his treachery; that he had placed a loaded gun ready, but that one of his people had withdrawn the charge; and that, finding himself thus baffled, he had attacked him with another weapon, and with intent to take his life.[3]

Next day, the 18th of January, being Sunday, Don Carlos accompanied the King to mass. At one in the afternoon he received a note from Don John of Austria, excusing himself from keeping the appointment made the day before, being unwell, and proposing to wait on Don Carlos on the Wednesday following. The Prince himself then went to bed in order to avoid obeying any summons from the King, who, in fact, sent for him some time afterwards, and was informed that he was too unwell to rise. Some days before, the King had ordered prayers to be said in the churches of Madrid for the divine counsel and guidance in an affair of importance; and on this Sunday it was noticed that frequent messages passed between the King and his minister, Espinosa. After the arrest of Don Carlos these prayers and messages were connected by the courtiers with that event; but up

[1] An anonymous letter (26th Jan. 1568), but evidently written by some well-informed person, in the National Library at Lisbon. Despatch (25th Jan.) of Leon. Nobili, minister of the Duke of Florence.

[2] Despatch (5th Feb.) of Tourquevaulx, the French ambassador; despatch (25th Jan.) of M. A. Sauli, minister of Genoa; and *Relacion historica*, founded on information furnished by a chamberlain (*ayuda de camera*) of the Prince.

[3] Despatch (22d Jan.) of Sigis. Cavalli, ambassador of Venice. All these papers are printed in the Appendix B of M. Gachard's *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, vol. ii.

to the moment of its accomplishment, its approach does not seem to have been suspected.[1]

At eleven o'clock on Sunday night the King summoned the Prince of Eboli, the Duke of Feria, the prior Don Antonio de Toledo, and Luis Quixada, and addressed to them some words, such, they afterwards said, "as never man spoke before."[2] At midnight, accompanied by two chamberlains, a lieutenant, and a guard of twelve men, they proceeded to the apartments of the Prince. The King wore armour under his dressing-gown and a helmet on his head, and the Duke of Feria walked before him carrying a light. Don Carlos had lately caused to be made an elaborate apparatus for securing his bedroom door, with pulleys by which he could shoot or withdraw the bolts at pleasure as he lay in bed. By the King's order the Frenchman who had constructed this piece of machinery had now put it out of order. The party therefore entered the room without hindrance, the King keeping himself in the background until some of the others had seized the sword, dagger, and pistol which the Prince always placed by his bedside. Awakened by the noise, Carlos called out: "Who is "there?" "The Council of State," was the reply. He immediately jumped out of bed as if to seize his arms. Observing the King, who now stepped forward, he cried: "Does your Majesty "wish to kill me?" Philip assured him that no harm was intended, and that they were come solely for his good, and he advised him to return to bed. He then gave orders for the nailing up of the windows, so that they could not be opened, and for the removal of everything in the room that could be used as a weapon of offence; and he himself proceeded to make a careful search for the Prince's papers. These were found in a small box, which was at once carried off to the King's apartment. Amongst them was a list, in the handwriting of Carlos, of his enemies and his friends. The first was headed by the names of the King, the Prince of Eboli, and the Duke of Alba; the second, by those of the Queen, Don John of Austria, "my most dear and beloved "uncle," and Luis Quixada.

[1] On the 21st of August previous, the French ambassador informed Charles IX. that the King was much annoyed by the follies of his son, and that some people thought that, but for the talk it would create, he would shut him up in some tower to make him more obedient. On the 11th of Feb. 1568 the Venetian ambassador repeated that he had learned from the Bishop of Cuenca that for more than three years the King had been thinking of shutting up the Prince. Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, ii. 473, note. When, however, the imprisonment of Don Carlos did take place, none of the ministers ventured to say they had predicted it.

[2] Anonymous letters in National Library, Lisbon.

On finding himself a prisoner the unhappy Prince fell into a fit of passionate despair. He threw himself at his father's feet, and entreated that he might be put to death rather than shut up. "If you do not kill me I will kill myself," he cried, and thereupon tried to throw himself into the fire, but was held back by force by the Prior, Don Antonio. "To kill yourself would be the act "of a madman," said the King. "I am not mad," replied Carlos, "but driven desperate by your Majesty's manner of treating me." He then burst into tears, reproaching his father in a voice broken with sobs for his tyranny and harshness. "Henceforth," said Philip, "I am going to treat you not as a father, but as "a King."

For a week the room in which Carlos had been arrested served as his prison. He was in the custody of the Duke of Feria, and was carefully watched night and day, but he was waited on by his usual attendants. On the 25th of January he was removed to the last room in his suite of apartments, a room forming part of a tower, and having only one door and one window. The window was barred so that light entered it only at the top, and the fire-place was enclosed in an iron cage. Through the wall a hole had been pierced into the adjoining chamber, so that mass might be said there within hearing of the prisoner. All the household of the Prince, except the Count of Lerma, was dismissed, and five new gentlemen of the chamber were appointed. Feria gave place to the Prince of Eboli, who with his wife installed himself in the rooms adjacent to the tower. Carlos was thus placed under the absolute control of the man whom of all his father's courtiers he hated the most. When the favourite came to inform his prisoner of the new arrangement, the poor lad asked if the King was going to take from him his friend Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, one of his gentlemen, to whom, though he had but lately joined his household, he had become much attached. Ruy Gomez having replied that such was His Majesty's pleasure, Carlos sent for Mendoza, and putting his arms round his neck, said: "Don "Rodrigo, I am sorry never to have been able to show by any "act or deed the affection I feel, and will feel for you. May it "please God that the time may come when I may be able to "show it, as I certainly will." The young men parted with many tears on both sides.[1] When the Prince's establishment was broken up most of his horses were sold, and the few that remained were

[1] *Avviso a un Italiano*, MS. at Simancas, dated 27th January 1568, and printed by M. Gachard. *Don Carlos*, Appendix B, vol. ii. 689. Mendoza is described as a brave

given away, a few weeks afterwards, to the Archdukes and Don John of Austria, or sent to the King's own stables.

The King drew up minute instructions for the custody of his son, and watched over their rigid observance. Don Carlos was to be treated with the respect due to his rank, and his orders, in all things concerning his personal service and not opposed to the King's commands, were to be obeyed; but he was not to give orders about anything besides, nor was he to be allowed to send out messages. Every precaution was to be taken against his committing suicide; nothing with which he could hurt himself was to be left in his reach; no person was to enter his room armed with any kind of weapon; and at meals he was not to have the use of a knife, but was to be served with meat already cut up. He was never to leave his own room, and the door of it was always to stand ajar night and day. Two of his gentlemen were to be always in attendance in the antechamber, and at night one of them was to sleep in his room. He might have his breviary and books of devotion, but no others; and if he attempted to talk to any of his attendants about the cause or result of his arrest, no answer was to be made to him. No person but Eboli and the six gentlemen were to be allowed to enter his room, and they were all warned that all that was done within its walls was to be kept secret under pain of the King's extreme displeasure.

Measures which seemed to indicate an indefinite captivity may well be supposed to have renewed the despair into which Carlos had been plunged by his arrest. Inveighing against the King with his old vehemence, he tried to kill himself by starvation, and by swallowing a diamond ring. But the jewel passed harmlessly away, and the unwonted abstinence reduced him to a skeleton, but rather improved his health. For a time he appeared to have become resigned to his fate. At Easter he confessed, asked for the Sacrament, and took it with great devoutness. He obtained leave to have the laws of Castille read to him, and spent much of his time in writing, tearing up his manuscript, however, whenever it was finished. Perhaps he may have hoped, by submissive behaviour, to earn pardon and liberty. But, if this were his design, he had not patience to give the plan a long trial. His attempts at self-destruction were soon resumed. Having fasted for days together, he would consume enormous quantities

garbato youth, of much intelligence, appointed to the Prince's chamber by the King only four months before, and son to the Duke of Infantada.

of food at a sitting. As summer came on he would live for days on raw plums, drink perpetually of iced water, roll naked on the newly-washed floor, sleep without any covering, and sometimes cool his bed with ice. About the middle of July, having already eaten of several dishes, he devoured the whole of a highly-spiced partridge pie. This dinner was followed by so severe an indigestion that the physicians were called in. He refused all their remedies, was seized with chronic vomiting, and by the 19th his case was pronounced hopeless. Like one satisfied with the result of his efforts, Carlos from that time became calm and rational, and, except in declining medicine, as gentle and tractable as he had been in his illness at Alcalá. He sent for his confessor, and made his preparations for death with piety and decorum. He once asked to see his father; but Philip was cruel enough not only to refuse his request, but also to prevent the attendance by his sick-bed of the Queen and the Infanta. On the 22d Carlos dictated to his secretary a sensible will, by which he devised his mother's dowery of 200,000 crowns to the payment of his debts, and entreated his father to pay the remainder of their amount. He then distributed amongst certain servants and his friends such jewels and valuables as were still in his possession. Lerma, Quixada, Rodrigo de Mendoza, and others had each a keepsake, and even for Ruy Gomez there was a remembrance in token of goodwill and forgiveness. During his remaining hours Carlos lay with a crucifix on his bosom, reciting prayers, and listening to the consolations of his confessor. He professed himself at peace with all mankind, and only desired to live long enough to die on the 24th of July, the Vigil of the Feast of St. James. His wish was gratified, for he survived until one o'clock on the morning of that day. A few minutes before he expired he caused a consecrated taper to be placed in his hand, and the robe of a Franciscan and a Dominican hood to be laid on his bed, ready to enshroud his remains. The last words he was heard to utter were *Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori.*

In that age the death of Carlos was freely ascribed to violence. Brantôme and De Thou assert, the one that he was strangled with a towel,[1] the other that he was poisoned in a mess of broth.[2] The Italian Strada[3] and the Spaniard Cabrera[4] both hint that his

[1] Brantôme: *Discours* xli. *Art.* 2, *Don Carlos; Œuvres*, 7 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1822, i. p. 320.

[2] Jac. Aug. Thuanus: *Historiarum sui temporis, Liber* xliii. 7 vols. folio, Londini, 1733, tom. ii. p. 636.

[3] Strada: *De Bello Belgico*, tom. i. p. 343.

[4] Cabrera: *Felipe II.*, lib. vi. cap. 22, p. 477.

end was hastened by unnatural means. Antonio Perez, who had the best means of knowing the truth and the fiercest motives for blackening the reputation of Philip II., alleges that the Prince died of poison administered during the last four months of his captivity.[1] A modern historian, Llorente, relying upon certain contemporary memoirs, which he neither indicates nor ventures to cite as altogether authentic, says that he died of a purge given by the physician at a crisis of the case for the purpose of producing death.[2]

The manners of the age and the habits of royal families made it a matter of course that Philip II. should be charged with the murder of his son; and the mystery in which he shrouded the reasons for the arrest of Carlos, and the circumstances of his imprisonment, gave to the charge some additional colour of probability. For some days after the arrest the postmaster had strict orders to prevent the departure of any courier; and no private person on horseback or foot was permitted to leave the capital, the King being desirous that the first news at home and abroad should be given only by the pens of his own servants. On the morning succeeding the arrest he summoned his various councils, and briefly informed them with tears in his eyes that his duty to God and his regard for the welfare of the monarchy had compelled him to place the Prince, his son, in confinement. On the following day, the 20th of January, he was shut up with his most confidential ministers from one in the afternoon till nine at night. Meanwhile letters were despatched to the viceroys, grandees, prelates, generals of religious orders, and municipal and other authorities of the realm. They were informed that the King had "imprisoned his dearly beloved son for urgent and "essential reasons, conformable to the service of God and the "public weal;" and they were promised further information at

[1] Letter of Ant. Perez to Counsellor Du Vair, quoted by Raumer: *History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1835, i. p. 155. It must be added that Perez, in another letter quoted in the same work (i. p. 156), accuses Philip of having poisoned his queen Isabella, by giving her a draught under pretence of preventing a miscarriage, an accusation unsupported by other evidence, and disproved by many well-known facts. William the Silent, Prince of Orange, in his celebrated *Apologie contre la Proscription de Philippe II. présentée aux États Generaux des Pays Bas le* 13 *Decembre*, 1580 (Dumont: *Corps universel diplomatique*, 8 tom. fol., La Haye, 1726-31, tom. v. partie i. p. 389), denounced Philip II. as the murderer of his son, without saying how the murder had been committed, but alleging as its reason Philip's desire to contract a fourth marriage with his niece, the Archduchess Anne, for which the Pope would have refused a dispensation had there been an heir-apparent to the Spanish throne. This latter allegation is so contrary to facts and dates that it discredits the whole statement.

[2] Llorente: *Histoire de l'Inquisition*, 3 tom. 8vo, Paris, iii. p. 171, etc.

the proper time. The clergy were to retain the name of the Prince in the services of the Church, but they were forbidden to allude to him in their sermons. All were given to understand that discussion was to be avoided, and that addresses to the Crown were not desired. Only a small number of the replies to these circulars have been discovered; but there is reason to believe that most of them expressed a worthy confidence in the wisdom and justice of the King's conduct. The Constable of Castille[1] alone had the boldness to remark that, as the grandees had sworn allegiance to the Prince, it seemed to him that their opinion might have been taken before he was incarcerated. Aragon, as yet unstripped of her cherished liberties, is said to have meditated a deputation to ask for the Prince's enlargement; or to have replied that, as she had not yet done homage to the Prince as heir-apparent, she had no concern in the matter.

As usual, Philip II. hesitated over his next step. Virtually absolute in the greater part of his Spanish dominions, and wielding force sufficient to compel the submission of the rest, he nevertheless shrank from arousing in Spain an opposition like that in the Netherlands, which was now taxing to the utmost the resources of his vast monarchy. The feeling expressed by the Constable, that the rights of an heir-apparent were not to be dealt with at the mere pleasure of the Crown, was a feeling which had in other times kindled the flames of civil war, and there never was a time when civil war would have been more inconvenient to a King of Spain than the present. Philip felt that it would be imprudent to strip Carlos of his succession, or even to detain him long in captivity without the sanction of law. His choice lay between calling a Cortes and referring the matter to its deliberations, or instituting a process before the Council of State. Being no lover of popular assemblies, he seems to have chosen the latter alternative. Commissioners were appointed to collect evidence as to the conduct of the Prince, and as to the state of his mind; and the King himself frequently presided at their meetings, and heard the examination of witnesses. A large mass of testimony was taken; but the labours of the Commissioners were still incomplete when the death of the prisoner put an end to further inquiry.[2]

[1] Iñigo Fernandez de Velasco, Constable and Great Chamberlain of Castille and Leon, 4th Duke of Frias. He succeeded an uncle in these dignities in 1560, and died at Valladolid in 1585.

[2] Calvera (*Felipe II.*, 477) tells us that the process against Don Carlos was modelled on that of the Prince of Viana, eldest son of Juan II. of Aragon in 1460, and that all the papers relating to it were deposited at Simancas, by order of Philip II., in a green

The imprisonment of Don Carlos cast a great gloom over the Court and capital. The grief of the Queen, who was again pregnant, was so great that it was feared it might injure her health, or that of her future offspring. Doña Juana also evinced great sorrow, and the rejoicings for the birthday and majority of her son, King Sebastian of Portugal, were put off to a happier season. Don John of Austria appeared at Court in a mourning dress, which, however, at the King's desire he laid aside. Rumours of all kinds were whispered through the capital. Don Carlos, it was said, had been arrested and put in irons for conspiring against the life of the King, against the life of the Queen, for aiding and abetting the revolt in the Netherlands, for being a heretic, for planning a rebellion. These rumours were eagerly collected by the foreign ambassadors, who, as soon as they had obtained the withdrawal of the royal order forbidding the despatch of couriers, or had contrived to evade it, transmitted them to their several Courts, along with the solemn nothings communicated to them on the part of the King. These communications were made through Eboli or Espinosa, Philip affecting to be too much grieved to enter upon the painful subject himself. As their master evidently desired that it should be spoken of as little as possible, the more prudent of the courtiers, in the words of a contemporary writer, "looked in each other's faces in silence, "with their fingers on their lips." During the whole time of his son's confinement the King rarely left the palace, and, excepting for one short visit to Aranjuez never quitted the capital. From January to August he did not see the rising walls of his favourite Escorial. He appeared to be watching the feeling of Madrid and the kingdom, as if apprehensive of some outburst of sympathy with the incarcerated Prince.

Of an event which could not fail to arouse to the highest pitch the curiosity of every court in Europe it was necessary to give some official account to foreign powers. The first letters written on the subject by Philip II. were studiously ambiguous and obscure. If there were persons in the world with whom on such

box by themselves. Llorente, in his history of the Inquisition, reports that this box was carried off by Napoleon I., while Lafuente (*Hist. Gen. de la España*, xiii. 339) relates that it was brought from Simancas to Madrid in 1828 by order of Ferdinand VII., and that its subsequent fate is unknown. M. Gachard (*Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, ii. 515-520) has sufficiently disposed of these fables, old and new, and, on grounds which seem conclusive, shows that no process was commenced against Carlos at all, and that the proceedings which have hitherto passed under that name were restricted to the collection of evidence. He thinks it most probable that the notes of the evidence taken were destroyed by order of Philip II.

a matter he might have been expected to be candid, it was his aunt Catherine, Queen-Dowager of Portugal, mother of his first wife, and grandmother of Carlos; and his sister, the Empress Maria, and her husband, Maximilian II., who desired to have Carlos for a son-in-law. Yet to no one of these personages did he write in the confidential terms which seemed due to their near relationship and their affectionate interest in the prisoner's welfare. The three letters were in sense nearly the same. They were filled with tedious and pompous protestations of his lacerated paternal feelings, of the sacrifice he was making to his duty to God and his people, and they closed with dark intimations as to the cause of the arrest, as if it were something too dreadful to be told. "My resolution has been taken," he wrote to the Queen, "not on "account of any fault or disobedience or want of respect, nor as a "temporary and definite punishment, although for that there was "sufficient ground, nor even with the hope of amending my son's "disorderly life. The affair has another origin and root; its "remedy consists neither in time nor means, and it concerns in "the highest degree my duties to God and my realms." To the Empress he said nearly the same thing, adding that time and events having confirmed his judgment of his son's nature and disposition, "his duty to God and his States compelled him to "look forward, and, setting aside flesh and blood and all human "considerations, prevent those evils which would arise if he did "not apply this remedy and take this way." Dissatisfied with these unintelligible communications, the Queen of Portugal sent a special envoy to Madrid with a letter, in which she offered to go thither herself and tend upon her grandson. The envoy was also directed to endeavour to see the Prince; but access to the prisoner was refused, and the Queen's offer coldly declined. The Emperor and Empress were both of them greatly grieved by the news, and very anxious for fuller information. Maximilian was a good-natured, garrulous man, who, when other topics failed, would entertain the ambassadors with the history of his dyspeptic symptoms, and warn them, from his own experience, against excess in salad and prawns. For weeks he could talk of nothing but the news from Spain; he retailed to the Venetian envoy all the gossip of Madrid about the Prince, and he complained that the King was always making and breaking promises of a full account of the affair.[1]

[1] Despatches of Giov. Michiel, the Venetian ambassador at Vienna, from February 19 to September 2, 1568, copies of which have been kindly communicated to me by my friend, Mr. Rawdon Brown.

After much importunity Maria and Maximilian extracted from Philip II. the oracular declaration "that what had been done "was not a temporary expedient, nor was it to be changed in "time coming," an expression of regret that the contemplated marriage-tie between the families was impossible, and the advice to marry their daughter Anne to her other suitor, the King of France. But they would not acquiesce in these arrangements without another effort to induce their kinsman to change his mind. In spite of the repeated remonstrances of the two Spanish envoys, Maximilian replied that not being able himself to go to Madrid he was about to despatch thither his brother, the Archduke Charles, in order to mediate between the King and his son.[1]

At Paris the Spanish ambassador, Don Francisco de Alava, did not deliver the King's letter announcing the arrest until some days after that event had become the talk of the town. Queen Isabella, knowing nothing of her husband's motives and intentions, had been able to write nothing to her mother. Catherine de Medicis was therefore in a flutter of curiosity.[2] She complained of Alava's extreme reserve, and she and her son, Charles IX., vainly endeavoured to goad him into greater frankness by repeating and exaggerating the rumours which had reached them as to the Prince's heretical leanings, and his plans of parricide and rebellion. They were obliged to apply to the French ambassador at Madrid for "further accounts, and if possible true ones."[3]

Pope Pius V. first heard of the arrest of Don Carlos by way of France, and the reason assigned for it, in the report which reached him, was the discovery of heretical books in the possession of the Prince. He immediately sent for the Spanish ambassador,

[1] Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.* Some of the original letters of Philip II. to the Queen of Portugal and the Emperor and Empress will be found in Appendix B. ii. 647-653; and translations of those of Philip to Maximilian, 19th May, and Maximilian to Philip, 27th July, ii. 566, 574-5.

[2] Catherine, in her eagerness, went so far as to assert that she had learned many months before from the Admiral de Coligny, or some of his party, that there was on foot in Spain a serious plot which would prevent the King's journey to the Netherlands. Alava immediately rose and said that he was astonished to hear Her Majesty say that she had known such a thing and yet had kept it so long to herself; if she had not sufficient confidence in him as her son-in-law's representative she should have sent, if need be, twenty messengers to Madrid with the news. The Queen was much confused by this rejoinder, and the King sat peering at her from under his bonnet, as if enjoying her confusion. At length she fell upon the lame excuse for her silence that she attached so little importance to anything that fell from the Admiral that she did not think this communication worth repeating. This curious scene is related by Alava in a letter to the Duke of Alba of 19th March, an extract from which is printed by M. Gachard, *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, ii. 545-6. The conduct of Philip was not approved at Paris except by the House of Lorraine, but there was little sympathy with Don Carlos.

[3] Prescott: *Hist. of Philip II.*, pp. 3, 4.

Don Juan de Zuñiga, who, having assured him that the whole story was a malicious Huguenot fiction, had the mortification some hours later of having to carry to the Vatican a letter from his master announcing the main fact, and adding some further weight to the rest of the rumour by concealing the real cause under the usual veil of misty verbiage. Zuñiga and Granvelle did their utmost to assure the Pontiff that heresy had nothing to do with the Prince's arrest, though Granvelle's own letters to the King indicate that he himself held the contrary belief, to which the current of intelligence also inclined public opinion at Rome. Still unsatisfied, Pius wrote in his own hand to Philip, desiring to be informed of the truth, and he was more successful in reaching it than any of the King's own kindred. Under seal of the strictest secrecy, Philip replied with as much directness as his diffuse and tortuous style permitted.[1] "The Prince, his son," he said, "was "wholly devoid of aptitude for government; there was no hope "of his amendment," and "the greatest evils would arise from his "accession to the throne;" and therefore he had him placed in confinement while he, the King, was about to examine patiently the best means of attaining, without blame, the end which he had in view; that end clearly being to deprive Carlos of his hereditary rights. In delivering this letter the ambassador was ordered not to satisfy the curiosity which the Pope might perhaps show about the previous life of the Prince, and to excuse himself from entering into any details out of regard to the Prince's reputation. Pius, however, being amply furnished with such information by his own Nuncio, asked no questions, and professed himself satisfied with the King's reply.

Beginning, continuing, and ending under circumstances of so much mystery and suspicion, it was natural that the imprisonment of Don Carlos should be attributed by the public voice of Europe to the gravest and most occult reasons of State. When it was announced that he had died in confinement, of which no man could tell the cause, it was natural that it should be whispered at Madrid, and openly said at Paris and Vienna, that he had been put to death by order of the King. But the variety of shapes which the accusation took, and the variety of means to which the murder was ascribed, afford some presumption in favour of the accused.

[1] The original of this curious letter is not known to exist. A Latin translation of it, supposed to have been made from the original amongst the papers of Cardinal Alessandrino, has been preserved in *Annales Ecclesiastici*, auctore J. de Laderchio, vol. xxiii., Romæ, 1733, fol., p. 147, whence it has been exhumed by M. Gachard, and reprinted in Appendix B of *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, ii. pp. 650-1.

The official account of the Prince's illness and death,[1] put forth by the King's order, and attributing his death to his own imprudences, would not perhaps deserve much credit were it not rendered credible by the extravagant conduct of Carlos when he was yet at large, which rests on the testimony of many eye-witnesses who had no interest in inventing or exaggerating the facts which they have recorded. On the one hand, there is fair room for suspicion that that account is a specious story covering a cruel murder. It is certain that Philip II. intended to deprive his son of the succession; that he was in doubt as to the mode of accomplishing his intention, and feared the consequences of the act; that the death of Carlos relieved him from many difficulties and anxieties; and that on other occasions he had no scruples about quietly extinguishing a life which he found inconvenient. On the other hand, it must be admitted that if the King was capable of murder, the Prince was capable of making away with himself in the manner described, and that no evidence has yet been discovered which brings this particular crime home to the door of Philip. But accepting the official account as authentic in all its details, the question arises, How came it that Carlos was permitted to commit suicide? The vigilance which forbade a knife to be brought into his room, which covered his fireplace with a cage, might have also prevented him from rolling on the wet floor, or putting ice in his bed, or gorging himself with partridge pie. These acts arose out of despair; they might have been prevented by milder treatment or closer restraint; and it is difficult to believe that they would not have been prevented had the gaoler desired that his prisoner's life should be prolonged. Philip has not been convicted of the murder of his son, but he has confessed that he connived at his son's suicide.[2]

In the spring of 1568 Don Garcia de Toledo was recalled from his viceroyalty in Sicily; and being old and paralytic, he resigned his great office of General of the Sea, or Commander-in-chief of the Fleets of Spain. The King determined to confer it upon Don John of Austria, now in his twenty-first year. That he might have a lieutenant of skill and experience to instruct him

[1] *Relacion de la enfermedad y fallecimiento del Principe nuestro Señor*, in the *Coleccion de Documentos ineditos para la historia de España*, tom. xxvii. p. 38.

[2] Philip himself appears to have been conscious that his conduct was open to this grave objection. In a circular of instructions addressed to his ambassadors, 29th July 1568, it is anticipated and met by the argument that if Carlos had been restrained from committing the particular follies to which his death was ascribed, he would have found means of committing others which would have been quite as fatal. Gachard: *Don Carlos*, ii. p. 602.

in his duties, Philip recalled from Rome his ambassador, Don Luis de Requesens y Zuñiga, Grand Commander of Santiago, or, as he was popularly called, of Castille, and named him Vice-Admiral of the Fleet. Don John had been already invested with the insignia of the Golden Fleece. He now received from his brother, along with his commission, the following letter[1] as a manual of directions for his guidance in discharging his new and important functions. In its verbosity and frequent repetitions it is very characteristic of the writer, and his modes of thought and action.

BROTHER,—In addition to the instruction which you have already received as to what concerns the charges of Captain-General of the Sea, and the duties and exercise of it, on account of the great love which I bear you, and my great desire that both in your position, life, and habits, you should possess the esteem and good reputation at which persons of your quality ought to aim, to this end it has seemed right to me to advise you of that which I shall here set down. First, because the foundation and beginning of all things and all good counsel is God, I charge you to take, like a good and true Christian, this beginning and foundation in all that you undertake and do; and that you direct, as to your chief end, all your affairs and concerns to God, from whose hand must proceed all good, and the favourable and prosperous issue of all your voyages, enterprises, and days in the field (*jornadas*). Be also careful to be very devout and God-fearing, and a good Christian, not only in reality and in substance, but also in appearance and seeming, giving a good example to all; for by this means and on this foundation God will give you grace, and your name and reputation shall ever have increase. You shall take especial heed to frequent and give attendance upon confession, particularly at Christmas and Easter, and other solemn days, and to receive the most holy Sacrament, being in such place and situation as admits of it, and to hear mass every day that you are on shore, and to perform your private devotions and prayers, with much privacy (*recogimiento*), at an hour appointed for the purpose, fulfilling in everything the duty and observance of a strict Catholic and a good Christian. Truth in speaking and fulfilment of promises is the foundation of credit and esteem amongst men, and that upon which the confidence of society (*el trato comun y confiança*) is supported and founded. This is more required, and is much more necessary in men of very high rank (*los muy principales*), and who fill great public posts; because upon their truth and good faith depend the public faith and security. I urge it upon you most earnestly, that in this you take great care and heed, that it should be well known and understood in all places and seasons that full reliance may and ought to be placed in whatever you say; and that this is of the greatest importance not only to the public affairs under your charge, but also to your private honour and estimation. Administer justice equally and rightly, and when necessary, with the rigour and example which the case may require; showing, when needful, firmness and constancy; and when the nature of things and people concerned admit of it, be also pitiful and benignant, for these are virtues very proper to persons of your quality. Flattery, and words having that tendency, are ill-favoured (*de mal trato*) in those who speak them,

[1] Vanderhammen: *Don Juan de Austria*, fol. 42-4

and disgraceful and offensive to those to whom they are spoken. To persons who are inclined to hold such language, and to address you thus, maintain a countenance and bearing which may let all men see how little acceptable to you are such words and speeches. Treat in the same way those who in your presence speak ill of and carp at the honour and the persons of the absent, that you may afford no opening for such discourse and talk, because it is not only prejudicial and injurious to third parties, but it concerns your authority and esteem to put a stop to it (*deviarlo*). You must also live and walk with great circumspection as regards your own personal purity of life (*honestad*), because in this there is not only an offence against God, but it brings with it and causes many troubles (*inconvenientes*), and it greatly interferes with business and the fulfilment of duty, and from it often spring other occasions of danger, and evil consequence and example. Avoid as far as possible gaming, especially with dice and cards, for the sake of example to others, and because in this matter of gaming people cannot and do not act with the moderation and restraint which is required of persons of your degree; and many occasions occur in which men in high position lose their temper and lower themselves, of which loss of dignity is the result. I charge you, that if you should ever game for amusement, you observe in the pursuit the decorum due to your person and authority. Swearing, without very strict and compelling necessity, is much to be reproved in men and women of all classes, and it injures their reputation and especially that of men of high rank in whom it is most unbecoming and detrimental to their credit, dignity, and authority; wherefore I charge you to be very careful in this matter of swearing, and in no way to use oaths by the name of God, and other extraordinary oaths, which are not used and ought not to be used by persons of your quality; and that you let the same be understood by all the gentlemen and other persons who attend you, both by example and precept, that they may conform to the same. In what belongs to your table, food, and service, let everything be done with becoming decency, authority, and neatness; but also with great moderation and temperance, on account of the example you must set to all of the warlike profession which you have embraced, and because temperance and moderation are advantageous for your bodily health, and because your table will be the rule and standard of the tables of your officers. Be very careful to say to no man a word that can injure or offend him, and that your tongue be an instrument of honour and favour, and not of dishonour to any one. Those who do wrong and transgress, let them be punished justly and reasonably; but this punishment must neither be inflicted by your mouth with insulting words, nor by your hand. Likewise you must be very careful, that in ordinary intercourse and converse with men, you use modesty and calmness, avoiding heat of temper and loud words, which derogate and detract much from the authority of persons of your rank. You must also see that your own conversation, and the conversation held in your presence, may be honest and decent, as befits your quality and authority. In like manner, you must beware that in your intercourse with men, in general, of all classes, you preserve, with an affable, gentle, and courteous deportment, the becoming dignity (*decoro y decencia*) which is due to your person and charge; and that, with that affability which gains men's love, you likewise maintain the reputation and respect which you ought to possess. In winter, and at other times when you are not sailing and are on shore, and in the absence of the duties of your charge, to which your principal attention ought to be given, you may occupy yourself in active exercise, especially that which belongs to arms, in which you will also cause

the gentlemen who live with you likewise to engage, by which means they may avoid expense, pomp, and excesses; and that all addicting themselves to the true exercise of arms may by practice become expert cavaliers, and fitted for the purposes and occasions which may offer. In like manner you must avoid, and order others to avoid, waste and excess in dress, and equipment, and living, setting an example in what belongs to your own person and your servants. These are the matters of which it has occurred to me to remind you, trusting that you will act better than I have written. This letter is for yourself alone, and for this reason is written with my own hand. In Aranjuez, 23d of May 1568, I, the King.

YO EL REY.

FRIGATE.

CHAPTER IV.

FLEETS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

WE may here turn aside to cast a glance at the military marine of the Mediterranean in the sixteenth century, maintained under conditions from which every year further removes the armaments of our own time.

Of the Christian naval powers, Venice still took the lead. Her practice was to keep afloat and in commission only a small number of vessels which cruised in the waters of the Adriatic and the Levant, and visited, supplied, and relieved the garrisons of her various forts and dependencies extending from the lagoons to the Syrian shore. But her arsenal and dockyard contained at least two hundred vessels, with all the material necessary for fitting them out; and there was also in readiness for each a staff of officers and a part of a crew, so that a large fleet could be sent to sea at a very short notice.

The navy of the King of Spain was next in importance. The Emperor Charles V. always desired and endeavoured to maintain a fleet which should equal that of the Turk and afford his extensive sea-coast protection more efficient and less costly than provincial militias could supply. But his disastrous expedition to Algiers in 1541 had greatly weakened his maritime power, and the French and German wars, which followed, absorbed the resources which might have restored it. Philip II. took advantage of the return of peace to reinforce his navy, and soon found himself at the head of a hundred galleys. But the disaster at Gerbi in 1560 and the loss of twenty-three vessels in a storm off Herradura in 1562 so greatly reduced his fleet that, in 1563,[1] it

[1] *Relazione* of P. Tiepolo. 1563. Alberi, Serie I. vol. v. p. 45.

was estimated at no more than thirty-four sail. Year by year, however, it was increased in strength, and in 1570 the King's own galleys amounted to fifty-six, twenty-six being Spanish, twenty Neapolitan, and ten Sicilian; and it was supposed that with the assistance of hired vessels, the former number of one hundred might be reached. That was the number which Philip II. desired to maintain. Experience had shown that any increase of the Spanish navy led to a greater increase of that of the Turk. When Charles V. fitted out sixty galleys, Solyman next year sent eighty to sea; and when Philip had a hundred, the Turk within

BRIG.

a few months had a hundred and fifty. Philip therefore prudently resolved to withdraw from a ruinous race in which he was assured by his advisers that he must be distanced.[1]

The large proportion of hired vessels in the royal service was a peculiar feature of the navy of Spain. These were chiefly furnished by the rich trading nobles of Genoa, who had long been used to invest part of their wealth in war-shipping, and either to let it out to foreign Princes, or to employ it in private enterprises against the Turk and the pirates of Barbary. Giovanni Andrea Doria, nephew and heir of the great Andrea Doria

[1] *Relazione* of S. Cavalli. 1570. Alberi, Serie I. vol. v. pp. 171-2.

was the owner of ten or twelve war-galleys; they were hired by the King on the same terms as they had formerly been hired by the Emperor, and they formed an important part of the Sicilian squadron, of which Doria was commander-in-chief. The Lomellini and Centurioni had each four galleys, other Houses one or more; and the total number belonging to Genoese owners was about twenty-four or twenty-six. The Dukes of Savoy and Florence were also masters of eight or ten vessels each; and one or other of these squadrons, as well as a smaller number belonging to the Republic of Genoa and the Order of St. John, was usually in the pay of the King of Spain.[1]

SHIP WITH THREE MASTS.

The use of hired vessels in public naval armaments was repudiated and condemned by Venice; and it was attended by certain obvious disadvantages. The captains of these galleys were by birth or connexion members of mercantile houses; they were at least as greedy of gain as of glory; they were apt to consider their own profit more than the enemy's injury; and they preferred the safety of their craft to the success of their cause. The escape of the Turkish fleet at Prevesa, when hemmed in by the superior fleet of the Pope, the Emperor, and Venice, had been freely attributed to Andrea Doria's reluctance to risk his own galleys, and we shall find, in the course of this narrative, similar charges brought against his heir. On the other

1 *Relazione* of S. Cavalli. 1570. Alberi, Serie I. vol. v. pp. 171-2.

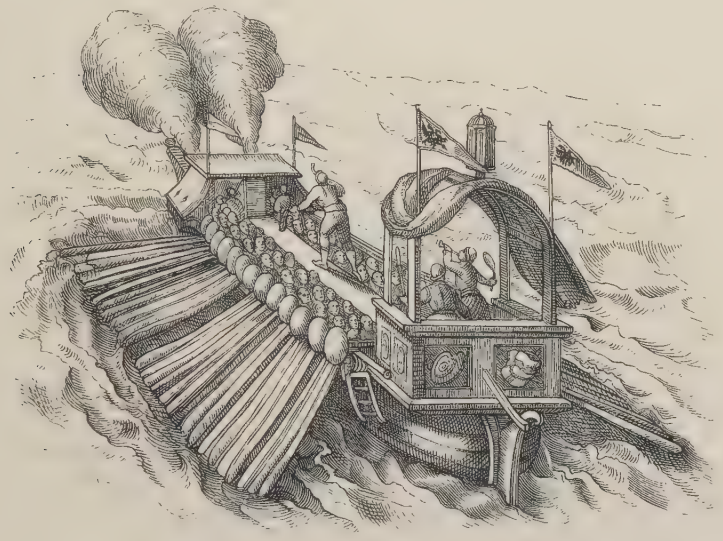
hand, the vessels which the King of Spain hired cost him considerably less than those which he owned. For each of Doria's galleys he paid 6000 ducats a year, while the annual expense of each of his own was 6700 ducats, exclusive of all charges for risk and for interest on the cost of construction. That the business of letting galleys to the Crown was highly lucrative was proved by the anxiety of the Catalonian capitalists to embark in it. Long ago they had offered to furnish the royal fleet with fifteen vessels; the money was said to be ready whenever the Cortes and the Crown could come to an agreement; and they were even willing to agree upon a monthly instead of a yearly rate. But the offer was not accepted, the King being, it was said, afraid that they might undertake piratical business on their own account, and get him into trouble by failing to discriminate exactly between the flags of Turk and Christian.[1] He had also to consider the possible consequences if he should cease to employ the galleys of princely and private owners, and leave these to be leased to the French King or bought by the Sultan. For many years therefore the royal navy of Spain remained largely leavened with hired foreign galleys.

The navy of France was at this time at its lowest ebb, the attention of the Crown being absorbed and its resources almost annihilated by the religious strife of Catholic and Huguenot. The Pope, who used to maintain a squadron at Civita Vecchia, was now almost destitute of shipping. Pius IV. having joined in the expedition to Gerbi, his little navy was almost entirely destroyed or taken, and as yet it had not been replaced by his successors.

The strength of all these fleets consisted, it will be observed, in light vessels impelled by oars, which preserved in a great degree the character of those ancient galleys in which the Carthaginian taught the Roman to meet and at last to vanquish him, or those older high-sterned barks in which the companions of Odysseus "smote with their vigorous strokes the eddying brine."[2] The war-galley of the sixteenth century was a vessel of one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty feet in length, with a breadth of beam from fourteen to twenty feet, and furnished sometimes with two and sometimes with three masts. On the poop and forecastle, which were elevated considerably above the deck, the guns were placed, and the musketeers plied their

[1] *Relazione* of S. Cavalli. 1570. Alberi, Serie I. vol. v. p. 173.
[2] *Odyss.* N., 73-92.

weapons. The prow was armed with a strong sharp-pointed peak, ten to fourteen feet long, plated with iron, a formidable instrument of attack, when the career of the vessel was urged by from twenty to twenty-six pairs of long oars, each oar being pulled by from three to six pairs of vigorous arms. The rowers sat on benches firmly fixed between the ship's side and a strong central division passing from stern to prow. Along this division, on a level with the shoulders of the rowers as they sat at work, ran a gangway called the coursie (*corsia* or *cruxia*), on which the officers on duty paced to and fro from the poop to the forecastle.

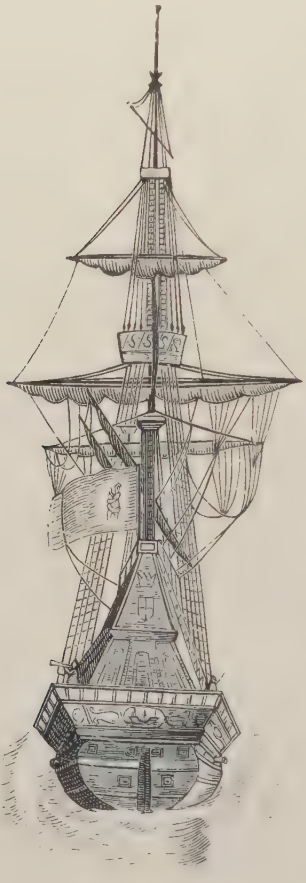


GALLEY FIRING HER FORECASTLE GUNS.

The slaves were partially screened from shot by high bulwarks; their benches were about four feet apart, and their oars from thirty to forty feet long, one-third being within and two-thirds without the vessel. The artillery consisted of a large traversing gun on the forecastle, flanked by two or four smaller pieces; and ten to twenty smaller cannon mounted, sometimes in two tiers, on the poop. The larger gun carried balls from forty to sixty pounds, the smaller pieces were usually five or ten pounders.

The galley had a single deck. Below this deck the space was divided into six compartments, each distinguished by a special name. These were (1) the cabin of the poop (*camera di poppa*), set apart for the use of the captain, the officers called the gentlemen of the poop, and distinguished guests or passengers; (2) the

second cabin (*scandolaro, escandalar*), where the inmates of the poop-cabin usually dined, and where they kept their arms and effects and wine; (3) the companion (*compagna*), where the salted provisions were stored; (4) the bread room (*pagliolo*); and (5 and 6) the middle cabin (*camera di mezzo*), and the cabin of the prow (*camera di prora*), which formed one long apartment entered by two doors, one near the mast and the other near the forecastle, and occupied by sails, cordage, powder, ammunition, and other marine stores, and by the sailors, amongst whom berths were provided for the chaplain and barber-surgeon.



SHIP—STERN VIEW.

The *galeasse* was in form and style a three-masted galley, but of larger size and weightier construction. It was impelled by a similar number of oars; but these were heavier and longer, each requiring seven men to work it, and they were placed at greater distances apart. The poop and forecastle were proportionally loftier and stronger, and besides the central gangway there was a narrow platform round the sides of the vessel, upon which the musketeers could stand or kneel to fire through the loopholes of the bulwark. The *galeasse* carried from sixty to seventy pieces of ordnance, three of them being heavy traversing guns, throwing balls of fifty or eighty pounds weight; the prow was armed with ten, and the poop with eight, smaller pieces; and the rest, from thirty to fifty pounders, were placed between the benches of the oarsmen.

The ship (*nave*) differed from the *galeasse* in being without oars, and depending for movement wholly upon its sails. It was of much more massive construction, and of a more rounded form, and its hulk rose from the water to a height equal to one-third of its entire length. It had two gun-decks, running the whole length of the vessel,

over which its lofty poop and forecastle, also heavily armed, towered like fortresses. Over the elaborately-carved stern hung the great lantern (*fanale* or *fanal*), the symbol of command, by which the different ranks of captains and admirals were distinguished, and which was often a work of art designed and executed by the best sculptors of the day. In general appearance the ship bore a nearer resemblance than any other vessel of the sixteenth century to the men-of-war of St. Vincent and Trafalgar. The ships in the fleet of the League were by no means amongst the largest of their class; none exceeded 2000 *salme* in burden. Yet upwards of forty years before, the famous galleon or *cinquereme*, constructed at Venice under the direction of Vittore Fausto, a man of letters with a happy turn for shipbuilding, was of six times greater capacity; only twelve years before, a vessel of still larger dimensions had gone down in a squall, in the port of Malmocco;[1] and many ships of 3000 to 5000 *salme*[2] were still conveying the merchandise of Venice to the various marts of the world. The crews of ships varied in number; but it was estimated that for each one hundred *carra*[3] burden there should be eighteen men; and, therefore, those in the fleet may be supposed to have been fully manned if they mustered one hundred and fifty men each.

The brigantine was a small half-decked vessel with two masts,

[1] A. Tal: *Archaeologie Navale*, 2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1840, i. 380, ii. 207.

[2] Of this weight I can give no satisfactory account. The *Diccion. de la Acad. Española* makes *salma* synonymous with *tonelada*, "ton." Baretti (*Dizion. Ital. Ing.* 4to, Firenze, 1819) defines *salma* (*somo peso*) "a load or burden," and *in termine marinesco*, "25 lbs.," a definition not applicable to the present case. "SALMA, Sicil. s. f. Salme, mesure de capacite pour le vin et le froment. La salme ordinaire contient 16 tomoli. Le tomolo a la valeur d'un décalitre et $\frac{3}{4}$. [*Ten litres*, of which one is equal to about a quart.] La grande salme est égale à 20 tomoli."—A. Tal: *Glossaire Nautique*, Paris, 1848, 4to. The *Diz. della Ling. Ital.*, 7 vols. 4to, Bologna, 1824, calls it a *misura di capacità usata in Sicilia pel frumento*, etc., *composta de sedici tomoli, e la salma grossa, di venti tomoli;* but the word *tomoli* is not noticed in its place or explained. Gio Florio, in his *Q. Anna's New World of Words*, fol., London, 1611, defines *tomolo* or *tombolo*, as "a measure of corne, about a bushell of ours." The Spanish definition of *salma*, making it equivalent to our ton, appears inadmissible when applied to the facts before us. The Italian measurement is probably more correct. Taking the bushel as equal to 54 lbs. (good wheat will weigh from 52 to 56 lbs. per bushel), the *salma* of 16 *tomoli* would be equal to 864 lbs., and the *salma grossa* of 20 *tomoli* to 1080 lbs., and $2\frac{1}{2}\frac{6}{7}$ of the lesser *salma* and $2\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{7}$ of the greater would make a ton. A vessel of 2000 *salma* would, therefore, be equivalent to one of $771\frac{3}{7}$, or $981\frac{9}{11}$ of our tons.

[3] Of *Carra*, as a determinate weight or measure, I can find no account. It seems to be used for *Carrata*, the load of a carro, and here that would be equivalent to a ton. Florio translates the word, "all manner of cartes and waines." It has probably much the same meaning as *salma*. Tal does not mention the word in his *Glossaire Nautique*, except as "bas lat., s. f., nom d'un navire qui n'etait sans doute autre que la Caraca ou "la Carracca."

each carrying a large sail stretched on a yard longer than the mast, sails whose wing-like sweep lend a charm to the Mediterranean prospect. It was also propelled by thirty to thirty-four oars, each oar being managed by one man. Two or three light guns formed the armament of the brigantine. The frigate was a brigantine on a smaller scale, with fewer oars and a single mast.

In the sixteenth century a Mediterranean fleet was usually officered by an admiral and his vice-admiral; a commissary (*proveditore*), who superintended the department of supplies and finance, and who had under him a purveyor (*munitionero*), usually employed ashore; a paymaster; an auditor or criminal judge, whose place was in the last ship; a physician (*medico*) and his apothecary (*speziale*), who had the charge of one or more hospital-vessels (*pulmonare*); and a butcher (*macellero*), whose business it was to select and kill fresh meat for the fleet.[1]

Each ship was commanded by a captain, who had under his charge, according to the size of his vessel, one or more young men of family, who were called gentlemen of the poop, and who, like our modern midshipmen, were serving their apprenticeship to the sea. Of these volunteers the practice of the Venetian navy allowed two to a galley and four to a *galeasse*. Next in rank was the master (*patrone*), who appears to have discharged the duties of first lieutenant; and after him came the boatswain (*comito*) and his mate (*sotto-comito*), the pilot and his mates (*consiglieri*), and the keeper or driver (*agozzino*) of the galley-slaves. A chaplain superintended the spiritual concerns of the officers and crew, and a barber-surgeon tended their bodies. Two artillerymen and two assistants served the ordnance; there was an armourer to attend to the arms; and a staff of four carpenters looked after the repairs of the vessel. The crew consisted of eight sailors called helmsmen, eight first-class and sixteen second-class seamen; and the gang (*ciurma*) of slaves amounted in a galley of fifty oars to one hundred and fifty or two hundred men.[2]

The galley slavery of the Mediterranean was a marked and distinctive feature of the social life of the sixteenth century. For most of the southern States of Europe that branch of the naval

[1] A. Tal: *Archaeologie Navale*, 2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1840, ii. p. 203.

[2] Uberto Foglietta (*Della Republica di Genova*, Roma, 1559, sm. 8vo) estimates the annual expense of maintaining a fleet of fifty galleys at 142,000 crowns. He supposes the fleet to be in harbour seven months, at a monthly cost each galley of 120 crowns a month, and at sea, five months, at a monthly cost each galley of 400 crowns a month, making 42,000 and 100,000 crowns respectively. Each galley when at sea is supposed to carry from fifty to sixty men.

The following list of the officers and men of a ship of war, with their rates of pay, is

service was used for purposes which are now attained by prisons, public works, and penal settlements. The benches of the unhappy slaves of the oar brought into close contact men of all countries and conditions, and all varieties of moral character. The Moslem from the Bosphorus, from Tunis, or the slopes of Atlas, here mingled with Greek and Latin Christians of all races and languages. Here, side by side in common misery, sat the brave soldier whom the fate of war had made a captive, and the wretch who was paying the penalty of the most odious crimes; the gallant gentleman who had shone in the princely tilt-yard or at royal banquets, and the outcast whose home was the street or the pier; the man of thought and feeling whose conscience refused to receive unquestioned the faith as it was in the Inquisition at Valladolid or Rome, and the ruffian who stabbed for hire in the tortuous lanes of Valencia or beneath the deep-browed palaces of Naples. Turkish officers, wont to ride in the gorgeous train which attended the Sultan to the mosques of Constantinople, were at this moment chained to the oars of Don John of Austria; and knights of Malta were lending an unwilling impulse to the vessels which Ali Pasha was leading through the channels of the Archipelago to do battle with the fleet of the Holy League. The Turkish galleys being more exclusively rowed by foreign captives, advantage in a naval action was embittered to the Christian combatants by the knowledge that their artillery, which mowed down their turbaned foes, was also dealing agony and death amongst

furnished by Pantero Pantera, himself a sea captain, in his *Armata Navale*, 4to, Roma, 1614:—

	Daily Rations.	Monthly Pay in Crowns.
Captain (*Capitano*); who, besides, was allowed two *piazze morte*, or the pay and rations of two men not required to serve	4	10
Chaplain (*Capellano*)	2	4
Gentleman of the poop (*Nobile di poppa*)	none.	none.
Master (*Patrone*)	2	5
Boatswain (*Comito*)	3	5
Second-Boatswain (*Sotto-Comito*)	2	3
Pilot (*Piloto*)		
Pilots' Mates (*Consiglieri*), two or more according to the size of the vessel, each	2	4
Keeper or Driver of the galley-slaves (*Agozzino*)	2	3
Barber-Surgeon (*Barbiero* or *Chirurgo*)	2	4
Two Artillerymen (*Bombardièri*), each	2	4
Two Assistant-Artillerymen (*Aiutanti di Bombardièri*)	1½	2½
Four or five Carpenters (*Maestranza*); Master Carpenter (*Maestro d'ascia*), Caulker (*Calafato*), Barrel-maker (*Barilaro*), Oarmaker (*Remolaro*), and sometimes a helper (*Garzone*), each	2	4
Eight Helmsmen (*Timonieri*).		
Eight Seamen of the first class (*Marinari*). The first four were called from their rations *parte e mezza*; they were under the immediate orders of the Boatswain, and their place was by the mainmast; they received each	1½	2
The second four were called *Proveri*; they were younger men, and were under the immediate orders of the second Boatswain, near the mizzen-mast; they received each	1	1½
Sixteen Seamen of the second-class (*Marinari di guardia*).	1	2
The gang of rowers (*Ciurma*) consisted of the three classes (1) Captives (*Schiavi*); (2) Criminals (*Sforzati*); and (3) Volunteers (*Buonevoglie*). The two former were of course unpaid; the latter received each	1	2

fettered friends and brethren, who an hour before had hailed with hope and exultation the approach of the flag of their country and their creed.

There is an excellent account of sea life in 1589 in *Les Voyages du Seigneur de Villamont*,[1] who sailed from Venice to Limisso in Cyprus in a large *nave* laden with wine. He sailed on the 19th April, and landed at Limisso 12th or 13th May.[2] The captain was Candido di Barbaro, a gentleman of Venice, who maintained great discipline on board, and allowed no one to sit down to table till he was seated with his "nocher" and "escrivain."[3] From the hold to the deck of the poop there were "plutost sept étages que "six et du coste de la proue six plutost que cinq." The lowest down of the poop decks seems to have been the "salle" where they dined; over that the "chambre" of the "escrivain" and that of the pilgrims, of whom Villamont was one, with a great place in front which served for the management of the sails and cordages; next the "chambre du Patron," and also a place in front where was "la boussolle et le Pilote pour gouverner le nave;" and next highest the "chambre" of the Pilote, with another place in front; and over this, in case of necessity, another "chambre" could be made. The day after they sailed the Patron mustered all hands, and standing with his "escrivain" on the poop, and the "nocher" and men below, he (the Patron) asked their names, divided them into four watches, and then made them a speech, in which he exhorted them to be quick and ready in their duty, obedient, honest, and inoffensive to all on board, and likewise to forbear from blasphemy and sodomy under pain of the "bas-"tonnade." Any who might be found guilty of the latter vice should be attached to the "cadene," and not released until they returned to Venice, when they would be tried by law. Drink was then served out, after which the Patron addressed the passengers, and admonished them to behave with propriety. Every evening the *Ave Maria* was sung, and on Saturday the Litanies and *Salve regina;* and every morning the "Moressis du vaisseau "chantoyent leur prières à haute voix, lesquelles finies donnent le "bon jour au Patron." The feeding on board was rough but wholesome, the wine being half watered. However, each pilgrim with any foresight carried a barrel of wine and some provisions of his own, and Villamont had a box of pine-wood, five feet by two feet, to keep them in, which also served him to spread his "matelos" on. He placed it on the poop, and seems to have slept there,

[1] Lyon, C. Larist, 1607, 8vo. [2] pp. 179-212. [3] p. 182.

because, though the wind entered on all sides, he was tolerably protected from rain unless it was blowing in in front, and was at a distance from "les puanteurs de la nave." He mentions particularly that a knife, fork, spoon, and glass were set down at table for each guest. The mariners bore an ill name, and were said to be very insolent to pilgrims and passengers, "jusques à les poin-" çonner par le derrière ;" but Villamont never experienced any such indignity, and believes it to have been untrue that it was often offered. They were, however, infested with "poux," and stole what they could, and it was better to keep as far from them as possible. From Limisso Villamont went to Jaffa in a Greek bark laden with sand and commanded by a rascally master. The passage was rough, bad, and long, being five days. From Venice to Jaffa they were thirty-five days on shipboard, including four or five spent at Cyprus.[1]

"If there be a hell in this world," said a rimer for the people in the sixteenth century, "it is in the galleys where rest is un-" known."[2] Hard work, hard fare, hard usage, exposure to all kinds of weather and to many kinds of danger, the utter absence of any comfort or sympathy in suffering and any protection from wrong, the perpetual presence of cruel tormentors and vile companions, tasked to the utmost man's animal instinct to cling to life. The worst prison on shore seemed preferable to the galley's roofless dungeon, where the wretched inmates were liable always to be flogged, often to be drowned, and sometimes to be shot. When the novelists of those days, therefore, wished to plunge their heroes in the lowest depths of misery, they consigned them to the galleys.[3] The greatest of them all, Cervantes, had himself tasted of that

[1] Juan Calnete de Estrella, in his *Viaje del Principe D. Phelipe desde España à las tierras de la baxa Alemaña*, Anvers, 1552, 4to, f. 10, describes the loss of the galley "Leona" of Naples by striking on a sunken rock close to the "lanterna" at the entrance of the harbour of Genoa, 25th or 26th November 1548. The gentlemen were saved, some by swimming ; but most of the crew seem to have been lost, and a great deal of property, and the "*capilla*" of the Prince which was on board was greatly damaged. The Christian captive in a Turkish galley in Spanish waters, "with his hands upon the oar "and his eyes upon the land," on approaching the white towers and green palaces of Algiers, was a favourite hero of the ballad poetry of Spain. See Duran : *Coleccion de Romances Castellanos*, 1828-32, 5 vols. 8vo. ; tom. ii. p. 140, *Romances que tratan de canticos.* In Southey's *Common-Place Book*, iv. 636, are some lines from a translation or continuation of *Orlando Furioso* by Nicolas Espinosa, on which he remarks that "one would think he had been a galley-slave."

[2] *Vita crudele et spietata che fanno quelli che vengono condannati in galera ;* a poetical tract in *ottava rima* of four leaves, 12mo, Viterbo et Pistoia, undated, but probably about 1580.

[3] An excellent description of galley life is given by Mateo Aleman, in the last chapters of *Guzman de Alfarache.* When marched across country, as the slaves sometimes were in Spain, they committed all sorts of depredations at which their officers, who shared in the profit, winked, and they were the terror and the locusts of the districts through which they passed.

misery; if he had not tugged a Barbary oar, it was because he was disabled by his hand maimed at Lepanto; and in his tale of the Captive, he has commemorated some of his sufferings and exploits. At that time the favourite happy ending of a romantic story was the escape from bondage, with its stratagems and hair-breadth risks, and the love which contrived or protected it, the white hand signalling from the lattice, the midnight flight to the beach, the sail furtively spread to the prospering gale, and Fatima or Zara with her jewels and bags of gold carried off to Spain to the font and the altar, and a life of orthodox connubial bliss as Carmen or Dolores.

The gang of galley-slaves was seated in close order on benches covered with coarse sacking, rudely stuffed, over which were thrown bullocks' hides. Five or six of them occupied a bench ten or eleven feet long. To a footboard beneath each man was attached by a chain ending in an iron band, riveted round one of his ankles. The benches were so close together that as one row of men pushed forward their oar, the arms and oar of the row behind were projected over their bended backs. The size and weight of the oar were so great that, except at the end where it was tapered to a manageable size, it was necessary to work it by handles fixed to the side. The slave to whom the end was allotted was always the strongest of the oarsmen; he was captain of the oar, and directed the movements of the others. He was called the strokesman (*vogavănte*); the next to him was the man of the gunwale (*posticcio*, *posticci*); the third was called the *terzarolo*, the third man; the fourth, *quartarolo;* and so on in numerical succession. Of the oars, the pair which were most difficult to work, of which the skilful working was most important to the progress of the galley, and to which the stoutest crews were attached, were the stroke-oars, those which were nearest to the stern of the galley. The captains of these stroke-oars were called the *spallieri*, or men of the back benches (*spalle*); the best of the two men directed the oar on the right side of the galley. The captains of the pair of oars next the prow were also important rowers, although their benches were contemptuously called the *coniglie*, the rabbits, being occupied by the weaker men, and they themselves the *coniglieri*. The captains of the stroke oars were exempt from all labour but rowing, and their crews were employed only in serving on the poop, or in ringing the bells, or in other lighter duties. The care of the cables, anchors, and other apparatus of the forecastle devolved on the captains of the foremost oars.

The slaves were overlooked by the boatswain (*comito* or *comite*). His place was on the gangway, close to the sternmost oars, where he was at all times within hearing of the orders of the captain. Along the gangway, at regular intervals, his mate and the driver were posted, so that the conduct of each slave was under inspection. The oars were put in motion or stopped by the sound of a silver whistle, worn by the boatswain, who, with his mates, was armed with a heavy whip of bull's sinew to stimulate the exertions of the slaves. When it was necessary to continue the labour for many hours without respite, they would administer, in addition to the lash, morsels of bread steeped in wine, which they put in the mouths of the men as they rowed. If in spite of these precautions a slave sank from fatigue, he was whipped until it was evident that no further work was to be obtained from him, and then thrown either into the hold, where amongst bilge water and filth he had a chance of recovering his consciousness, or, if his case appeared desperate, into the sea. The misery of their position appeared capable of no alleviation beyond that which may have been found in the interest or pride which their captain might be supposed to take in keeping the crew of his galley in good working condition. Yet this life of privation and suffering did not deter some adventurers from selling their liberty for a price, and going of their own free will to wear the chain amongst the outcasts of society.[1]

The gang was divided into three classes,—the convicts (*sforzati*), the slaves (*schiavi*), and the volunteers (*buonevoglie*).[2] The convicts were not allowed to leave the galley, and were always either chained to their benches, or wore their chains attached to a manacle. Their heads and beards were wholly shaved. Besides labouring at the oar, they had to make the sails and awnings, and do all the hard work on board. The slaves were generally Moors, Turks, or negroes. Of these the Moors were reckoned the best and stoutest, and the negroes the worst,

[1] Archenholtz, writing in the eighteenth century (*Tableau de l'Italie*, trad. de l'Allemand, Bruxelles, 1788, 2 vols. sm. 8vo. i. 132), says the Genoese have a way of filling their rowing-benches which seems incredible, "for may one not well believe the "life of a galley-slave to be the last degree of human misery?" People are always found, he relates, to sell their liberty, usually for a year, for two sequins. The money is usually spent at once "au cabaret," and the man taken on board, stripped, and chained. There is no difference in the treatment of the greatest criminal and "un "semblable drôle." During the year he is often inclined for a debauch; a little money is again given him, a new contract is made for a further term, and the result is that the poor wretch rarely recovers his liberty at all (p. 133).

[2] In Spanish, "forzados," "esclavos," and "*gente de buena boya.*"—*Instruccion al Conde de Niebla: Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. p. 400.

many of them dying of sheer melancholy. Like the convicts, the slaves were never freed from their chains; their chins were shaved, but a tuft of hair was left on the crown of each of their heads. When on board they were chiefly engaged at the oar; but on them devolved the labour of bringing wood and water, and the other hard work on shore. These two classes of rowers were fed on a daily diet of thirty ounces of biscuit, with water, and on alternate days with an added ration of soup composed of three ounces of beans and a quarter of an ounce of oil for each man. At sea, however, the soup was often withheld on account of the difficulty of cooking it, and because that luxury was supposed to make them heavy and dull at work. Miserable as this fare was at the best, its materials, furnished by knavish contractors, were often of the worst quality, and to this cause was attributed much of the sickness which had so weakened the force of the Venetian fleet. Four times a year, on the great festivals of the Church, the convicts and slaves had a ration of meat and wine. The third class, the volunteers, were often convicts who had served their time, and either chose to remain at the oar, or were detained to work out the value of money advanced to them from the ship's chest. They were allowed to go all day about the galley with only a manacle on one wrist or an iron anklet on one leg; but at night, when the driver went his rounds, he chained them to their benches with the rest. The heads and chins of the volunteers were shaved, but they were marked by the hair left to grow on their upper lips. They received the same rations as the seamen, and the same pay, two crowns a month.

The whole gang was clothed alike, the volunteers at their own cost. Each man had, or was supposed to have, two shirts and two pair of linen breeches, a woollen frock, usually red, and a red cap, a pair of socks, a long greatcoat of coarse cloth, a pair of winter socks of the same material, and a pair of shoes for work on shore. Two blankets were also provided for each bench. It must be presumed, that these blankets and each man's spare clothes were stowed away under the benches, for no chests or lockers or any kind of storeroom seem to have been allowed. In a company, therefore, so largely leavened with thieves it is probable that, for many of its members, garments, not actually in wear, had but a brief practical existence.[1]

[1] In the public picture gallery at Amsterdam there is an interesting picture by H. C. Vroom (*Catalogue*, No. 351) of the sinking of some Spanish galleys off Gibraltar by the Dutch fleet under Heemskerck in 1607. The two Spanish vessels in the front of the picture give a very clear idea of the arrangements on board a galley of those days. The

Besides the privileges accorded to physical strength, which have been already noticed, there were a few rewards held out to superior skill and intelligence. Each galley had its band of trumpeters, and vessel vied with vessel in the quality of its music. These musicians, usually eight in number, received each half the daily ration of a volunteer. The long boat was under the care of a keeper; each cabin had its waiter; the captain employed a clerk; the barber-surgeon required an assistant; some of the officers had servants, and all these petty officials were usually promoted to their slender emoluments from the gang. The middle benches near the cooking-house were generally occupied by the cooks of the various messes. Some of the rowers were also specially licensed to trade in a small way as victuallers; and the privilege was so profitable that officers of the ship were sometimes tempted to share in the venture and wink at gross abuses and extortion.[1]

The instructions issued to a Spanish Admiral early in the seventeenth century[2] sufficiently indicate some of the abuses from which the Crown desired to protect itself on the one hand, and its galley-gangs on the other. The officers in immediate charge of the convicts and slaves, if any of these contrived to escape, were to supply others at their own expense; or if that could not be, were to take their places at the oar.[3] Care was enjoined that the gang should be provided with good and sufficient food and clothing, and that they should not be employed, in port and during the winter, in work unconnected with the naval service.[4] Neither convicts nor volunteers were to be detained beyond the terms for which they were condemned or had engaged to serve.[5] Gentlemen, it was said, were no longer to be punished by sentence to the galleys, on account of the inconveniences which time had shown to arise from the practice; and if such persons were sent, they were not to be received. Adventurers serving as soldiers at their own charges were to be enrolled according to their capabilities and the necessities of the service, and those of them who were too poor to maintain themselves might receive the King's rations.[6] Each galley was to be furnished with 11,000

shaven-headed slaves are very closely packed on their benches, the soldiers stand on a narrow platform running round the side of the vessel. The stern is covered with an arched framework, as if to be covered with tarpauling. On the prow are two guns. The unhappy vessels are receiving a plunging fire from the musketeers on board the high Dutch man-of-war.

[1] Pantera: *L'Armata Navale*, p. 135.

[2] *Instruccion al Conde de Niebla para el cargo de Capitan General de los Galeros de España*, 1603: *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. pp. 393-418.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 400.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 398.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 399, 400.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 412.

ducats annually for its expenses, and 1000 more for extraordinary charges; the money to be kept in a chest with four keys, and disbursed under strict rules and close supervision.[1] It was rigidly forbidden to encumber the vessels with merchandise or excessive baggage.[2] The arms were to be kept very neat and clean, and given out to the soldiers only when required for use. Extravagance was to be avoided in the wear and tear of flags and pennants, and in gilding and painting poops.[3] The Admiral himself was not to keep more than eight servants, the number allowed to the Marquis of Santa Cruz, and these were to be able-bodied men enrolled amongst the soldiers, of whom forty served on board each galley.[4] Officers and men were ordered to lead good and Christian lives, under the inspection of the chaplain-priest who was attached to each galley, to confess them and preach on fitting occasions, he himself being subject to the chaplain of the Admiral. By this chaplain general cases of heresy were to be dealt with; but he was warned to see that men did not affect heterodoxy as a method of escaping from the oar.[5]

The suggestion that the chances even of the Inquisition might be preferred to further endurance of the lash of the boatswain, throws some light on life in a galley, which may be better illustrated by a few incidental expressions of the elder nautical writers, than by any detailed description of life on the rowing-benches. Crescentio, in explaining the different call-words which the gang, composed of men of many different tongues, must learn to understand and obey, says they soon learn it, "for these wretched "people are governed solely by the laws of Draco, and every "mistake is paid for in life's blood."[6] Pucci, in laying down the rule that none but officers shall beat the rowers,[7] confirms the sketches which poets and novelists have drawn of galley life, and in which the bare backs of the slaves are constantly quivering under the hogshead's hoop or the salt eel's tail.[8] In urging the great advantage and positive necessity of hospital-ships being

[1] *Instruccion al Conde de Niebla para el cargo de Capitan General de los Galeros de España*, 1603; *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. p. 402. [2] *Ibid.* p. 408.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 410. [4] *Ibid.* p. 410. [5] *Ibid.* p. 403.
[6] Crescentio: *Nautica Mediterranea*, p. 141.
[7] Emilio Pucci, quoted by Crescentio: *Nautica Mediterranea*, p. 150.
[8] M. Aleman, in *Guzman de Alfarache*, part ii., frequently alludes to the hoop, *arco de pipa*, and *escandalero*, rope's end, which the English translator (James Mabbe, as it is supposed, who writes under the punning pseudonym of Diego Puede-ser) renders "salt "eel's tail," using a metaphor which may have been common in the navies both of England and Italy, as appears by the use of *anguilla* in a similar sense in the *Vita crudele* above quoted (p. 33). *Guzman de Alfarache* was published, the first part in 1599, the second in 1605, and the English translation in 1630.

provided in every fleet, Pantera writes with an earnestness which creates a strong suspicion that the provision was seldom made; and he uses as an argument the forlorn condition of the sick or wounded rower, "who, having no place of repose but the bench to "which he is chained, is, by reason of the narrow space, the per-"petual noise, and the scant pity bestowed on him by his fellows, "in perpetual peril of death, whereby, indeed, many good rowers "are often lost."[1]

Yet the Knight of the Order of Christ, who advocated the benevolent plan of hospital-ships, also held the opinion that amongst the best methods by which Princes could supply their vessels with hands to tug at the oar, was the establishing at all seaports public gaming houses, "where dexterous persons of good "address, should, simply and without connivance at fraud, lend "money to all men who desired it," and when these gamblers lost more than they could pay, transfer them to the galleys as volunteers, "whence," he gravely adds, "people so entrapped frequently "come out better than they went in."[2]

If these old nautical writers—all of them officers of the Pope—were little scrupulous as to the means of obtaining oarsmen, they were still less inclined to allow ethical obstacles to stand in the way of humbling the common enemy of Christendom. Crescentio has an expedient of beautiful simplicity by which a repentant renegade who happens to command a Turkish fleet in presence of a Christian force can earn restoration to the bosom of the Church by becoming her benefactor. "Let him," he says, "send a secret "and peremptory order, at the same time, to all the captains of "his galleys, commanding each to cut off the heads of his boat-"swain and boatswain's mate on the plea that they have been "detected in intriguing with the enemy. When this shall have "been done, the fleet will be like a troop of horse whose bridle "reins have been suddenly cut; and a signal may be made to the "Christians to sail in and take possession."[3]

The Turks constructed, manned, and officered their vessels after the fashion of the Christians. Like them they had heavy ships, galleys, and the smaller craft generally spoken of as frigates and brigantines. But of heavy ships they had not yet made much use, and there were none of these in this fleet. In weight of metal and in the art of gunnery the Turkish navy was still greatly inferior to the Christian. A Turkish vessel seldom

[1] P. Pantera: *L'Armata Navale*, p. 111. [2] *Ibid.* p. 140.
[3] B. Crescentio: *Nautica Mediterranea*, pp. 485-6.

carried more than three pieces of artillery, a traversing gun throwing a twenty-five or thirty pound ball being usually placed amidships, and two smaller guns, ten or fifteen pounders, near the bow. Of her fighting men many were still armed with the bow instead of the arquebus or musket. But the skill and celerity with which these archers, many of them Candiotes, used their simple weapon, rendered it very formidable; and not only did the Turks believe that in the time required to load and discharge a firearm the bow could send thirty arrows against the enemy,[1] but there were Venetians who regretted its disuse in the galleys of St. Mark.[2] The poor wretches who tugged at the oar on board a Turkish ship of war lived a life neither more nor less miserable than the galley-slaves under the sign of the Cross.

[1] M. Cavalli, 1560: *Relazione*, p. 292. He regrets the disuse of the bow as "an "excellent weapon which gives little trouble." "Shootynge is the chefe thinge where- "with God suffereth the Turke to punysh our noughtie livinge wyth all. The youthe "there is brought up in shotyng; his privie garde for his own person is bowmen; the "might of theyr shootynge is wel knowen of the Spanyardes, which at the towne called "Newecastell in Illirica, were quyte slayne up of the Turkes arrowes; whan the Span- "yardes had no use of theyr gunnes by reason of the rayne. And now, last of all, the "emperour his maiestie himselfe, at the Citie of Argier in Aphricke, had his hooste sore "handeled wyth the Turkes arrowes, when his gonnes were quite dispatched and stode "him in no service, bycause of the raine that fell: where as in suche a chaunce of raine, "yf he had had bowmen, surely there shoote myghte peradventure have bene a little "hindred, but quite dispatched and marde it could never have bene."—R. Ascham, *Toxophilus*, 1545, London, 12mo, 1868, p. 82. Captain John Bingham, in the notes to his translations of *Ælian's Tactics*, fol., London, 1631, pp. 25-7, expresses the same opinion, and laments the English bow—"For us to leave the bow," he says, "being a "weapon of so great efficacy, so ready, so familiar, and as it were so domesticall to our "nation to which we were wont to be accustomed from our cradle, because other "nations take themselves to the musket, hath not so much as any show of reason." His main arguments in favour of the Brown Bess of the sixteenth century as compared with the musket are these: that it is much more easily carried and managed, is less exposed to harm from weather, can be more quickly discharged, and can be used by a greater number of men in a company at the same moment. "Of the fire-weapons," as he calls them, he says, "their disadvantages are, they are not always certain, sometimes "for want of charging, sometimes through overcharging, sometimes the bullet rowling "out, sometimes for want of good powder, or of dryed powder, sometimes because of "an ill-dried match not fit to cock, or not well cocked. Besides they are somewhat "long in charging, while the musketeer takes down his musket, uncocks the match, "blows, proynes, shuts, casts off the pan, casts about the musket, opens his charges, "chargeth, draws out his skowring stick, rammes in the powder, draws out again and "puts up his skowring stick, lays the musket on the rest, blows of the match, cocks "and tries it, guards the pan, and so makes ready. All which actions must necessarily "be observed if you will not fail of the true use of the musket. In rain, snow, fogs, or "when the enemy hath gained the wind, they have small use. Add that but one rank, "that is the first, can give fire upon the enemy at once. For the rest behind discharg- "ing shall either wound their own companions before, or else shoot at random, and so "nothing endanger the enemy, the force of a musket being only available at point "blank." The Highlanders who crossed the Tweed in August 1640 with the Scottish army in the second Bishops' War seem to have carried bows and arrows as their chief weapons. "The Highlanders with bows and arrows, some have swords and some have "none," occurs in an anonymous letter in States Papers Office quoted by Masson, *Life of Milton*, vol. ii. 1871, p. 139. [2] G. Diedo: *Lettere di Principi*, f. 263.

Hard work, hard fare, and hard knocks were the lot of both. Ashore, a Turkish or Algerine prison was, perhaps, more noisome in its filth and darkness than a prison at Naples or Barcelona; but at sea, if there were degrees in misery, the Christian in Turkish chains probably had the advantage; for in the Sultan's vessels the oar-gang was often the property of the captain, and the owner's natural tenderness for his own was sometimes supposed to interfere with the discharge of his duty.[1]

The insecurity of life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, owing to the incursions of the Barbary pirates, is thus described by William Lithgow (1609-1621):—"It is dangerous "to travel by the marine of the sea-coast's creeks in the west "ports [of Sicily], especially in the mornings, lest he find a "Moorish frigate lodged all night under colour of a fisher boat "to give him a slavish breakfast; for so they steal labouring "people off the fields, carrying them away captives to Barbary, "notwithstanding of the strong watch-towers which are every "one in sight of another round about the whole island. Their "arrivals are usually in the night, and if in daytime they are "soon discovered, the towers giving notice to the villages, the "sea-coast is quickly clad with numbers of men on foot and "horseback, and oftentimes they advantageously seize on the "Moors lying in obscure clifts and bays. All the Christian isles "in the Mediterranean Sea, and the coast of Italy and Spain "inclining to Barbary, are thus chargeably guarded with watch-towers."[2]

John Struys was for some time a slave in a Turkish galley in 1656, having been caught at Troy stealing grapes in a vineyard, when ashore with a watering party. "I had thought myself "more happy," he says, "if I had been pilling of turnips or "cucumbers at Durgerdam, than plucking such sour grapes in a "Troyan vineyard." Of his life in the galley he says: "How "inhuman and barbarous our usage was no tongue can utter nor "pen decipher. For the guardian of that galley was reputed the "most severe of any other in the fleet, and although we plied "never so sedulously, were sure to be thrashed on the naked ribs "with a bull's pizzle, when the fit took him; and one man's hide "must unjustly be made a piaculum for another's remissness or "sloth. Nor was the Tygre cur well but when he heard John

[1] M. A. Barbaro, 1573: *Relazione*, p. 307.

[2] *Rare Adventures and painefull Peregrinations . . . perfited . . . by* William Lithgow. London, 1640, 4to, pp. 389-90.

"a-roaring or yelling out."[1] A Russian fellow-captive, with whom he afterwards made his escape, had "attempted several "times to run away, but was overtaken, and had neither ears nor "nose left." They eventually got off in a dark and rainy night, when ashore at work; but in the gray of the morning, going too near a Turkish camp, were discovered as they took to the water to swim two miles to the Venetian squadron, and were shot at with long bows. The unfortunate Russian had his buttock pierced by an arrow, which John Struys tried to get out for him, but had to leave to the Venetian surgeons.

In the piratical vessels of Barbary the work was doubtless more constant and more severe. They were seldom in port more than two months of the year; and when at sea the sails were rarely used, in order that they might the better steal unobserved upon their prey. The Christian writers have told frightful stories of the cruelties perpetrated on board Algerine cruisers; of slaves flogged without cause all day long, and by everybody else in the ship; of a whole gang ordered to strip to be beaten by the officers in a drunken frolic; of slaves' eyes torn out and their ears and noses bitten off by ferocious Moors; and of gangs expected to provide their own water for the voyage, and when unable to procure it, permitted to die, by dozens, of thirst.[2] A cousin of the Pope and Captain of his Guard, who had long tugged at a Barbary oar, was at this very time indeed walking about Rome without his ears,[3] a living proof that the savage punishments of Christendom were sometimes also inflicted by Orientals. But the idea that wanton cruelties could be of frequent occurrence in vessels where the perfect efficiency of the motive power was of the first importance, could find credit only with those who were disposed to believe tales told by the same credulous monks, of Moors and Turks who, having made their escape to their native shores, voluntarily returned to their regretted labours and happier life in the Christian galleys.[4] That there was any great difference on the score of humanity between Christian and Mahometan task-masters,[5] is rendered improbable by the fact that some of the

[1] *The Voyages of John Struys through Italy, Greece, Moscovia* . . . translated by John Morrison. London, 1682, 4to, p. 80.

[2] Fr. Diego de Haedo: *Topographia y historia de Argel.* Fol. Valladolid, 1612: ff. 117-18.

[3] Paolo Tiepolo: *Relazione di Roma in tempo di Pio IV. et Pio V.*, in *Tesori della Corte di Roma*, Bruxelles, 1673, sm. 8vo, p. 53.

[4] Fr. Diego de Haedo: *Topographia y historia de Argel.* Fol. Valladolid, 1612: f. 102.

[5] Compare with Fr. Diego de Haedo the opinions on this point in J. Morgon's

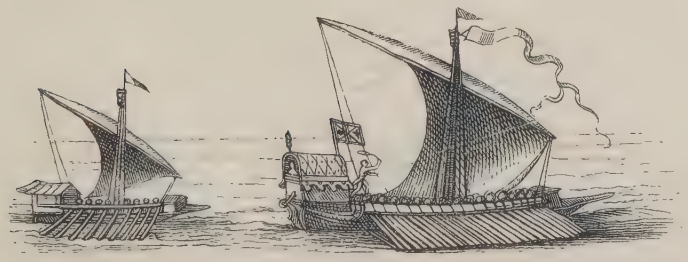
most cruel of the latter were the renegades. For example, it was Aluch Ali, a Pasha of this class, who, having amongst his slaves a knight of Malta, used, it is said, to amuse himself by calling for "that dog of St. John," and causing him to receive, upon no pretext but his own pleasure, two or three hundred lashes in his presence.[1]

Although Solyman had spared no pains or cost upon his navy, he had not succeeded in bringing that arm to the perfection which it had already reached in the hands of the older maritime powers. In his fleets, as in this armament of his son, the best ships and the best sailors were furnished by the pirates of Barbary and Algiers. Too useful to be rejected, such fierce seamen as Dragut, Barbarossa, and their successors, were more feared than trusted, and often disturbed the slumbers of their imperial master. They were therefore used by the Sultan, it was said, as a physician uses poison—cautiously, in small quantities, and amongst other ingredients.[2]

Complete History of Algiers, 2 vols. 4to, London, 1731, ii. pp. 516-19, and the facts which he relates.

[1] Fr. D. de Haedo: *Top. y hist. de Argel*, f. 118. He tells the story on the authority of the knight himself, whom he calls Lanfre Duche.

[2] M. Cavalli, 1560: *Relazione*, p. 295.

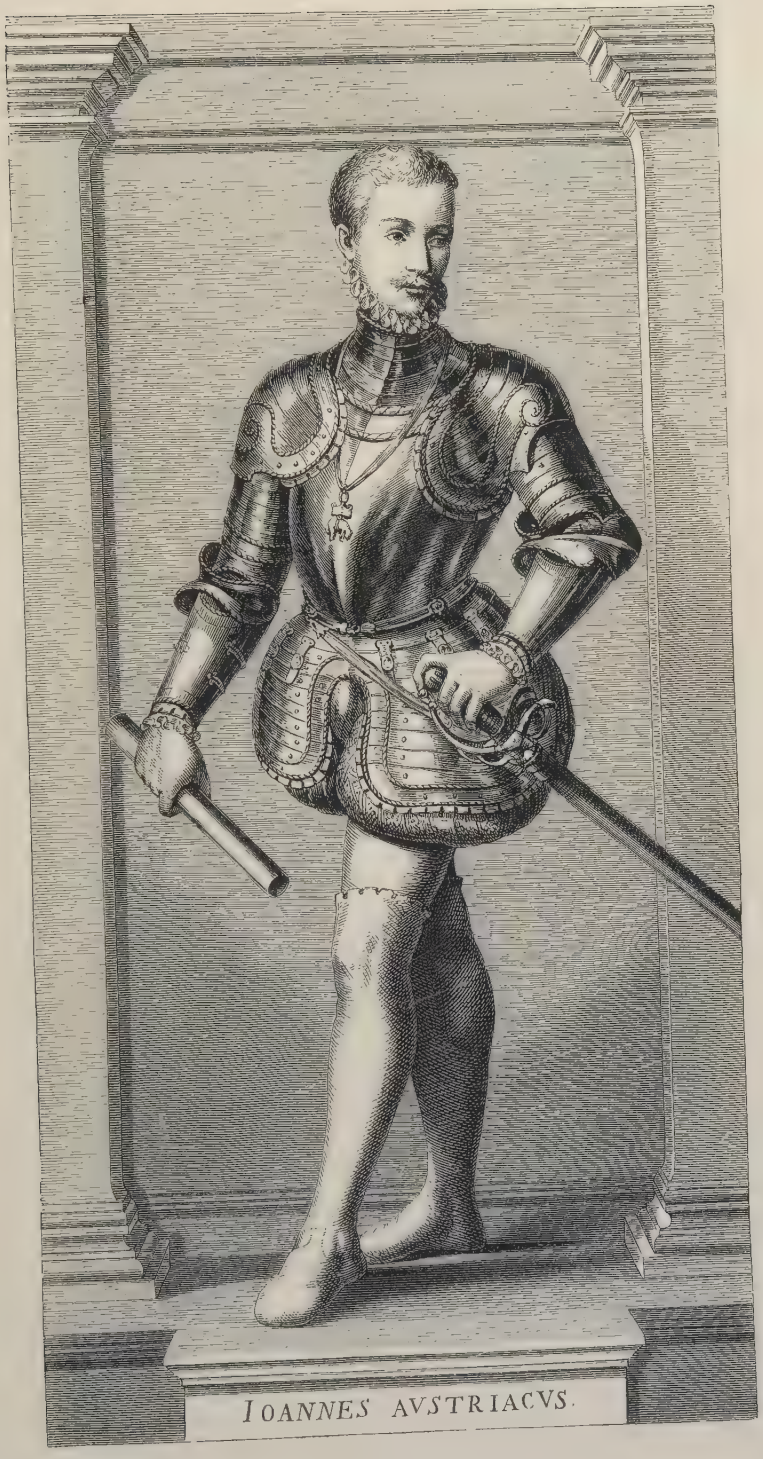


GALLEY AND FRIGATE.

CHAPTER V.

OPERATIONS ALONG THE SPANISH COAST.

DON JOHN of Austria left Madrid toward the end of May, accompanied by his secretary, Juan de Quiroga, and another attendant, Andres de Prada, who afterwards filled the same post. Old Quixada, being no seaman, was obliged to trust his pupil in other hands. Many of the young nobility followed the new admiral to take service in the fleet. He reached Carthagena on the 2d of June, and was received in the house of his lieutenant Requesens, who had already arrived there to meet him. Next day they held a council, which was attended by the famous captain Alvaro Baçan, Marquess of Santa Cruz, Juan de Cardona, and Gil de Andrade. It was agreed to send some reinforcements to the squadron of Giovanni Andrea Doria, who was watching the Turk off the coasts of Sicily, and that Don John himself should make a cruise along the shores of Spain, and pass the straits of Gibraltar to meet the fleet which was expected from the Indies. To replace the men sent to Doria, orders were despatched to the governors of Murcia, Granada, and Seville, to send, each of them, two hundred men from his militia force to Carthagena, Malaga, and Gibraltar. On the 3d of June, Don John embarked for the first time on the field of his future fame. He hoisted his flag on board the royal galley with the customary honours, salutes of artillery, marshal music, and congratulations of his officers. The vessel was superbly and freshly decorated within and without, with paintings representing the story of Jason, the ship Argo, and the Golden Fleece, and allegorical figures emblematical of the qualities proper to a naval commander, and illustrated with Latin


IOANNES AVSTRIACVS.

mottoes emblazoned in letters of gold.[1] The squadron of thirty-three sail immediately steered northward for Denia, and thence to the island of S^ta^ Pola, where Don John reviewed his men. He was recalled hence by a report that the Barbary rovers had made a descent upon the shore of Granada, and had sacked a town. Touching at Carthagena on the way, he put into the open road of Almeria on the 12th of June, and thence ran down the iron-bound coast to Malaga and Gibraltar. In passing Marbella he spoke a galleon, and was told that the Indian fleet had already anchored off San Lucar, at the mouth of the Guadalquivir. Contrary winds made his entrance into Gibraltar very tedious and difficult. While there he sent a vessel over to Ceuta to learn from the governor of that fortress whether any corsairs had been seen on the coast. None being reported, he sailed to the bay of Cadiz, and made a fruitless cruise after some pirates which were supposed to have been seen near the Rio de Oro. He then put back to Puerto Santa Maria, and again reviewed his force of fighting men, whom he found to amount to no more than eight hundred and eleven; upon which he once more urged the Governor of Granada to send him some reinforcements to Malaga. At Puerto Santa Maria he inspected the naval stores of the place, the cannon foundry, and the fortifications, and examined the plans of a new mole drawn by one Captain Florio, which he pronounced good, but costly, and which were probably never executed.

In returning through the straits, Don John determined to surprise the Moorish castle of Fagazas.[2] The plan of attack was arranged; but the current running more swiftly than he had calculated on, and sweeping the vessels down within sight of the place too soon, the attempt was abandoned. The squadron then touched, to take in water, at Peñon de Velez, and Don John

[1] Vanderhammen (*D. Juan de Austria*, fol. 44) has devoted nearly six pages to describing these decorations. Amongst the subjects and mottoes were these—

The ship Argo . .	*Fortunam virtute parat.*
Jason's battle with the bull	*Stolidæ cedunt vires.*
Jason's battle with the dragon . . .	*Dolum reprimere dolo.*
Mars	*Per saxa, per undas.*
Neptune . . .	*Curet componere fluctus.*
Mercury . . .	*Opportunè.*
The sea with halcyon's nests, the sky with stars and winds .	*Haud secus regnabit Æolus.*
Dolphins and tortoises.	*Festina. Lentè.*
Unicorn purifying a fountain . . .	*Ut fiant aquæ salubres.*
Prometheus with the eagle feeding on his vitals	*Corde alenda patria ales.*
Ulysses and Sirens .	*Ne dulcia lædant.*
Minerva . . .	*Nec sine me quicquam.*
Time	*Dum instat.*
Alexander the Great .	*Feliciter omnia.*
Cranes; some flying, others sleeping, with one keeping watch .	*Nocte dieque.*
Argus	*Nusquam cæcutiens.*
Elephant and Rhinoceros whetting their tusks and horn .	*In utrumque paratus.*
Diana with a hound .	*Instat, revocat, adsum.*

[2] Vanderhammen (f. 43) calls it Terraza, which is probably a misprint.

visited the castle famous in the wars of Moor and Christian. While he was there, some Arab marauders descended from the hills and showed themselves in the plain. The alcayde of the castle sallied out at the head of thirty men and engaged in a skirmish with them, in which he lost a captain and a soldier. Moving eastward, the squadron gave chase to a couple of Moorish galliots with a merchantman of which they had made prize. The prize was recaptured, but the galliots escaped. Two days of foul weather were spent in the shelter of the creek of Los Trifolques; and on the 9th of July Don John paid a visit of inspection to the fort of Melilla, and redressed some grievances complained of by the garrison. He afterwards fell in with two Moorish cruisers, one of which, in attempting to escape, ran ashore. The crew, however, were assisted by the garrison of a small tower on the adjacent rocks, and succeeded in recovering from the wreck most of their cargo and arms. The vessel was at last taken by a boat attack, covered by the fire of one of the galleys. Little was found in her but a few Christian slaves, worn out with their labours at the oar, and most of them half dead, their cruel taskmasters having stabbed them ere they left them to their deliverers. Don John pursued his voyage to Oran and Marça-el-quibir, where there were some new fortifications to be inspected and approved, and then, in twelve hours, ran across to Carthagena. Denia, Iviça, and Mallorca were next touched at, the squadron showing itself on these shores to intimidate pirates, and Don John inspecting the Mallorcan castle and militia of Ciudadilla. By way of Peñiscola and the smaller Balearic Islands, he then sailed for Barcelona, whence he wrote to the King a full account of his cruise. Here he learned that a hundred Turkish sail had been seen off the coast of Apulia, and he despatched another squadron to reinforce the fleet of Doria in the Sicilian waters. He then went over the fortifications of the Catalonian capital, and minutely examined the galleys which had been placed on the stocks in the dockyard by the order of the Duke of Francavilla, the Viceroy, who now received as Admiral the youth whom he had formerly met as a truant from college. Don John was thus engaged when he received the news of the fate of his nephew, Don Carlos. He again steered for Carthagena, and, his cruise being accomplished, travelled from thence to Madrid, where he arrived about the end of September.

His expedition had been attended with no brilliant success, but neither had he met with any reverse or defeat. He had learned some-

what of nautical affairs, of the maritime defences of Spain, and of the duties and difficulties of command, and his temper and bearing had won the good-will of all those who had served under him. At Court he was received by the King with as much cordiality as his cold nature ever expressed, and by the courtiers, among whom he was a great favourite, with a general welcome. Within a few days of his arrival, Madrid and the whole kingdom were saddened by the unexpected death of the Queen. She died in premature child-bed, on the 3d of October 1568, in the twenty-fourth year of her age. Sincerely mourned by her lord, whose regard for her is one of the redeeming features of his character, Isabella of the Peace, by her beauty and goodness, the auspicious circumstances of her marriage, and her early death, found a high place, which her memory long retained, in the popular affection of Spain. The night after her decease, as the fair corpse lay in state amidst a forest of tapers in the chapel of the palace, the King came at midnight to pray beside the bier. The courtiers whom he had chosen to attend upon him, and who stood motionless behind, as he knelt at the head of his dead wife, were Don John of Austria, Ferdinand de Toledo, and the Prince of Eboli.[1]

The Archduke Charles, who had been commissioned to go to Madrid to urge a reconciliation between the King and his son, and the marriage of Carlos with the Archduchess Anne, had been accidentally detained at Vienna until after the arrival there of news of the death of the captive Prince. That event determined the Emperor to give Anne to the King of France, and he destined her sister Elizabeth for the King of Portugal. These two marriage projects, demanding confidential communications with the Court of Spain, were entrusted to the Archduke. Informed on the way of the death of Queen Isabella, he was also overtaken by orders from the Emperor to offer the hand of Anne to her uncle, the widower. Catherine de Medicis also proposed that her daughter Margaret should take the place of her deceased sister.[2] Philip II. therefore at once received the offer of two brides, each of whom, like his late wife, had been proposed as the bride for his unfortunate son. He accepted his niece, the Archduchess Anne.

In the funeral solemnities which ensued, in the church of the Barefooted Carmelite Nuns, Don John found a place assigned to

[1] Despatches of Tourquevaulx, French ambassador; cited by M. W. Freer: *Elizabeth de Valois and the Court of Philip II.*, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1857, ii. 364.

[2] Gachard: *Don Carlos et Philippe II.*, ii. 527.

him lower than what he conceived to be his due. In that day and Court of etiquette and ceremonial this was a slight that could not be passed over, although the fault apparently lay merely with some of the ushers or pursuivants. He therefore left Madrid, not, it is said, without the concurrence of the King, and retired to the Franciscan convent of Santa Maria de Scala-cœli at Abrojo, near Valladolid, a house famous for its austere rule, and near the nunnery which was the favourite retreat of his sister, the Infanta Juana. That nunnery was likewise often visited by Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, and it may have been to meet his foster-mother that Don John now repaired to Abrojo. He formed a particular friendship with one of the friars, Juan de Calahorra, a man noted for his austerities and for his gift of prayer.

At Abrojo, or at Villagarcia, he spent more than two months. The news of the formidable rebellion, which broke out at the close of the year, among the Moriscos of the kingdom of Granada, was the first public intelligence which recalled his mind to the great world of politics and war. His secretary, Quiroga, urged him to volunteer his services for the repression of this rebellion. Don John submitted the matter to Fray Juan de Calahorra, who doubtless hated the unbelieving Moslem as cordially as he loved his young friend, and who strongly supported the views of the secretary. "It will make your name," said he, "famous through "all Europe." Thus persuaded, Don John relinquished his intention of spending his Lent in prayer and penitence in the cloistered gloom of Abrojo, and returned to Madrid late in December 1568. On his arrival he immediately reported himself to the King, and soon afterwards addressed to him the following letter:—[1]

S. (ACRED) C. (ATHOLIC) R. (OYAL) M. (AJESTY),

My obligation to serve your Majesty, and the natural faith and love to your Majesty, induce me, with the greatest submission, to propose that which appears to me fitting. I informed your Majesty of my arrival in this Court, and of the cause of my coming hither; and I did not think that there was any occasion to trouble your Majesty with letters of so little worth as mine. I have now heard of the state of the rebellion of the Moriscos of Granada, and of the distress in that city, on suspicion becoming certainty; and as the reparation of your Majesty's reputation, honour, and grandeur, insulted by the boldness of these malcontents, touches me very nearly, I cannot restrain myself within the obedience and entire submission of myself in all things to your Majesty's will, which I have always evinced, nor help representing my desire, and entreating your Majesty that, as it is the glory of kings to be constant in the bestowal of their favours, and to raise up and make men by their power, your Majesty will use me, who am of your making,

[1] Vanderhammen: *D. Juan de Austria*, fol. 73.

in the chastisement of these people, because it is known that I may be trusted beyond most others, and that no one will act more vigorously against these wretches than I. I confess that they are not people who deserve to be made of great account; but because even vile minds grow proud if they possess any strength, and this is not, as I am advised, wanting to these rebels; and because this power should be taken from them: and the Marquess of Mondejar not being sufficiently strong for this purpose (he having, as I am told, fallen out with the president, and being but little and unwillingly obeyed); and as some person must be sent thither, and my nature leads me to these pursuits, and I am as obedient to your Majesty's royal will as the clay to the hand of the potter, it appeared to me that I should be wanting in love and inclination and duty towards your Majesty, if I did not offer myself for this post. Although I know that those who serve your Majesty are safe in your royal hands, and ought not to ask, yet I trust that what I have done may be considered rather a merit than a fault. If I obtain the position which is the object of my desire, I shall be sufficiently rewarded. To this end I came from Abrojo, which, but for the sake of your Majesty's service, and the importance of the occasion, I should not have ventured to do without the express command of your Majesty. May our Lord preserve, for many years, the sacred and Catholic person of your Majesty. From the lodgings, this 30th day of December 1568, of your Majesty's creature and most humble servant, who kisses your royal hands,

D. JUAN DE AUSTRIA.

GALLEY LOWERING SAIL.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MORISCO REBELLION; ITS CAUSES AND ITS PROGRESS UP TO THE TIME OF THE APPOINTMENT OF DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA TO THE COMMAND AT GRANADA IN MARCH 1569

WHEN the last Moorish king of Granada, halting on the height still called the Last Sigh of the Moor, and looking back on his lost city, saw the cross of Toledo and the banner of Castille glittering and floating on the red towers of the Alhambra,[1] he had at least the comfort of knowing that the Christian conquerors had plighted their royal word to protect their new subjects in the possession of their property and of their civil rights, in the observance of their own laws and customs, and in the free exercise of their religion. By strict adherence to these conditions, and by moderation and gentleness of bearing, Ferdinand and Isabella soon obtained for their Government the adhesion of the chiefs of the Moorish race, not only in

[1] The two principal authorities on the Morisco rebellion of 1568-70 are Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who wrote *Guerra de Granada que hizo el Rei D. Felipe II. contra los Moriscos de aquel reino sus rebeldes*, 4to, Lisbon, 1610, and 4to, Valencia, 1776, and since several times reprinted; and Luis del Marmol Carvajal, author of *Historia del rebelion y castigo de los Moriscos del reino de Granada*, sm. fol., Granada, 1600, and 2 vols. 4to, Madrid, 1797. Mendoza had held high military and diplomatic posts under Charles V. and Philip II.; he was an able and practised writer, both in prose and verse; and during the Morisco war, being in disgrace at Court, he was living in his house at Granada amongst his books and manuscripts, of which he was a diligent collector and reader. In point of style he is generally considered as one of the first of Castillian historians. An avowed and successful imitator both of Sallust and Tacitus, his affectation of the terseness of antiquity sometimes renders his narrative somewhat

Granada, but in many of those mountain towns which might have resisted their authority, or, at least, have withheld external signs of submission. The Moors had been so long accustomed to misrule that a very small infusion of equity and forbearance maintained in the proceedings of their new governors would have converted them into loyal and contented subjects of the Catholic Crown. Never was honesty more plainly the best policy. But honesty and religious zeal were unfortunately arrayed against each other.

The Church, according to her wont, soon whispered into royal ears her favourite doctrine, that to keep faith with the infidel was to break it with the Almighty. She was eager to turn Mahometans into indifferent Christians, although the first step in the process were to turn Christians into knaves. Within four or five years after the conquest, the prelates about the Court began to urge Ferdinand and Isabella to require their Moorish subjects either to receive baptism or to sell their lands in Spain and pass over to Barbary. For a while prudence deterred the sagacious King, and feelings of honour and compassion restrained the good Queen from listening to this advice. They had happily bestowed the new archiepiscopal mitre of Granada upon a man whose sound sense and Christian charity honourably distinguished him from the band of cruel monks, profligate nobles, or unscrupulous politicians, who then, for the most part, wielded the croziers of Spain. Hernando de Talavera not only deprecated the violent and faithless counsels of his brethren, but he founded a system

meagre and obscure. But he tells his story with great vigour and spirit, and he had the best opportunities, which he seems to have improved, of knowing the truth of what he wrote. He died at Madrid in 1575, aged seventy-three. Marmol Carvajal began life as a soldier. As a stripling he served under Charles V. in 1535, at Tunis; and he followed the profession of arms for twenty-two years. For seven years he was a captive in Western Barbary, and employed the time in improving his knowledge of the language and history of the Arabs. The result of his studies was his *Descripcion General de Africa*, 3 vols. folio, Granada, 1573, and (3d vol.) Malaga, 1599. During the rebellion of the Moriscos he served in the royal army as a commissary, and was an eye-witness of many of the events which he relates. His book was not published until many years after the end of the war, and may, therefore, be supposed to be the fruit of long meditation, and of very careful examination of the facts contained in it. Without any of Mendoza's pretension to be an historian of the antique mould, Marmol is a picturesque and agreeable writer, and tells his story with an air of simplicity and candour which conciliates the reader's good-will and confidence. Differing in many of their qualities, Marmol and Mendoza are both of them remarkable amongst writers of their age, country, and religion, for the fairness with which they state the crimes and blunders of the Christian Government, and the cruel wrongs of the Moriscos, and for the moderate view which they take of the proceedings of that unhappy people in their ill-fated efforts towards freedom and revenge. Every statement in my account of the Morisco war, for which other authority is not cited, may be supposed to rest on that of one or other of these two authors.

which, had it been continued by his successors, might have made the Moors of Granada good subjects and tolerable churchmen. He began by studying their language, and causing his priests to study it; and in his old age he acquired sufficient Arabic for use in the confessional, and in simple addresses and prayers. He cultivated the acquaintance of the alquifis and learned men, and often discoursed with them on religious topics; and many of them were at last weaned from the faith of Mahomet by the convincing arguments, the gentle nature, and holy life of the Archbishop, or, as he was called, the great alquifi of the Christians.

By these means he had so wrought on the mind of the populace, that in 1499, when Cardinal Ximenes was sent by the Queen to aid him in the work, it seemed as if the scenes which occurred at Jerusalem in the infancy of the faith were about to be re-enacted at Granada. In one day no less than three thousand persons received baptism at the hands of the Primate, who sprinkled them with the hyssop of collective regeneration. While the Christians exulted at this remarkable accession to their ranks, the stricter Moslems naturally took the alarm. Assembling in their mosques, they deplored and denounced the backsliding of their people. Their complaints soon reached the ears of Ximenes, whose fierce zeal for the faith was at least honest and dauntless, the absorbing passion of his life. He was of course highly indignant at a cry which, under similar circumstances, he would have been the first to raise. He caused some of the ringleaders to be arrested, and sent his chaplains to argue with them in prison. This breach of the covenant of the conquest meeting with no violent resistance, he took another step in the path of persecution. Amongst the Moors were a few Christians who had lately embraced the faith of the Prophet. Some of these whom the priests reported to be especially obstinate in their error he ordered to be incarcerated. The indignation of the populace was now thoroughly roused. A woman of this renegade class, who was being dragged to prison, was rescued, and the alguazil who had captured her was slain. The densely inhabited quarter of the Albaycin rose in arms; its gates were seized, and its streets barricaded. The Cardinal, who scorned to take refuge within the walls of the Alhambra, was besieged in his house for ten days. In vain the mild and popular governor interfered with promises and menaces; the Moors were all armed and outnumbered the Christians tenfold; and the force under his command was power-

less against the revolted city. Peace was at last obtained solely through the mediation of Archbishop Talavera. Finding matters daily growing worse, that good Prelate went forth among the insurgents, attended only by his cross-bearer. The angry and outraged men who had been vowing the death of every Christian in the city were melted by this act of heroism. They flocked around their venerable friend, kissed the hem of his robe, implored his blessing, and left the adjustment of their wrongs in his hands; showing that they were a people of gentle nature and of generous impulses, whose submission would have been easily secured by a Government with any tincture of justice and mercy. A compromise was effected between the two races; the alguazil's executioners were given up for punishment, and the Cardinal retired from Granada.

But although the fierce Primate withdrew from the field, his policy remained behind him, and prevailed over the better counsels of Talavera. It is one of the few blots on the fair fame of the great Isabella of Castille. By the advice of Ximenes, the Catholic sovereigns offered their Moorish subjects, whose religious freedom they had so lately guaranteed, the alternative of becoming Christians, or of migrating to Barbary. Eight months were allowed them to consider the proposal, and to make their choice. They spent the interval in endeavouring to evade the necessity of choosing. They induced the Sultan of Egypt to send an embassy to Spain, and to declare to Ferdinand and Isabella that if the Moors of Granada were forced to become Christians, he would compel the Christians in his dominions to embrace the law of the Prophet. The embassy was received with perfect courtesy, and the learned Peter Martyr was sent to Cairo in return, to assure the Sultan that although the Spanish sovereigns could not permit the professors of Islamism to remain in their kingdom, no force should be used to compel them to adopt Christianity, and that every facility should be afforded them of selling their lands and retiring to the Barbary shore. Satisfied with these assurances, or with the demonstration which he had already made, the Oriental potentate took no further measures to protect his fellow-infidels. They had therefore to choose between exile and conversion. Most of them preferred a profession of Christianity to leaving their pleasant homes in the fairest region of Europe, and seeking doubtful fortunes on the burning shores of Mauritania. A few of the bolder spirits, hardy mountaineers of the Alpuxarras, took up arms in defence of their rights, and, for the greater part of a

winter, kept their snowy fastnesses against the old soldiers of the conquest. But although they fought with the utmost valour, and cut to pieces the force which the brave Alonso de Aguilar led into the passes of the Sierra Bermeja,[1] they were overpowered by superior numbers and discipline. The Count of Tendilla stormed the fort of Guejar; the Count of Lerin, driving the rebels out of Lauxar, blew up the mosque in which the women and children of a large district had been placed for safety, and the King in person reduced the town and strong castle of Lanjaron, the key of the Alpuxarras. The rising was quelled. The sterner Moslems bade a sorrowful farewell to their beloved Damascus of the West, carrying their agricultural skill to the fields of Morocco or Tunis, their manual dexterity to the bazaars of Cairo or Constantinople;[2] and the remaining children of the Saracen learned to bow the knee in unwilling homage to that cross and wafer which their conquering sires had driven before them to the savage glens of Asturias.

For the next half-century the relations between the Moors, or the Moriscos as they were now called, and their masters, though full of hatred on the one side and suspicion on the other, were disturbed by no violent or serious outbreak. Legislation meddled little with the matter; but that little was sufficient to show the impolicy and the nullity of conversion by royal edict. The new Christians, at heart more Moslem than ever, conformed to Christian rites and worship so far as kept them clear of the Inquisition, and no further. If the parish priest were strict in his superintendence, they attended mass on Sundays and holy days, and whispered at due intervals at the confessionals. The more faithful would not learn, or pretended not to understand, the Castillian tongue, that they might avoid the necessity of polluting their lips with the idolatrous prayers of the breviary. Marriages performed in Christian fashion in the churches were again solemnised according to the Mahometan law at home. Infants, after receiving the

[1] Our valiant Spaniard D. Alonso de Aguilar in the battle of the Sierra Bermeja, where he died fighting, had with him his son, Don Pedro, a young lad, and seeing him wounded in the face and fallen, and his thigh pierced with a spear, ordered him to retire. "Diziendo que no fuesse toda la carne en un assador." Bernardino de Escalanti: *Dialogos Militares*, Sevilla (Pescioni), 1584, 4to, fol. 1. Prescott tells the story much more romantically, and makes him say: "I do not wish to see all the hopes of our house "crushed at a single blow."

[2] The anonymous author of the pleasant little volume entitled *Delle Cose de Turchi, Libri tre*, Vinegia, 1539, says that there were at Constantinople in 1534 many "Marani "scacciati di Spagna; li quali sono quelli che hanno insegnato et che insegnano ogni "arteficio à Turchi; et la maggior parte delle boteghe et arti sono tenute et essercitate "da questi Marani."—pp. 12, 13.

sacrament of baptism and the name of Juan or Fernando, were carefully washed from the stains of holy water and chrism-oil, called Hassan or Ali, and submitted to the Mosaic knife. A close connexion was kept up by the Moriscos with their brethren across the sea. Landing under cloud of night the Barbary rover was as safe and as much at home among the hills of Malaga and Ronda as within the shadow of Atlas. Hardly distinguished in dress or language, he mingled with the crowd on the quay or in the market-place; watched the movements of the wealthy Christians; heard the commercial and maritime news; and when the shades of evening closed there were sure guides to lead him to his prey, to aid in the capture, and to cover his retreat to the swift brigantine riding with bent sails and well-manned oars behind the lonely headland.

Such were the natural fruits of falsehood and intolerance. The evils which had sprung from one act of tyranny the Government sought to cure by the commission of another. In the name of the crazy Queen Juana a decree was issued, requiring the Moriscos to lay aside the robes and turbans of their ancient race, and assume the hated hats and breeches of their oppressors. Six years were allowed for effecting this change of raiment, and for ten years more disobedience was winked at. In 1518 the decree was again promulgated by order of Charles V., and again suspended during pleasure, in consequence of the remonstrances and reasonings of the chiefs of the Morisco population. When Charles himself arrived in Spain he appointed ecclesiastical visitors to examine closely into the Christian orthodoxy of his Andalusian provinces. Their report was laid before a council assembled for that purpose in the chapel-royal of Granada, where the Catholic conquerors repose beneath rich marble sculptured at Genoa and banners won from the infidel. With the Archbishops of Seville, Santiago, and Granada, the Emperor's confessor Bishop Loaysa of Osma, and other divines, there sat in the council several laymen of tried sagacity in affairs, such as Garcia de Padilla, and Francisco de los Cobos, the Secretary of State. Nevertheless, the law which they sketched was of the most priestly and absurd complexion, containing provisions which it was impossible to enforce, and dealing with matters equally beneath the notice and beyond the power of legislation. By this law the Moriscos were commanded to lay aside their ancient language and costume; to speak Castillian and dress like Spaniards; to give up bathing, and destroy their baths; to keep the doors of their houses open on

Fridays, Saturdays, and feast days ; to renounce their national songs, dances, and marriage ceremonies; to lay down their Arabic names ; and to entertain amongst them no Moors from Barbary, whether slaves or freemen. Although ratified by the Emperor in 1526, this law was not enforced during his reign. It was a mere engine of extortion, and remained a terror only to those of the Moriscos who were wealthy enough to be formidable, and worth prosecuting. When a Turkish fleet appeared to the westward of Malta the Viceroys of the Southern Kingdom of Spain were admonished to keep a vigilant eye on the suspected population. The Inquisition, steering a middle course between the Christian mildness of Talavera and the stern orthodoxy of Ximenes, ceased to tempt or terrify souls into the true fold, and contented itself with a traffic in toleration, which brought a steady stream of crowns into its exchequer. Under this system no outbreak disturbed public tranquillity during the Imperial reign.

Under Philip II. the first measure affecting the descendants of the Moors was an edict, issued on the petition of a Cortes held at Toledo in 1560, which forbade the Moriscos to keep negro slaves. Of these slaves a great number were kept in domestic service, and for the cultivation of the soil. The reason alleged for the suppression of the practice was, that these slaves were brought to Spain as children, and there reared in the faith of Mahomet. The fact was of course denied by their masters, who felt and complained of the edict as a great hardship. Their remonstrances were so far successful that exemptions were granted, by a decree of the royal council, to persons of approved fidelity. But in the working of this law and these exemptions arose a series of disputes between the Captain-General of Mondejar or Granada and the royal audience or supreme civil court of the kingdom, by which the functions of government were paralysed and the administration of justice was brought to a standstill. As usual, the Moriscos were the principal sufferers, and many of them were driven from their houses and lands for refusing obedience to a power which happened to be able to enforce its authority, or for yielding obedience to a power which was not strong enough to afford protection. The Captain-General sought to increase his influence by reviving an old edict, which had never yet been acted on, for the registration of arms. The judges of the audience, on their side, obtained from the royal council of Madrid a decree which enabled them to invade the jurisdictions of feudal estates, and to control the right of sanctuary attached to these jurisdictions.

In enforcing their new laws, and in vindicating their new rights, each party bore more and more heavily on the liberties of the unfortunate Moriscos. Officers of justice traded for their private gain on magisterial differences and on the public alarm; and no man was safe from an accusation who had wherewithal to buy off an accuser. The country was therefore soon filled with discontent and disaffection, and overrun with desperate men convicted of new crimes under new and ruinous laws. Peaceful cultivators of the soil, driven from their olives and their vines, became robbers and assassins. In the streets of Granada at morning Christian corpses, shockingly mangled, remained as evidence of their midnight vengeance; and Christian women and children were carried off from the very gates of the city to the markets of Tunis and Tetuan.

To remedy these disorders Philip II. and his Government assembled a second committee of lawyers and churchmen, amongst whom sat the veteran Duke of Alba. This body could devise no better expedient than to revive and enforce the edict of 1526, which the wiser policy of the Emperor had permitted to slumber, and to add to it several new clauses particularly cruel and oppressive. The original edict proscribed the Arabic language and dress, Arabic proper names, and every Arabic custom and usage. The new clauses declared all contracts and writings drawn up in Arabic null and void at law; forbade the presence of Barbary Moors on the soil of Spain; and reopened the question of negro slavery by requiring the licensed holders of black slaves to appear before the royal audience that their licenses might be reconsidered by the authorities. Some of the members of the committee were of opinion that the edict should be enforced gradually, and that the Morisco should be allowed some time to accustom themselves to the new laws and manners to which they were commanded to conform. But they were overruled by the powerful President of Castille, Don Diego Espinosa; and the revised edict, in the form of a royal decree, went forth to the kingdom of Granada. The unhappy Moriscos had been scourged with whips; they were now to be chastised with scorpions.

The decree was published with great solemnity and pomp on the 5th of January 1567. On that day the officers of justice began to pull down the baths, public and private, which were the pride and ornament of Granada, beginning with those which had been attached by the luxurious Sultans to their fairy halls of the Alhambra. The Moriscos were in despair. A deputation of their

chief men waited on Deza, president of the royal audience, and their leader addressed him in a speech which was a masterpiece of dignified and temperate pleading. Another embassy was sent to Court to appeal to the justice and mercy of the King. The Marquess of Mondejar, Viceroy of Granada, who was at Madrid, himself urged on his master the necessity either of granting some delay in the execution of the decree, or of furnishing him with a strong reinforcement of troops to maintain the peace of the province. But Philip had neither justice nor mercy, nor foresight, nor common-sense. He haughtily announced that he would do that which God's service and his own required ; and he granted Mondejar no more than three hundred men.

Meanwhile discontent, alarm, and a spirit of resistance, were daily gaining ground in Granada. Prophecies, written and oral, foretelling in a strain of Oriental magniloquence the approaching deliverance of the Moorish race and the downfall of its oppressors, were industriously circulated among the Morisco population. The principal men amongst them were far from desiring a general rebellion. Many of them were wealthy landowners and merchants, on whom such an event could not but entail great loss, suffering, and disaster. They would rather have submitted to a certain amount of Christian tyranny than dare the hazard of a civil war for the sake of passing, as they must have passed, from the power of the Spanish king to the yoke of the Great Turk or the Moorish Sultan. But the exasperation and enthusiasm of the lower orders of their countrymen, and of those who inhabited the towns and hamlets of the Sierra, formed a less intelligent estimate of the desperate odds against them, and took a more hopeful view of the issue of a successful struggle. The leading Moriscos therefore were compelled either to head the popular movement, or to stand aloof, strengthening the hand and insuring the victory of the oppressor. Amongst those who adopted the more generous alternative in the city of Granada one of the chief men was Farax Aben Farax, a rich dyer, of the famous blood of the Abencerrages, and a man of great personal strength, energy, and courage. Don Hernando de Valor, or Aben Jouhar el Zaguer, the younger, as he was called in his native language, Alguazil of Cadiar, was one of the principal leaders in the mountains.

During the whole of the year 1568 the kingdom of Granada was in a state of disaffection and smouldering disturbance which caused great anxiety to its rulers and its peaceful inhabitants. Early in the year reports were rife of a general rising of the

Moriscos. On a Sunday in April the Count of Tendilla, son of the Captain-General, trusting to his popularity among them, went to mass in the chief church of the Albaycin, and after the service was over addressed the crowd from the steps of the high altar. His text was the new decree; his discourse, a statement of the benefits that would arise from loyal and peaceable submission. A spokesman put forward by the audience replied in a few words full of respect for the Count, but holding out little hope of obedience to the King. Tendilla, dissatisfied with what he heard and saw, proposed to quarter a company of soldiers in the Albaycin, a measure in which he was overruled by the President Deza, who foresaw that it would be followed by an immediate revolt.

A few days afterwards four soldiers who kept watch at night in a tower of the Albaycin were on their way to their post, with torches to guide them through the darkness. A sentinel at the Alhambra, more stupid or more vigilant than usual, observing a light, gave the alarm. A body of soldiers hurried down to the spot; the bells were rung, and the streets were soon filled with half-clad, half-armed citizens, and the Albaycin, where not a Morisco was stirring, was surrounded on all sides by the military and an angry Christian rabble. Happily the mistake was discovered before blood had been shed: but a new insult had been added to the insults and injuries for the requital of which the Moorish population were brooding over their schemes of vengeance.

The day after this event the Marquess of Mondejar arrived at Granada. He soon afterwards proceeded on a tour of inspection to the coast, and spent some time at Adra, Berja, and Almeria, the seaports which give the valleys of the Alpuxarras an access to the Mediterranean. He found the country tranquil; but some papers, taken in a boat captured as it was setting sail for Barbary, and found to be a statement of the grievances of the Moriscos, and an appeal to the Mahometan powers for aid in their approaching struggle with their oppressors, afforded evidence that sedition was not only busy at home, but was also seeking for assistance from abroad.

In the autumn the plan of the rebellion was so far matured that the rising was fixed to take place on New Year's Day 1569. From the valley of Lecrin and the district of Orgiba eight thousand men were to march on Granada. They were to be clothed in the Turkish fashion, to embolden the Moriscos of the Albaycin with

the belief that a Turkish army had landed ; reports of the speedy arrival of such assistance having been industriously spread for several months before. The doubts and fears, however, of some of the Christian Moriscos who were in the secret, revealed it to their confessors, by whom it was of course made known at the Alhambra. At the approach of Christmas the recurrence of an annual cause of complaint exasperated the discontent and the anti-Christian hate of the rural districts. Most of the officers and tax-collectors posted by the Government in the remote villages had left their wives and families in Granada, and were preparing to visit them at that festive season. At such times they were in the habit of levying contributions of fowls and other country produce from the peasantry amongst whom they administered harsh and unequal laws, and from whom they wrung the King's taxes. At Uxixar some of these legal harpies, renewing their customary exactions amongst a people burning with the desire and hope of speedy vengeance, lost their lives in an attempt to improve their Christmas cheer. The spirit of resentment and resistance spread from village to village, and at Cadiar a party of fifty soldiers marching under a knight of Santiago were slain at midnight by the peasants in whose houses they were billeted.

The news of this serious disaster reached Granada on Christmas Day. Surprised at this proof of audacity, the Marquess of Mondejar concluded that the landing of foreign auxiliaries alone could have so emboldened the Moriscos of the mountains. He therefore ordered a small body of troops, as many as he could spare, to hold themselves in readiness to march. The Christmas solemnities were celebrated as usual in the churches ; but the streets were patrolled by soldiers from the Alhambra, and men's minds were filled with anxiety and alarm. Farax Aben Farax, the Morisco leader, was of opinion that the time for action had now arrived. He left the city alone on the evening of Christmas Day. At Guejar, and other villages, he collected a band of a hundred and eighty of the most daring of the robbers and outlaws of his race. Returning the next night at their head, he entered the Albaycin through a disused postern gate by cutting through the mud wall which closed it up. The night was bitterly cold, and the snow was falling fast. The alarm having partially subsided in the city, the patrol had ventured to shorten their appointed rounds. The invaders, therefore, in red Turkish caps and white turbans, were able to pass into the town unobserved.

Posting them at important points, Aben Farax summoned a

midnight meeting of his principal friends. He told them that the people of the Alpuxarras had risen, and that the Albaycin must follow the example. His force, he confessed, was small, but success would soon recruit its numbers ; and it was of moment to strike the first blow while the royal garrison was also feeble, and the attack was unforeseen. This reasoning by no means convinced his hearers. They reminded him that he had promised to come to their aid with eight thousand men ; and now, appearing among them with a handful of fugitives, he expected them to rise and take the town. Utterly declining the desperate adventure, they left him to conduct it alone, and retired to their well-walled houses. Aben Farax was stung to the quick by their refusal. Leading his men, without any definite purpose, through the dreary streets, he wreaked his fury upon a small Christian guard dozing round a fire kindled beneath the walls of the church of St. Salvador. After an unsuccessful attempt to break into the Jesuits' house, he sacked a shop and demolished the stock of an obnoxious apothecary, who was also a familiar of the Inquisition. From a height near the Alcazaba gate he then proclaimed the rebellion, inviting all good Moslems to join his standard, with the sound of the Moorish cymbal and horn. The appeal being answered only by an alarm bell ringing from the church of St. Salvador, he repeated the summons from the tower of Aceytuno, adding some parting words to the Moriscos, whom he denounced as dogs and cowards. He then led his band out of the town by the postern at which they had entered.

Meanwhile the news had been carried to the palace of the audience, and up to the Alhambra. Mondejar, having at his disposal no more than one hundred and fifty cavalry and as many infantry, would not allow any sally in the dark to be made from his fortress. But at daybreak he repaired with his sons and a friend to the audience, where he found many Christian knights and gentlemen assembled. They showed him a bundle of Turkish red caps and Turbans found near the postern which had been forced open; and they informed him that two Moorish banners and a company of men had been seen on the Cerro de Sol, a height near the bank of the Xenil, about half a league from the city. Instead of sending out his cavalry to cut off the retreat of his nocturnal assailants, the too cautious governor, fearing to be overmatched in numbers, contented himself with despatching a party of observation to follow and report. He then summoned some of the principal Moriscos, and questioned them about the occurrences

of the past night. They of course professed themselves utterly ignorant of the causes of the disturbance, greatly alarmed by it, and unalterably peaceable and loyal. As the day advanced intelligence was brought that the force of Aben Farax did not exceed two hundred men, and that it was retiring by way of Dilar to the mountains. About noon therefore Mondejar rode forth to pursue the foe whom he might have crushed at dawn. As the sun went down his foremost horsemen had the satisfaction of exchanging ineffectual shots with the rear-guard of the Moriscos as they disappeared into the rugged glens of the Alpuxarras.

Among the Moriscos of the city of Granada there was a young gallant named Hernando de Cordoba y de Valor, who traced his descent from the line of Moslem kings who had reigned in Cordoba, and who had shed so much lustre on the name of Abderahman. Of a wealthy, as well as an illustrious family, he was himself *veintiquatro*, or one of the twenty-four municipal magistrates of Granada. But his disorderly life and reckless habits brought him into constant trouble ; and in the eventful December of 1568 he was imprisoned on parole in his own house, for drawing his dagger at a meeting of the municipal council. This disgrace, added to the load of debt with which his extravagance had burdened him, led him to the resolution of selling his post and going abroad to seek his fortunes in Flanders or Italy. The purchaser, another Morisco, was also surety for his appearance to answer the charge on which he had been imprisoned. To avoid all chance of loss by his non-appearance, this man contrived that the purchase-money should be arrested in Hernando's hands at the moment that it was paid. The poor spendthrift, finding himself thus at once deprived of his place, and its price which was his last remaining resource, determined to break his parole and join the rebels in the Alpuxarras. Accompanied by his Morisco mistress and a negro slave, he fled from Granada a day or two before Christmas Day, and escaped in safety to Beznar, a village inhabited by many of his kinsfolk. Eager for news from the capital, the whole Valor clan flocked to the house where he took up his abode. The gathering was called by a number of rebels from Orgiba. The propriety and necessity of choosing a chief or King being mooted, the high-born fugitive, much to his own surprise, was proposed, approved, and elected. His previous career afforded no evidence that he possessed qualities to justify this sudden elevation. Hitherto he had taken no part in the movement ; nor had he evinced much interest in the fortunes of his

race. As a placeman, and attached to the service of the Captain-General, he had even been mistrusted by the malcontent leaders. His election must therefore be ascribed to the influence of his powerful relatives among their neighbours, and to the effect produced on the ignorant and excited crowd by his handsome person, his royal birth, his misfortunes, and the dangers which he had lately escaped.

The new King remained for some days inactive among his lieges at Beznar. He and they were sunning themselves one morning before the door of the church when Aben Farax and his men, returning from their midnight visit to Granada, and their skirmish with Mondejar, marched into the village with banners flying and cymbals playing, in honour of these feats of arms. The precipitation of Beznar in choosing a King was hardly less displeasing to the leader than the backwardness of the Albaycin to enlist under his standard. Aben Farax asserted that he himself had the best right to the crown, not only as the liberator of his race, but as the choice of the capital. The House of Valor and its adherents, on the other hand, maintained that so long as there was a representative of the blood of Abderahman, no Abencerrage or other Moor, however illustriously descended, had any claim to the allegiance of the Spanish Moors. It was finally agreed that Hernando de Valor should reign, and that Aben Farax should serve him as Alguazil-in-Chief, or Constable of the Kingdom, the officer nearest in dignity to the ancient Moorish throne. The new monarch was again proclaimed by his Arabic name of Muley Mahomet Aben Umeya, and received the fealty of his subjects beneath the shadow of an olive-tree. To rid himself of the presence of his formidable minister he immediately ordered Aben Farax to march through the Alpuxarras to collect troops, and to take possession of all the gold and silver which the faithful might contribute, or the pillage of the Christians and their churches might supply, for the purpose of procuring arms and munitions of war.

The Alpuxarras, in Arabic *Al Bug Scharra*, the hill of pasture, is the name of that stretch of mountainous country which fills the eye of the voyager as he lifts it from the purple line of the Mediterranean to the snowy peaks of the Sierra Nevada. In breadth, from the Sierra to the sea, about eleven leagues, it extends about nineteen leagues in length from the vega of Salobreña in the west to its eastern limit at Almeria. So rudely is it broken into rugged hill and deep ravine that it would be hard to find in its

whole surface a piece of level ground except in the small valley of Andarax, and on the belt of plain which intervenes betwixt the mountains and the sea. Three principal ranges, spurs of the loftier Sierra Nevada, and themselves spurred with lesser offshoots, intersect it from north to south. Through the glens thus formed, a number of streams—torrents in winter but often dry in summer—pour the snows of Muleyhacen and the Pic de Veleta into the Mediterranean. The chief of these streams are that of Andarax, which takes a south-easterly course to Almeria, and that which descends in several channels to Orgiba, and thence flows south-west to its estuary at Motril. The valley of Orgiba, forming in its lower part the boundary of the Alpuxarras, receives a part of the waters of a district of similar character, called the valley of Lecrin—a valley which stretches northward through the Sierra Nevada to the hill famous as *The Last Sigh of the Moor*, within view of Granada. Beznar, where Aben Umeya was proclaimed, was one of the villages of Lecrin, whose population was no less Moorish in blood and feeling than that of the Alpuxarras.

In natural beauty, and in many physical advantages, this mountain land is one of the most lovely and delightful regions of Europe. Possessing a variety of climate elsewhere almost unknown, it might be made to yield to man most of the products of the earth. From the tropical heat and luxuriance, the sugar-canes and the palm-trees, of the lower valleys, and of the narrow plain which skirts the sea like a golden zone, it is but a step through gardens, steep corn-fields and olive-groves, to fresh alpine pastures and woods of pine, above which vegetation expires on the rocks where snow lies long and deep, and is still found in nooks and hollows in the burning days of autumn. When thickly peopled with laborious Moors, the narrow glens, bottomed with rich soil, were terraced and irrigated with a careful industry which compensated for want of space. The villages, each nestling in its hollow, or perched on a craggy height, were surrounded by vine-yards and gardens, orange and almond orchards, and plantations of olive and mulberry hedged with the cactus and the aloe; above, on the rocky uplands were heard the bells of sheep and kine; and the wine and fruit, the silk and oil, the cheese and the wool of the Alpuxarras, were famous in the markets of Granada and the seaports of Andalusia. The seashore of this region is in some parts, as between Adra and the Sierra de Gador, a plain once rich with sugar and cotton; in others, as between Adra and Salobreña, a range of vine-covered hills, broken here and there with vegas at

the mouths of rivers, where the finest products of the South still cover the alluvial soil with an emerald verdure. On the hills, above the vines, the rocks are dotted with spreading fig-trees or the dark round-headed ash, and higher up, with the palmetto and a few pines: and the white watch-towers of the Moors, placed on headlands about a league apart, sparkle like pearls on the cliffs overhanging the sea. Such was the fair province which, by the toil of a simple and harmless race, had flourished through ages of misrule, which Christian bigotry had condemned to the horrors of a winter campaign, and the superstition of the priest had given over to the soldier's fire and sword.

The country was admirably adapted for that petty warfare for which Spain has always been famous. The greater valleys are for the most part of their length extremely narrow, and bounded by precipitous hills, and they branched into glens so numerous and intricate, and so like each other in character, that it was a hopeless task for a stranger to pilot his course through their endless ramifications. Even those parts of the country which seem comparatively open prove on closer inspection to be furrowed with hidden ravines. Thus in passing eastward from the valley of Mecina, one of the chief glens of the southern face of Muleyhacen, the traveller sees before him what appears a vast undulating district, rich with cultivation, and studded with white towers, over which he hopes to find an easy and pleasant track. No sooner, however, has he entered it than he is once more compelled to fathom unexpected gorges, and climb unforeseen ridges; and the rugged descent of the Sierra is hardly less toilsome than his progress to Valor or Uxixar. If he turns his face southwards, towards Cadiar, he finds himself on what might have been a storm-lashed sea turned to stone, so rugged and arbitrary is the labyrinth of naked ravines through and over which lies his difficult and wearisome path. The winding tracks which traversed the country were at every turn commanded by some beetling crag or tuft of brushwood, from whence a musket or a crossbow could securely dispose of an approaching foe. Each hamlet, embowered in its fruit-trees and fenced with its outworks of aloe and cactus, was a natural stronghold; and if the inhabitants were driven from it, the Sierra above usually had its cavern where women and children might be sheltered, and household goods and treasure safely concealed. Even in the vegas by the seashore, the trees which, hung with tangled trailers, generally skirted the river's bed, the tall reeds which hedged and overhung the narrow pathways

between the fields, afforded a thousand points where a well-armed resolute peasantry might withstand with success the soldiers of the King.

Within a week the whole region was in arms, from the valley of Lecrin to the plain of Almeria, from the vega of Granada to the shore of the Mediterranean. Village after village, rising against its civil and religious authorities, destroyed or expelled them. The same bloody drama was acted at once in a hundred scenes, which the bounteous hand of Nature had formed to be abodes of beauty, plenty, and peace. News came to a hamlet that its neighbouring population, down the glen or across the hill, had risen; that a great army had landed from Africa; and that Granada and Alhambra once more belonged to the Moors. The Moriscos gathered in the street to hear the tidings and discuss the course to be taken. The Christians, if they were few and timid, fled; the curate stealing into his sacristy and securing the host from desecration by swallowing it. If they were bold and numerous, they assembled in the church and considered their means of defence. Their usual resolution was to shut themselves up with their women, children, and valuables in the belfry, confiding in the strength of its masonry, and trusting that their hastily-collected stock of provisions might hold out until succour should arrive. The Moors were meanwhile proclaiming with cymbal and horn, and shouts of joy, that there was but one God, and that Mahomet was his prophet.

The first mark for their vengeance was, very naturally, the church, where they had so long rendered an unwilling homage to the superstition of their oppressors. Its altars were torn down and broken to pieces; the crucifixes were broken and insulted; pictures of Our Lady were set up as targets; the sacred vessels were put to the vilest uses; the gorgeous vestments covered the rags of the rabble; and a pig was sometimes slaughtered upon the altar-stone where the real body of the Redeemer was wont to be adored. The desecration of the church was followed by an attack upon the belfry. If the door could not be battered to pieces the assailants kindled in front of it a huge fire, which was fed with the church furniture, and with faggots steeped in oil. Sometimes they attempted to undermine the building, working beneath a strong shed, covered with bundles of wet reeds. The besieged defended themselves with their arquebuses and cross-bows; with huge stones from their battlement, firebrands, and pots of boiling oil. When the resistance was obstinate, and likely

to be protracted, the besiegers often resorted to the treacherous policy hereditary to their Numidian blood. They offered the Christians their lives and liberties, and in one case had sufficient self-command to protect their houses from pillage, as a proof of their sincerity. But whether the fortress were surrendered or stormed, the garrison was, with scarcely an exception, massacred with the most revolting cruelty. The Christian Alguazil was repaid with usury for his exactions and his severities; and the wretched curate became the victim of tortures like those which his cloth inflicted in the dungeons of the Inquisition. Their feet and legs were roasted over fires of charcoal; tied by their wrists to the tops of towers, they were let fall time after time on the pavement below until their lower limbs were beaten to a jelly; their eyes and tongues were torn out; their ears and noses cut off; their joints were hacked asunder, from their extremities upwards; their mouths were filled with gunpowder, which was then ignited; their heads were beaten to pieces with hatchets; and their mangled corpses were sometimes sewed up in the carcasses of swine and burned, sometimes exposed on the hillside to feed the fox and the wolf. More than one Morisco, fiercer than his fellows, tore out and devoured the quivering heart of his enemy.

Nor were such refinements of barbarity reserved for those alone who had officially and specially incurred the hatred of the rebels. Many private Christians were inhumanly tortured; the Morisco women rivalled their brothers and husbands in ferocity; and peculiar cruelty was shewed to those who invoked, in their last moments, the aid of the Virgin and the saints. Treasured up by the survivors, many were the pious sentiments and ejaculations recorded as uttered by those whom the Church afterwards honoured as the martyrs of the Alpuxarras. At Guecijas, two lovely girls being reserved from the condemned Christians to be sent to the harem of the Sultan of Morocco, their captors, while they spared their persons, tortured them through their affections by hewing their fathers in pieces before their eyes. The Christians of Xergal were victims of treachery worthy of the Punic sires of their enemies. The Alcayde of the place, a professor of their own faith, invited them to take refuge in the castle, and when he had got them into his power, massacred them all. In the village of Guajaras alone, the Moslems joined the rebellion without committing any injury on the persons or property of their Christian neighbours. In other places the mercy of the local leaders seldom went beyond reserving a certain number of prisoners, to be dealt

with according to the pleasure of Aben Farax. The arrival of that savage chieftain, however, was closely followed by an order for their immediate execution. Bitter wintry weather added to the horrors of the time. Of the Christians who escaped from their pillaged houses, or from the burning towers, many perished in the snows of the Sierras.

The events which followed the rising at Uxixar may be taken as an example of those which were happening all over the province. Hung on the side of a hollow, in the lap of the Sierra Nevada, this town of shepherds and herdsmen was esteemed, from its size and central site, the capital of the Alpuxarras. The chief men of the place, the Alcayde Leon and the Abbot Perez, were persons of superior foresight and sagacity. Reports which had reached them of the storm which was brewing had induced them to warn all their fellow-Christians to take refuge in the church, which had been fortified and provisioned as well as time and circumstances allowed. Their precautions, however, were laughed at by those for whom they had been taken; and it was only on hearing of the massacre of the soldiers at Cadiar that they would believe in the existence of the danger. The tidings of that disaster were brought by a band of Moorish robbers who marched into the town at midnight, and the church was thereupon soon filled with its terrified congregation, many of them unarmed, and some of them in no clothes but their shirts. Near the church stood two houses belonging to Christians, each built with unusual solidity, and furnished with a small tower. These towers and the church belfry were so placed as to form the angles of a triangle, and to command the streets in the centre of the town. All three were immediately garrisoned under the orders of the Alcayde; and when day broke the Moriscos found that they could not attack the church, or even show themselves in the streets adjacent, without exposure to the fire of the Christian musketry. They therefore retired to a neighbouring glen where they formed an encampment and considered their plan of operations.

Thus in possession of the place, the Christians were still further encouraged by descrying at a distance on the winding mountain road a body of cavalry marching, as it seemed, to their aid. It was a troop of fifty horse on a march of observation, commanded by Pedro de Gasca. On perceiving, however, the state of affairs at Uxixar, the captain turned his rein and beat a retreat from those dangerous mountains. The spirits of the Moriscos in their turn now rose on seeing their enemies thus left

to their own resources. Entering the town at night, they found their way into one of the garrisoned dwellings and set fire to the tower, which was built of wood. Of its occupants, a few women were let down by ropes and escaped with their lives, but by far the greater number perished in the flames. Intimidated by the fate of their friends, the holders of the other house and tower surrendered their fortress to some of the Moriscos with whom they were connected by family ties, and endeavoured to persuade their brethren in the church to follow their example. Negotiations for this purpose were set on foot, but were broken off in consequence of the Alcayde meeting with what he conceived to be an insult from those deputed to treat with him.

In resuming his defence, he withdrew with his whole force into the belfry, leaving the body of the church to its fate. It was soon occupied with signal advantage by the Moriscos. They first set fire to the drawbridge connecting the tower with the church, which the Christians had, of course, drawn up behind them, in the hope of the fire communicating itself to the door beyond. Behind this door, however, the besieged had raised a rampart of stone and earth sufficiently strong to prevent the entrance of the flames; but the fire, constantly fed with the broken woodwork of the altars and the choir, and blazing fiercely, soon made the interior intolerably hot. When the women and children cried out for water, it was found there was none to give them. After a few hours' endurance of this misery, some of the boldest of the fighting men determined to make a sally and cut their way through the furious throng below. The Abbot confessed them and gave them his blessing, concluding the ceremony by eating up the consecrated bread to save it from possible desecration. But at the last moment the prayers and tears of their women and children unmanned the leaders of the forlorn hope. Moved by their entreaties, they determined to surrender the tower and trust to the mercy of neighbours with whom, until a day or two before, they had been living in tolerable amity. But the fury of the attack, and the sight of fire and blood, had extinguished the last spark of compassion in the breasts of the Moriscos. After the surrender was resolved on, the fire still raging round the doorway, the besieged were obliged to let each other down by ropes, and nearly twenty-four hours elapsed before the last of the number had descended. On reaching the ground, each, without distinction of age or sex, was greeted with kicks and cuffs; and all, tied in pairs, were deposited in the ruined shell of the church. Next

day two hundred and fifty men were massacred in cold blood in the churchyard in the presence of Moriscos who had come from every glen in the Alpuxarras to assist at the butchery. A few artisans, carpenters, blacksmiths, and tailors, spared for a while for public convenience, were afterwards put to death by order of Aben Farax. The women were dispersed in groups among the neighbouring villages, to be disposed of according to the pleasure of King Aben Umeya.

In one place alone, within the bounds of the Alpuxarras, did the Spanish Christians successfully resist the revolt of the Moriscos. This honour belongs to Orgiba. Seated like Uxixar on the southern slope of the Sierra Nevada, but on a lower platform, Orgiba rivals that town in dignity and importance. Its broad valley, watered by two considerable streams, is fertile in the finest corn and silk; and its gray walls and towers are embosomed, like those of Damascus, in a forest of fruit-trees, amongst which the olive-tree attains to a size hardly exceeded at the foot of Lebanon or of Atlas. Happily for the Christians Orgiba boasted of a small fortress of some strength, commanded by Gaspar de Sarabia, a soldier of the old Castillian stamp, worthy to have received knighthood from the fair hands of the great Isabella. Finding that the danger was imminent, the time for preparation short, and speedy relief hopeless, this stout Alcayde hit on an expedient for victualling his stronghold, which showed him to be a man of ready wit and resource. As he retired behind his ramparts he seized all the Moorish women and children he could lay hold of, and shut them up along with those of his own garrison. By means of these hostages he secured not only the forbearance of some of his foes, but a secret supply of provisions from without. He had hardly executed this stroke of policy, and barred his gates, when six red banners, spangled with silver crescents, advancing from different points through the olive-groves, showed the wisdom of his precautions, and the importance which the Moriscos attached to the possession of his fort. From the top of his tower he kept a watchful eye on the proceedings of the enemy. He soon observed the formation of a great heap of faggots and bundles of reeds smeared with oil, a provision of which he well knew the purpose. When the heap seemed sufficiently large, therefore, he sent out a party of twenty men, who not only succeeded in setting fire to this provision of combustibles, but repulsed with loss the Moriscos who endeavoured to protect it. The enemy thereupon wreaked their fury on the church, which they had hitherto spared,

tearing down the altars and riddling the tabernacle of the eucharist with shot. They next fortified the top of the belfry with cushions and blankets, and placed their best marksmen there to keep up a constant fire upon the Christian fortress. Neither this annoyance, nor a message that the Alhambra had fallen, produced any effect on the castle or on its Alcayde. The Moors therefore resolved on more vigorous and more elaborate measures. They constructed two strong wooden sheds, which they placed upon low wheels, and covered with raw hides and damp wool. Moved from within, these sheds were then rolled close up to the walls of the castle. Thus sheltered, the besiegers proposed to undermine the wall and prop it up with beams, which were afterwards to be set on fire. In spite of the musketry from the castle, the lodgment of the sheds was effected, and the spades and pickaxes were heard at work within them. For some time, great stones, hurled from the battlements, bounded harmlessly from the cushioned roofs. Slates were at length used with happier effect, the sharp edges of these missiles ripping open the sacking which contained the wool. A libation of boiling oil then prepared the way for some well-aimed firebrands. The sheds were soon in a blaze, and the workmen, escaping from the flames, became marks for the bullets of the Christian sharpshooters. After this failure the besiegers relaxed in their efforts; and an order from Aben Umeya converted the siege into a blockade, which was raised at the end of seventeen days by the force of the Marquess of Mondejar.

The village of Istan, hung with its terraced gardens on the rugged banks of the river Verde, so famous in song and story, was the scene of an act of womanly heroism worthy of a land where the women had been always brave. The Christian population of the place consisted only of the curate, his niece, and their maid. For want of a better abode they inhabited a small Moorish fortalice, dismantled and ruinous, which the rebels now thought worth securing. On the morning of the revolt the priest was out taking the air with a Christian tailor who happened to be employed in the village. Suddenly assaulted by some of the rebels, they took refuge in the house of a friend, and by his aid and connivance, and after climbing over roofs, and lying hid in stables, they succeeded in escaping to the Sierra. Meanwhile a party of Moriscos hastened to occupy the tower. The door having been left open by the curate, nothing seemed to stand in the way of their design. The maid on seeing them ran upstairs to her mistress; and the intruders proceeded to remove some

wheat and oil which were stored on the ground-floor. This done, they began to ascend the steep and narrow staircase which led to the upper room. But here it so happened that some repairs were in progress, and a quantity of stones were lying about. These stones the girls had collected at the top of the stairs; and they now rolled them so suddenly and skilfully upon the approaching assailants, that one was slain, and the rest took flight. The door was immediately made fast behind them; and the female garrison took up their position on the top of the tower. When the Moriscos returned to the attack, stones from the battlements were rained upon their heads with so much coolness and precision that they found it impossible to force their way in. They replied with missiles from below, and the curate's niece was shot through the shoulder with an arrow. Nevertheless, she and her comrade maintained their post, from early morning until two o'clock in the afternoon, when they were happily relieved by a company of soldiers, and carried off in safety to Marbella, a walled town, some leagues off, on the Mediterranean. There they found the curate, and confirmed his story of the revolt. For, to add to the reverend man's discomfiture, the Christians of Marbella would not believe that their rich and prosperous neighbours at Istan had joined the rebellion, but made sure that the priest must have taken refuge within their walls from the fury of some jealous Morisco husband.

The rebellion had broken out so suddenly, and at so many points at once, that it was some days before the authorities at Granada learned the full extent of the danger. As a first step, the Marquess of Mondejar ordered Don Diego de Quesada, who commanded an outpost at Durcal, to move forward to Tablate, a village situated just beyond a deep ravine on the road to the Alpuxarras. Finding the place deserted by its inhabitants, Quesada was not sufficiently careful in posting sentinels and keeping his men together. As they straggled through the streets and among the empty houses, they were suddenly attacked by the Moors, who had been watching their movements from the Sierra. Quesada, who happened to be in the market-place, succeeded in getting a small party together, and in forming it outside the walls to receive and protect the fugitives. But he lost a considerable number both of men and horses; and he found his force so panic-struck that it was necessary to retreat, harassed as he went along by small parties of the enemy, to Padul at the entrance of the mountains.

Mondejar immediately recalled him from his command, and sent in his place Lorenzo de Avila and Gonzano de Alcantara, with a reinforcement of foot and fifty horse, to occupy Durcal and hold in check the valley of Lecrin. He next despatched couriers to all the towns of Andalucia to demand assistance; and the treasury of his Government being now drained to its last ducat, he raised what loans he could obtain in money, and munitions towards the equipment of a camp. The municipality of Granada seconded his efforts with considerable spirit. A militia, with a captain for each parish, was organized, in which every able-bodied man was expected to enrol himself. The Royal Audience became the main guard-house and assumed in all respects a military air, the public functionaries performing their civil duties with their swords by their sides. The Genoese merchants formed themselves into a company of volunteers, distinguished by the completeness of its appointment and the beauty of its arms.

Ronda, Marbella, and Malaga followed the example of Granada, in presenting a bold front to the rebels. They sent out parties to scour the country beyond their walls, to overawe the Moriscos who were preparing to rise, and to protect those who were well affected to the King's Government. But the avarice of the leaders, or their want of skill and experience, not unfrequently rendered these expeditions hurtful or useless. Sometimes they sacked a peaceable village, carrying off the women and children, and turning the men into bitter foes of the Christian cause; sometimes they were deceived by friendly professions, and left important posts in the hands of dangerous enemies.

Reinforced by the militia of Loxa, Alhama, Jaen, and Antequera, the Marquess of Mondejar committed the custody of the Alhambra to his son Tendilla, and on the 3d of January marched to the Alpuxarras at the head of two thousand foot and four hundred horse. On the evening of the second day he halted at Padul. A league of distance and a deep ravine separate Padul from Durcal, the village garrisoned by Lorenzo de Avila and his men. The Moriscos gave proof of great daring or great rashness, in attacking Avila in the night which followed the arrival of his chief. Avila, however, having received intelligence of their design, was prepared to receive them, and, after some severe fighting, in which he himself was wounded, repulsed them with the loss of two hundred men; a failure for which Aben Umeya, who was watching the event in the Sierra, wished to cut off the head of El Xaba, the leader of the attack. Next day Mondejar moved

forward to Durcal, where he remained until the 9th, and was joined by the militia of Baeza and Ubeda, amounting to twelve hundred foot and two hundred cavalry. From the village of Las Albuñuelas his imposing and increasing force obtained a voluntary submission, and an entreaty for pardon, which he gladly and graciously accorded.

Early in the morning of the 10th of January, he stood, with his four thousand men, on the brink of the great ravine of Tablate. Through this mountain chasm, above one hundred feet deep, one of the principal rivers of the Sierra, swollen with the winter snow and rains, ran raging amongst its rocks to the sea. An ancient bridge which spanned it at this point was the only means of crossing it to be found within eight leagues. This bridge the rebels had destroyed, leaving for the convenience of local traffic only a few timbers so placed that a man with a stout heart and a cool head might find a perilous path to the other side. On the steep bank, opposite the Christian troops, fluttered the white and scarlet pennons of the Moriscos, surrounded by a force of about three thousand men. A sharp fire of musketry having been exchanged, the Moors fell back a few paces, galled by the superior skill of the enemy, or desirous of saving their ammunition. But no Christian soldier was found to lead the way across the dizzy and dangerous bridge. At length a Francisian friar, one Christoval de Molina, stalked forth, it is said, his brown robe tucked up to his cord-girt waist, grasping a crucifix in his left hand, and a naked sword in his right. Calling aloud on the name of the Blessed Redeemer, he descended the bank, and stepped upon the toppling planks. Both armies ceased firing, and watched the progress of the gallant friar across the shattered masonry and the treacherous timber. He reached the other side in safety. Two soldiers were instantly on his track. One of them effected the passage; the other, missing his footing midway, was hurled into the abyss and eternity. Man after man dared what others had achieved. The firing was renewed with great warmth, the Morisco marksmen gathering on a rock which overhung and commanded the bridge, and the Christians pouring rapid volleys into the shifting mass, and clearing a landing-place for their adventurous comrades. When a sufficient force had crossed, a vigorous charge up the bank put the rebels to flight, and they were afterwards easily kept in check during the day, until the bridge had been so far repaired as to enable cavalry to pass it. The Moriscos then retired to the Sierra, and the Christians,

marching into Tablate, took possession of quarters out of which some of them had been compelled to make a nocturnal flight. Leaving a guard to defend the road, Mondejar marched next day to Lanjaron, the rebels occasionally firing upon his troops from the hillside, but not daring to dispute his passage. On the following afternoon—on the 12th of January—the Christian lances and banners, glittering among the distant olives, cheered the hearts of the Alcayde Sarabia and of his companions, whom the Moriscos held closely leaguered in the tower of Orgiba. At the approach of the army the siege was immediately raised, and Mondejar, without striking a blow, was able to victual the fortress, and garrison it with four hundred men.

While he was thus attacking the central districts of the revolted region, the rebels were threatened on the east by an enemy not less active in his movements, and far more stern in his vengeance. Don Luis Faxardo, Marquess of Los Velez,[1] lord of vast territories around the two towns of that name, Velez el Rubio, and Velez el Blanco, was at this time Viceroy of Murcia. Remarkable for his gigantic stature and great bodily strength, he was also famous for his skill as a horseman and a shot, for his prowess in the tournament and the chase, and for his haughty and imperious disposition. An old and favourite soldier of Charles V., he was the terror of the Turks and Moors who ravaged the Murcian coast. In one battle he was reported to have slain fifty of these invaders with his own hand; and it was said that the fame of his exploits had caused his picture to be hung in the palace of the Pasha at Algiers, and even in one of the public buildings of Constantinople. He was also noted for the state and ample hospitality which he maintained in his four castles, and was in all respects the type of the splendid and arrogant noble of a feudal age.[2] Anxious at once to display his loyalty, to protect his estates, and to share the glory of the war, the Viceroy of Murcia crossed the frontier of Granada without waiting for the royal order, which in ordinary circumstances would have been necessary to justify that step. His force, consisting at first of two thousand four hundred foot and three hundred horse, was soon raised by the accession of various bodies of volunteers to five thousand men. By way of Oria and Purchena, he marched along the eastern base of the

[1] For an account of him see Cascales, *Historia de Murcia*, fol. Murcia, 1622. Prologo, Casa de Fajardos, sheet †7.

[2] G. Perez de Hyta: *Guerras Civiles de Granada*, parte ii., 8vo, Paris, 1847, pp. 222-4. His sketch of Los Velez is extremely life-like, and it is one of the points in which he may be regarded as an authority.

Sierra de Gata, passing that chain near Tabernas, where he formed a camp. Crossing the river of Almeria, he stormed Guecija, in spite of the obstinate resistance of El Gorri ; and he drove three thousand Moriscos out of Felix, routing them afterwards with great slaughter on the mountains, whither they had retired to a position which they deemed impregnable. At Ohanez he fought a still more bloody battle, in which a thousand rebels remained dead on the field, and where he led his cavalry in person up the craggy hill of the Sierra, in the face of stones, arrows, and musketry, with a gallantry which justified the Arabic name, given him by the foe, of Devil's Iron-head. Here he released from captivity thirty Christian women, who appeared next day habited in blue and white, the colours of the Immaculate Conception, at a procession in honour of the feast of the Blessed Virgin, in which Los Velez and his captains and knights likewise walked, clad in complete armour, and holding tapers in their mailed hands. The right to pillage which he granted to his soldiers exposed him to the disadvantage, after each victory, of losing a number of his men who retired with their booty of plate, or silk, or pearls, to secure it at their homes. To avoid this evil he refrained from quartering them in villages, and remained in camp so long as the weather permitted. But in suppressing the rebellion, he scorned to use any weapon but the sword. The atrocities of the Moslems, he conceived, could be fittingly punished only by cruelties yet more shocking. He wished to break their spirit by a succession of rapid and stunning blows ; nor did he conceal his contempt for the more conciliating and merciful policy of Mondejar. Indeed he desired that his campaign should stand out in contrast with that of the less fiery leader, as well as obtain for himself the honour of finishing the war. From these causes, as well as from a natural dislike of interference entertained by Mondejar, a jealousy sprung up between the two Marquesses and their officers, which did no service to the cause of the King.

Feats of arms were performed, with various success, by the militia of different towns. That of Guadix, under Pedro Arias de Avila, attacked a strong Morisco force in the neighbouring Sierra, killed four hundred of their fighting men, and captured two thousand women and children, with a vast quantity of booty. From Almeria Garcia de Villaroel made a successful expedition against the insurgents who had assembled in the neighbouring Sierra of Benahaduz. The Morisco leader, Ibrahim el Cacis, when summoned to surrender, replied that he would give an answer

when he planted his banners in the market-place at Almeria. Within a few days their crescent-spangled flags were displayed there; but his head, fixed on a pike, followed in the rear, and the array was closed by the bishop and his clergy, chanting the Te Deum.

Mondejar was meanwhile making a successful progress through the central valleys of the Alpuxarras. He halted at Poqueira, Pitres, Jubiles, Uxixar, Cadiar, Paterna, and Anedrax, meeting with no opposition beyond that offered by a few Morisco skirmishers in the more difficult passes of the mountains. Many villages made their submission, and received his forgiveness. The places which contained booty he generally gave up to pillage, sparing the lives of the inhabitants. He even entered into negotiations with several of the chief leaders of the rebellion, promising them pardon if they would lay down their arms and dismiss their followers.

But an unfortunate event nipped in the bud these hopes of peace. At Jubiles, the castle, perched on a tall crag overlooking the town, surrendered at the approach of the royal army. Three hundred men and twelve hundred women thus became prisoners of war. To prevent their escape, they were marched down into the town. The church, the only public building in the place, being too small to contain more than a few, above a thousand persons bivouacked in the little market-place before the church, surrounded by a military guard. About midnight, a sentinel, allured by the beauty of a Moorish maiden, made certain proposals to her, which were indignantly rejected. Seizing her by the arm, he then endeavoured to draw her away from her companions. A young man, her lover or brother, who followed her in female attire, immediately sprang forward to the rescue, attacked the soldier with a poniard, and likewise wounded him severely with the sword which he wrested from his hand. Other Christians came to assist their comrade; the angry Moor fought desperately; a cry was raised that the crowd of women was mainly composed of men so disguised; swords clashed and muskets flashed through the darkness; and in the panic which ensued the battle and the carnage became general. Some servants of the Marquess, who guarded the church, had the presence of mind to lock the doors, or the prisoners within might have shared the fate of their unhappy companions in the market-place. Of these, hardly one survived that dreadful night. At dawn the ground was heaped with their corpses; and of the soldiers many had been severely wounded

by their panic-stricken comrades. On hearing the disturbance Mondejar sent two captains and some sergeants to quell it; but it ceased only with the darkness. Greatly shocked at the disaster, he instituted a strict investigation into the cause, and hanged three musketeers, who appeared to have been most to blame. He also sent back to their relations about a thousand women, the survivors of the massacre, and those women who were captured at Paterna, intimating that he should expect them to surrender themselves again, if required. But the suspicion and mistrust which the affair aroused in the minds of the rebels were not to be easily removed. The negotiations for peace languished. Aben Umeya and his generals, amongst whom discords and jealousies were beginning to prevail, forgot their differences, and returned with renewed ardour to their levies, and to the defence of their mountain strongholds.

At Guajar-el-alto, the top of a steep and rugged hill was crowned by a fortress, accessible, for the last quarter of a league, only by a single path hung on the precipitous face of the rocks. Here therefore had been collected the women and children, and all the valuables of a large district, under the protection of a thousand men commanded by El Zamar, one of the bravest of the insurgent leaders. Baffled in more than one operation by the facilities of retreat and attack afforded to the enemy by this position, Mondejar determined to take it, and advanced against it from Orgiba with his whole force. His officers had of late been so accustomed to easy victories, that some of them here suffered for the contempt with which they had learned to regard the Moriscos. Don Juan de Villareal, having obtained leave to reconnoitre the place with a few friends and fifty musketeers, attempted to surprise it with that small force, and lost his life and the lives of half his little band in the adventure. Next day Mondejar made four separate assaults, all of which were repulsed with considerable slaughter. During the night the victorious garrison, having no hope of succour, deemed it prudent to evacuate the fortress, carrying off as many of their women and children and as much of their goods as they could convey down the rugged face of the hill. At dawn the Christians who led the new attack found the walls unguarded, and occupied the place without a blow. Mondejar was so enraged at the loss of his expected glory and booty, that he forgot his usual moderation, and indelibly disgraced his name by ordering the wretched relics of the garrison, old men, and women, and children, to be put to the sword in his presence. He then caused the walls and defences of the fort to be demolished.

The surrender of Guajar-el-alto was followed by an unsuccessful attempt to capture Aben Umeya. Lurking during the day in the Sierra of Berchules, the Moorish King and El Zaguer were in the habit of passing the night in Mecina de Bombaron. Their usual place of resort there was the house of Diego Lopez Aben Aboo, a Morisco of wealth and consequence who held a safeguard from Mondejar, which protected all beneath his roof-tree. Informed of these facts by traitors among the rebels who served the royal cause as spies, the Marquess took measures to seize the persons of the insurgent leaders. The enterprise was entrusted to Flores and Maldonaldo, two of his most active captains, with six hundred picked men. Flores, at the head of four hundred of them, was to surround the neighbouring village of Valor, while Maldonaldo with the remainder beset the house of Aben Aboo at Mecina. They marched by night, stealing along with the matches of their muskets carefully covered, and using every precaution to preserve silence. It so happened, that Aben Umeya and El Zaguer were both in the suspected house that night, accompanied by Dalay, another formidable chief, whose head would also have been a prize. But, as Maldonaldo's party approached Mecina, the musket of one of his men unfortunately went off. Dalay's quick ear catching the report in the distance, he aroused El Zaguer, who was sleeping near him, and they instantly sprang from a window at some height from the ground at the back of the house, and escaped to the Sierra. To Aben Umeya, in consideration of his royal rank, a separate chamber had been allotted; and he was sleeping there with his mistress, unconscious of his danger. Ere he was aware of it, the Christians had surrounded the house. He hurried from window to window, but found every egress guarded. After knocking in vain for admittance, the soldiers began to thunder at the door with a huge beam which they used as a battering ram. No time was to be lost. In his despair the hunted Prince descended to the threshold, and removing the bar which fastened the door, slunk behind it as it was burst open. Eager for their prey, the invaders rushed into the house. There they found Aben Aboo, with a number of women and children, and sixteen or seventeen men, some of them followers of the rebel leaders, others inhabitants of the village. All of them of course asserted that they were peaceable subjects of the King, or at least repentant insurgents who came to take shelter under Aben Aboo's safeguard, and afterwards submit themselves to the Christian Government. In the fury of his

disappointment, Maldonaldo ordered all of them to be arrested, and menaced the master of the house with death, unless he confessed what had become of his guests. Finding the Morisco firm in his denial of any knowledge of their movements, he caused him to be led to the back of the house, and to be tied by a part of his person, which decency must leave unnamed, to the high branch of a mulberry-tree which grew near the wall. In this agonising attitude he remained for a while half suspended, his heels barely resting on the ground, constantly asserting that he had nothing to reveal. At length one of the soldiers, provoked by his endurance of the torture, gave him a blow which knocked his feet from their position, and threw the whole weight of his body on one of the most sensitive of its parts. The unfortunate victim fell heavily to the ground, deprived of his virility but not of his courage and resolution. "May it please God that El Zaguer may live and that I may die," were the only words he uttered ere he swooned in his agony.[1] Whilst this horrible scene was being enacted in the presence of the Christians and their captives, Aben Umeya contrived to steal from his hiding-place behind the unguarded door, plunged down a steep descent in front of the house, and escaped to the hills. Leaving the poor host lying unconscious and alone, Maldonaldo carried off the rest of the inmates prisoners of war. He soon joined the forces under Flores, and together they picked up a few more captives, and swept upwards of three thousand head of cattle from the pastures of several peaceable hamlets, as they marched back to Orgiba. Mondejar was highly displeased at the results of their expedition. Seizing the cattle as contraband booty, he ordered all the prisoners taken under the privileged roof of Aben Aboo to be set at liberty.

The Count of Tendilla, governing at Granada during the absence of his father, was happy only in one part of his administration. The resources of a country rendered fertile by the industry of the race whom the Christians were now seeking to

[1] The affair is thus circumstantially related by Luis del Marmol Carvajal; *Historia del rebelion de los Moriscos*, i. p. 503. The captain, finding it impossible to obtain any information as to Aben Umeya or El Zaguer, "hizo poner a tormento á Aben Aboo, "mandandolo colgar de los testiculos en la rama de un moral, que estaba á las espaldas "de su casa; y teniendole colgado, que solamente se sompesaba con los calcañales de "los pies, viendo que negaba, llegó á él un ayrado soldado, y como por desden lé dio "una coz, que le hizo dar un vayven en vago, y caer de golpe en el suelo, quedando los "testiculos y las vinzas colgadas de la rama del moral. No debió de ser tan pequeño el "dolor, que dexára de hacer perder el sentido á qualquier hombre nacido en otra parte; "mas este barbara hijo de aspereza y frialdad indomable, y menospreciador de la muerte, "mostrando grand descuido en el semblante, solamente abrió la boca para decir, 'Por "'Dios que El Zaguer vive, y yo muere,' sin querer jamas declarar otra cosa."

exterminate, enabled him to provide regular and abundant supplies of food for the army of the Alpuxarras. But at Granada he incurred great odium among the Moriscos of the Albaycin by quartering in their houses the Christian militia troops who had mustered there in obedience to the orders of the Captain-General. In vain the chief Moriscos mounted the hill of the Alhambra to entreat the Count to revoke an order which destroyed the privacy and pleasure of their homes. In vain they argued that hitherto the soldiers had been lodged in empty houses, given up to them for that purpose, and that in addition to the repugnance with which the inhabitants of the Albaycin received these martial guests under the roofs which protected their wives and daughters, they were at the mercy of any villain who chose to give a nocturnal alarm which might lead to the massacre of their unoffending families. Tendilla replied that he must obey the King's commands, and so provide for the comforts of his soldiers as to avoid the risk of desertion; that he could avoid this risk only by billeting them in private houses; and that they were so lodged partly for the purposes of preventing secret meetings for seditious purposes, of deterring the inhabitants from harbouring rebels from the mountains, and of checking at its source the rising which had been threatened in the city. Offended and aggrieved by a policy which Tendilla was perhaps compelled to pursue, the Moriscos found their worst fears realised by the licentious conduct of their inmates. Many of them began to repent of their backwardness to join the standard of Aben Farax when he made his midnight entry into Granada amidst the snows of Christmas. Many of them sent invitations to Aben Umeya to approach the city, promising to join him whenever his host should appear in force without the walls.

Tendilla was equally unfortunate in the single military operation for which he made himself responsible. He had sent Bernardino de Villalta, with a company of foot, to garrison the fortress of La Peza. Weary of inaction, and eager for glory and spoil, that officer assured him that he had received secret trustworthy intelligence which would enable him to capture Aben Umeya, and asked for leave and troops to essay the adventure. Tendilla granted his request, and sent him three companies of infantry, and a score of horse. With these forces Villalta crossed the marquesate of Zenete, pushed on by night through the pass of Ravaha, and before daybreak halted among the mountains near Laroles. This village, having lately submitted to the Government,

was full of Morisco families from other parts, who had taken shelter under the safeguard which had been accorded to it. Ignorant, or careless, of its position, the Christians burst upon the unfortunate and defenceless place as if it had been a hostile fortress, sacking the houses, making prize of the women, and slaying upwards of a hundred of the men. They then retreated in all haste, but not soon enough to pass the gorge of Ravaha before the enraged inhabitants of the valley had mustered to take their revenge. Had the pass been preoccupied the Christian marauders would probably have been cut off to a man near the scene of their rapine. As it was, their rear-guard was twice attacked with great fury, eighteen men were killed, and many wounded, and Villalta himself narrowly escaped with his life. It happened that two Christians of Guadix had about this time engaged a Morisco of Calahorra to kill or capture Aben Umeya; promising him, as a reward, the liberty of his wife and two daughters, who were prisoners in the hands of the Government. The Morisco was informing his employers of the progress of his plans at the moment that Villalta's party marched into Guadix, with their spoil of cattle and captives from Laroles. "Alas, sirs," said he, "I shall never see my wife and children at liberty; this "expedition will frustrate all my schemes; every day things will "grow worse; and no one can be betrayed, as no one will trust "his neighbour." His prediction was in part verified. Mondejar ordered Villalta to be arrested, but found it impossible or inconvenient to bring him to punishment; and no redress was afforded to Laroles. A royal decree commanded all the rebel captives, male and female, above ten years of age to be sold as slaves, instead of being treated as prisoners of war. Village after village, which had made its peace with the King, resumed its arms. The garrison of Tablate was attacked and massacred, and that important position was again, for a while, in the hands of the rebels. Aben Umeya, instead of being given up, received a great accession of strength. The fate of Laroles, and the tragedy of Jubiles, brought to his standard many new recruits burning for revenge, and induced many of his early partisans to continue the contest, and to lend the force of their rage and despair to a cause which they well knew to be hopeless.

Such was the state of the war at the beginning of March 1569.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MORISCO REBELLION; FROM THE 1ST OF MARCH TO THE 12TH OF JULY 1569.

THE progress of the war at Granada caused no little anxiety and debate at Madrid. The King and his ministers had at first fallen into the mistake of treating a very serious rebellion, in which race had risen against race, and which extended over a wide tract of mountainous country bordering the sea-coast, as a provincial outbreak, which provincial authority and local force could easily quell. But when they found that the fire which had been kindled at Christmas, and which seemed quenched in January, was blazing up with renewed fury in March, they began to comprehend the danger and to change their tone. Various opinions agitated the council. Some advised that the King in person should repair to Granada, to endeavour by his presence to produce such a calm as had on like occasions been produced there by visits of Ferdinand and Isabella. This proposal was resisted by Cardinal Espinosa, who said that the King could not be spared from Madrid, and suggested that Don John of Austria should be sent to the seat of war as representative of the Crown. Philip approved the suggestion; but he would not entrust Don John with the sole command, nor did he fail to take precautions for ensuring that amount of procrastination which he conceived essential to every enterprise. He therefore formed for his brother a council consisting of Mondejar, the President Deza, the Arch-

bishop of Granada, the Duke of Sesa, and Luis Quixada, before whom all affairs were to be laid for discussion and decision. But even when measures had been resolved on by this body, they were not to be taken until they had been reviewed and approved by the supreme council at Madrid.

In the meantime Mondejar was advised of the change that was to take place in the administration, and was ordered to leave two thousand foot and three hundred horse in the Alpuxarras, and return with the rest of his forces to Granada. The Marquess of Los Velez was instructed to communicate with Don

DON LUIS DE REQUESENS, GRAND COMMANDER OF CASTILLE.

John, and to consider himself under his orders. Don Luis de Requesens, Grand Commander of Castille, who had been Don John's lieutenant in the fleet, was recalled from Naples with his squadron, in which a regiment of infantry was to be embarked for Spain, and he was directed to act in concert with Don Sancho de Leyva in protecting the shores of Andalusia from the Turks and the Moors.

While these preparations to suppress the rebellion were going on at a distance, affairs at the scene of action were every day assuming a darker aspect. Every day some new act of cruelty and treachery was perpetrated by the Christians. In the prison

of Granada there had been confined, at the beginning of the troubles, upwards of a hundred of the principal Morisco citizens, who had been arrested on various pretexts, but most of them really on account of suspected disaffection. About the middle of March, signal fires, blazing at night on the mountains, had been observed to be answered by lights in certain windows of the Albaycin, and even by fires on the terraced housetops. The soldiers of the various guards were therefore warned to be on the alert; and the Alcayde of the prison showed his zeal by collecting a considerable body of friends to keep watch with him, and by distributing arms to his Christian prisoners. Men's minds being thus prepared for surprise, it happened that the bell of the Alhambra, which sounded every day at dawn, was rung somewhat later, and somewhat more quickly than usual. The whole city flew to arms; and in the prison, the Christian prisoners, with the help of the Alcayde's friends, at once set upon their Morisco companions. These unfortunate men, though more numerous than their assailants, were unarmed, except with a few sticks which they found in their dungeon, and the stones and bricks which they tore up from the pavements. But they defended themselves with great spirit; the courtyards rung with cries of Christ and Mahomet, and a desperate attempt was made to set the prison on fire. It was not until a party of soldiers reinforced the Christians, and until the affray had lasted for seven hours, that the struggle was brought to an end. One hundred and ten Moriscos, the whole number engaged, lay dead on the pavement, gashed with frightful wounds. Only two survived, Antonio and Francisco de Valor, relations of Aben Umeya, and they owed their lives to the circumstance that, out of regard to their rank and importance, they had been placed apart under a guard of six men. Five Christians were slain, and seventeen wounded. No official notice of this shocking butchery was taken by the authorities. The Count of Tendilla, hearing of the disturbance, was about to head a force to quell it. "It is unneces-" sary," said an Alcayde of the audience, who had just come up to the Alhambra, "the prison is quiet; the Moors are all dead." The Alcayde of the prison retained the money and jewels found on the persons of the unhappy men who had been murdered under his charge, as if it had been booty won in fair fight. Even the historian of the rebellion, a man neither unfeeling nor generally disposed to approve of Christian cruelty, shared the general apathy, and remarked that the Moriscos must doubtless have been

more guilty than at first sight appeared, because when their wives and children came to the royal audience to claim their property, it was confiscated to the use of the Crown.[1]

Mondejar was now naturally desirous to finish the war, or at least to strike a decisive blow, before Don John should arrive to supersede him in the command. He therefore resolved on one more attempt to seize the persons of Aben Umeya and El Zaguer. Trusting to his spies, he sent Alvaro Flores and Antonio de Avila, with six hundred picked musketeers, to surprise them in the village of Valor. On the road these two captains increased their force by the addition of a body of nearly a hundred men, who agreed to join their standard. They reached Valor in the night, and agreed to approach it on two different sides. The division under Flores being met by some spies who were looking out for them, one of these was unfortunately shot by mistake as he approached. The alarm being thus given, and panic and distrust engendered, the object of the expedition, as well as all order, was forgotten, and the troops rushed into the place and sacked it. The chiefs whom they had come to take escaped, of course, in the confusion. To have captured them, wherever they were found, would have been quite justifiable. But the village of Valor, having submitted to the Government, was not justly liable to pillage merely on the suspicion that rebels had been harboured in one of its houses. Flores and Avila, however, thought otherwise; and their troops were followed by so many speculators, ready to buy the soldiers' booty, that it must have been generally understood that spoil was at least one of the purposes of the expedition. In spite of the warnings of their scouts, the sun was high next day before the Christians began their march, laden with plunder, and encumbered with twelve hundred captive women in the centre of their line. The Moriscos, gathering from the mountains, were soon on their track. They first sent messengers to the Christian leaders, to say that they were peaceable subjects, and had submitted to the King, as the safeguard granted to their village proved; that the outrage inflicted on them might have arisen from a mistake, and that they were willing to think so and return home, if their women were given up to them. Avila made answer that they were dogs and traitors, and ordered his men to fire upon them. This insolence provoked a violent attack on the rear-guard of the Christians, in which Avila himself was slain. Signal-fires on the hill-tops had already raised the country,

[1] L. de Marmol: *Hist. de la Rebelion*, lib. v. cap. 38, i. p. 517.

and the King's troops, cumbered with their spoil, were harassed by perpetual attacks, each turn of the road disclosing a new enemy, and becoming the scene of a new battle. The captives were soon released; the Christian line was broken through; and its scattered portions cut off in detail. When advance seemed impossible, Flores led the remains of his force up the mountain-side, where he himself was soon overtaken and slain. Fifty of his men threw themselves into a church-tower, in which they were ere long burned alive by their besiegers. Of the whole band, of upwards of seven hundred men, who had halted at the gate of Valor, there survived but sixty, who effected their escape over the hills to Adra. The party, who had joined Avila and Flores on their march, had themselves already committed a wanton outrage on two villages which had returned to their allegiance. From Turon, which they attacked first, they had been repulsed with the loss of eleven men. At Murtas, which they approached more cautiously, they had been received as friends, were lodged in the church, and fed by the inhabitants: hospitality which they repaid by sacking the village next day at dawn. Surprised by the infuriated peasantry, they were perhaps saved for a few days, by falling in with a stronger force, from the merited fate which ultimately overtook most of them. The loss suffered by the Christians at Turon was made a pretext by Diego de Gasca for marching thither from Adra to demand satisfaction. The inhabitants declared themselves loyal and peaceable, and said that they had only defended themselves from lawless violence. Gasca, nevertheless, required that those who had slain, or as he called it, murdered, the Christians, should be given up to him; but in pursuing his search for them in the village, he himself was stabbed to the heart. His men instantly sacked the place; but the pillage of a few cottages afforded small compensation for the loss of one of the most gallant and active of the Christian captains, who had thrice beaten off Aben Umeya when threatening Adra with a superior force.

Outrages like these were common in all parts of the disturbed Province. The two Christian armies, ill-paid and weary of their rough winter campaign, had become two hordes of spoilers, ranging the country for plunder, and fomenting the rebellion which they had been levied to quell. Mondejar having failed in his attempt to finish the war at one blow, was, perhaps, not very solicitous to smooth the difficulties lying in the way of his successor. He remained inactive at Orgiba, waiting for the departure

of Don John from Court. Los Velez was hovering on the eastern border of the Alpuxarras, finding no enemy to meet him in the field, and effecting nothing but ruin and rapine. The armies shared the jealousy of their leaders. Picena, a village which had submitted to Mondejar, and had received two of his soldiers for its protection, was sacked by a company of foot from the camp of Los Velez, the captain refusing to acknowledge any safeguard not signed by his own chief. The marauders, on retiring with their booty, were overtaken by a thick fog and a snowstorm, in which they were attacked by an overwhelming force of houseless and infuriated Moriscos, and cut off to a man, their weapons serving to arm their conquerors. Such events as these strengthened the hands of Aben Umeya. The bolder and more ardent Moriscos were elated by their successes, and conceived hopes of doing to the whole Christian host what had been done to the plunderers of Picena and Valor. The most timid had learned by bitter experience that neither repentant submission nor unshaken loyalty could insure their safety. If the dusky African complexion was seen in the street, or the Arabic language was heard in the market-place, that was a sufficient reason for sacking the village, and selling the inhabitants for slaves. Places which had submitted, therefore, resumed their arms; those which had before been neutral now took them up; the whole population rising in rage and despair, a few hoping for liberty, all thirsting for vengeance.

Mondejar began his march from Orgiba on the 8th of April, leaving Don Juan Mendoza Sarmiento in that town, with two thousand foot and a hundred horse, and with orders to remain strictly on the defensive. Beyond the walls of Orgiba, and the range of the musketry in its towers, Aben Umeya was therefore virtual master of the Alpuxarras. Every village of importance declared for him, and he considered his power sufficiently secure to put to death several alguazils and regidors, who either had shown reluctance to espouse his cause, or had submitted too tamely to the Christians. He had some time before sent his brother Andalla, with presents, to entreat for aid at Algiers and Constantinople. The envoy from Granada was, however, but coldly received there. Aluch Ali, Pasha of Algiers, was meditating an attack upon Tunis; and Sultan Selim was preparing an expedition against the Venetian realm of Cyprus. The Sultan gave nothing but promises and hopes. The Pasha granted permission to some of his corsair captains to lend their aid, and

issued a proclamation to his people, inviting every man who possessed two weapons of one kind to bestow one of them upon the faithful of Granada, for the love of God and the service of the Prophet. A small force of Turks and Moors was at last raised, under the command of one Habaqui, and succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the Spanish cruisers, and effecting a landing in Andalusia.

Mondejar arrived at Granada on Easter Eve. Some attempt was made to give to his return from a fruitless campaign, leaving a rebellion behind him, the appearance of a triumph. In his entry into the city, the cavalry led the way, displaying the banners which they had taken from the Moriscos, and trailing them in the dust. Next came a long string of sumpter mules, laden with arms taken in the field, or surrendered by the submitted mountaineers. Around Mondejar himself rode a number of nobles and gentlemen who had met him beyond the gate. The regiments of infantry, in companies, brought up the rear, and the streets were lined with spectators. President Deza, however, and the enemies of the Marquess, had more cause for satisfaction than Tendilla and his friends. The shouts which greeted the return of the army soon died away, while there remained a deep-seated and increasing feeling of discontent, not only among the Moriscos who were forced to lodge, feed, and endure the soldiery, but among the Christians, who had lost sons, brothers, or husbands in the Alpuxarras, and who complained that their enemies had been pardoned by the leader whose duty it was to avenge their fall.

Towards the end of March, Don John of Austria accompanied the King from Madrid to Aranjuez, whither it was the custom of the Court to repair in early spring, to enjoy the beauties of the garden and the budding forest. Originally a hunting-seat of the Grand Master of Santiago, Aranjuez, when that dignity merged in the Crown, early attracted the notice of Isabella the Catholic, the great Queen who lives not only in the noblest page of Spanish history, but in some of the finest monuments of mediæval art. She repaired and embellished the mansion, and planted the delicious garden, zoned by the confluent waters of the Tagus and the Xarama, and long known as the Island of the Queen. Charles V. loved to hunt in the forest, of which he greatly extended the bounds; but he left the palace as he found it, and added to his grandmother's garden nothing but an avenue of elms, of which the enormous trunks and shattered heads still remain as picturesque ruins among the planes and hornbeams of later times. Philip II.

made great additions to the palace under Juan de Toledo, architect of the Escorial; but since the death of the artist, in 1567, the works had been left unfinished. Enough, however, was complete to lodge a large retinue; and on this occasion the Infanta Juana had accompanied her brothers to Aranjuez. They were hunting in the forest, when the Princess's horse, scared by the report of a gun, threw her, spraining one of her arms. This accident delayed the departure of Don John, until she had nearly recovered from the injury. On the 6th of April he was able to set out, accompanied by the trusty Luis Quixada and the rest of his household. A journey of six days, over the plains of La Mancha and the mountains of Jaen, brought them to Hiználeus, a village six leagues distant from Granada.

Here the Marquess of Mondejar, escorted by a troop of cavalry and a large staff of officers, was in waiting to receive Don John. They spent the evening together, and set out together the next day for Granada. As they approached the city, however, the superseded commander pleaded the necessity of superintending the preparations there in person, and pushing on alone, retired for the rest of the day to the Alhambra. At Albolote, a league and a half from the gates, Don John was met by the Count of Tendilla, at the head of two hundred chosen cavalry, brilliantly mounted and equipped. A hundred of these horsemen were dressed in Christian attire, with short mantles of crimson velvet; and a hundred, according to a fashion which long prevailed in Spanish pageants, wore the gay Moorish *marlota*, or loose tunic, over their armour, and had turbans wreathed round their casques. Without the gates, a gunshot beyond the royal hospital, at the Beyro brook, Don John found the chief functionaries and inhabitants of Granada waiting on horseback to receive him. The President Deza was there, with four of the auditors, and the alcaydes of his courts; the archbishop, with four of the chapter; and the *regidor*, or mayor, with four of his *veintiquatros*, or aldermen; all in their official robes. The President first offered his compliments and congratulations, and was followed by the prelate and the civic dignitaries. Each of them then presented his subordinates, as well as many of the principal citizens; and the grace with which Don John, hat in hand, bowed his acknowledgments of their civilities, was the theme of universal commendation. The whole infantry force of the army, nearly ten thousand strong, which was drawn up on the adjacent parade ground of Beyro, now fired several volleys of musketry; during

which the cavalcade slowly moved on towards the gates, Don John riding between the President and the archbishop. A few paces further a new spectacle awaited him, a spectacle prepared, with studious malice, for the mortification of Mondejar. From the gate came pouring a long procession of matrons and maidens, neither wearing holiday costume nor scattering flowers and smiles, but clad in woful weeds, with dishevelled locks, and uttering cries and lamentations. These women, more than four hundred in number, had been, or professed to have been, captives in the Alpuxarras; and they had been assembled here in order to touch the heart of the young commander, and to prejudice his mind against Mondejar and his policy. "Justice, justice, my lord," cried the leaders of this mourning multitude, "justice is all we "ask for, we who have nothing left us but our woe, and who "heard the clash of the steel which slew our fathers and husbands "and sons with less grief than we hear the news that their "murderers are to be forgiven." In reply to this shrill tempest of complaint and weeping, Don John said a few words of sympathy and consolation, and promised that justice should be speedily done. He then entered the city, supported by the representatives of law on the right, and of religion on the left, through the Elvira gate, beneath those antique horse-shoe arches, famous in the romantic story of Granada, through which had passed so many pomps and pageants. Within, he was greeted with other sights and sounds than tearful cheeks and sobs of anguish. Along the lofty streets, from every projecting balcony and latticed window, rich draperies hung in masses of brilliant colour; and the high-born dames and daughters of Granada, in their brightest smiles, their hair adorned with their finest roses and carnations, leant forward to enjoy and adorn the military pageant. Hailed with shouts and glances of welcome, and bowing to right and left, with gallant grace, the young commander, with a heart elated with hope and confidence, rode through the city which he had come to govern and defend. Passing along the street of Elvira, beneath the tall tower of St. Andrew, the lofty wall of the Capuchin convent, and the deep-browed church of St. Peter and St. Paul, the cavalcade traversed the Plaza Nueva to the massive portal and long front of the Palace of the Audience, or, as the Moriscos called it, the House of Misfortune.[1] Here Don John, taking leave of the archbishop, the regidor, and the Count of Tendilla, was conducted by his host, the President, to

[1] Mendoza: *Guerra civil*, lib. ii. fol. 51.

the apartments which had been prepared for him. The ceremonial of his reception had been exactly prescribed by the King, each principal functionary at Granada having received precise instructions as to the style of his compliments, and the number of his attendants on the occasion. All honour was to be paid to him that was ever conceded to persons not royal; and he was to be addressed as "His Excellency," a mode of address which flattery or enthusiasm sometimes ventured to elevate to the more princely style of "His Highness."[1]

The first public business transacted by Don John was to receive a deputation from the Morisco inhabitants of the city. "They had looked forward," said their spokesman, "with great "joy and hope to his coming, believing that it would deliver them "from the unjust imputations and galling grievances under which "they laboured. Loyal subjects deserved protection no less than "rebels deserved punishment. They, although they had never "been rebellious or disloyal, suffered great oppression from the "King's servants, both military and civil. Soldiers robbed them "of their goods and polluted their homes; and hitherto, they had "been able to obtain no redress. They hoped these wrongs "would be checked at their source, by the adoption of a new "plan for quartering the troops; they humbly entreated His "Excellency not to listen to the slanders against them; and they "placed their lives, property, and honour under his protection." Don John replied in a few courteous words, which deepened the favourable impression which he had already produced. Assuring the Moriscos of that protection which loyal subjects deserved, he reminded them that he had come for the express purpose of chastising those who were not loyal. As to the grievances complained of, he would receive and examine their memorials, and

[1] His secretaries soon began to call him by the latter title, as is found by drafts of letters, with suggestions that *Su Alteza* should say this or that, in addition to what was set down. Ruy Gomez de Silva, Prince of Eboli, who as a veteran courtier might be supposed to be particular in such matters, addresses him, in the letters which I have seen, always as "*Vuestra Excelencia*," but the letters begin sometimes "*Excelentisimo* "*Señor*," sometimes "*Muy ilustre Señor*," and occasionally simply "*Señor*." In a curious collection of MS. papers belonging to Don Pascual de Gayangos, there is one short letter to Don John, 15th November 1570, in which Ruy Gomez thanks him for taking into his service the son of one Dr. Tores, styling him "Your Excellency," to which the Princess of Eboli—the famous Ana de Mendoza—adds a postscript of the same purport, in which he is called "Your Highness." In the same volume there is a letter from the experienced courtier and statesman, Don Juan de Ydiaquez, dated Genoa, 18th December 1573, in which Don John is styled "*Serenisimo Señor*" and "*Vuestra* "*Alteza*." In the sixteenth century "Your Highness" was a higher style than it now is: it was frequently applied to crowned heads of kingly rank; and by it Philip II. sometimes addressed his cousin, the Emperor Maximilian II.

endeavour to do justice; but he cautioned them against making false or exaggerated claims, as likely rather to damage than further their cause. He afterwards appointed Pedro Lopez de Mesa, alcayde of the royal audience, to investigate their complaints, and named two of the auditors as commissioners to deal with these complaints in matters touching the Crown revenues.

Notwithstanding the critical position of affairs, Don John was obliged to let the week, which followed his arrival, pass away without entering upon the business of the war. He could do nothing without his council; and the council could do nothing without the Duke of Sesa, who was absent from the city. Don John therefore devoted the week to an inspection of the defences, which he made in the company of Mondejar and Quixada, going the round of the walls and the guard-houses, and considering the position of the sentinels, and the order of the patrols. These measures were the more necessary and seasonable, since the disappearance of the snow from the passes and the return of spring had rendered a sudden attack upon the city less difficult, at the very time that it was rendered more probable by the late successes of the rebels.

A review of the troops was made by Don John, and a meeting of the council was held on the 22d of April, the day after the arrival of the Duke of Sesa. This nobleman, Gonçalo Fernandez de Cordoba, heir and representative of the Great Captain, was not only by birth and wealth one of the magnates of Andalusia, but he had himself held high public offices with some reputation. Viceroy of Milan in 1557, during the war which was ended by the peace of Cercamp, he gained at the foot of the Alps considerable advantages over the French under Brissac,[1] the famous marshal with whom, as his countrymen believed, Charles V. used to say he could have conquered the world. Their successes were much vaunted by the Spaniards, but by Italians they were attributed to good luck as much as to Sesa's military skill. He was much devoted to pomp and pleasure, and in pageants and tournaments he had spent the greater part of his fortune.[2] He was now residing on his estates in Granada. He and Luis Quixada, having both of them seen much service abroad, were the chief military authorities in the council; Mondejar's experience of arms having been obtained only in the present war, and in militia duty at home in times of peace. The archbishop, Pedro Guerrero,

[1] Natale Conti: *Historie delle novi Tempi*, i. ff. 310-12.
[2] *Relazione de Paolo Tiepolo*, 1563. Alberi, S. i. vol. v. p. 42.

once a doctor of Trent, who had enjoyed his present mitre for nineteen years, rivalled Ximenes in his hatred to the Moorish race, and was notable only for the malignant zeal with which he urged the policy of repression, which he had long before preached to the willing ears of the King.[1] The President Deza, likewise a churchman, and afterwards a cardinal, was a man of superior abilities.[2] But he had been only three years at Granada, and had little knowledge of the people among whom he had come to dispense justice. Even had he not been imbued with an orthodox detestation of Moriscos, his desire to foil and mortify Mondejar would have been sufficient to enlist him on all occasions against them. The Admiral Requesens, being at sea with his fleet, rarely sat in the council; but his place was filled by the licentiate, Bribiesca de Muñatones, who was added to the body soon after it had assembled.

At the first meeting the proceedings were opened by Mondejar. He said there were three courses which might be taken for the suppression of the rebellion. The first was to encourage the submission of the villages in the Alpuxarras, all of which, he affirmed, were secretly desirous of submitting to the King, although the rebel chiefs and their followers had for the present overawed them into a declaration against him. He would then summon all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms down into the low country about Dalias and Berja, where they might be hemmed in between the troops who would occupy the passes, and the naval force on the coast, and be dealt with according to the King's pleasure. The second plan was to garrison all the important places in the Alpuxarras, many of which had petitioned for a body of Christian soldiers to protect them against their own more turbulent and violent spirits; and after these garrisons were firmly established, to proceed according to the ordinary forms of law against those who had been guilty of rebellion. The third and last course was to reinforce the army at Orgiba with a thousand foot and two hundred horse, and to employ it in ravaging the country, and destroying the food of the people, who would thus soon be compelled to surrender at discretion.

Mondejar having delivered his sentiments, Don John invited the President Deza to state his views. Deza began by disclaiming any pretension to advise on military matters, of which he knew

[1] Fr. Pedro Gonçalez de Mendoça; *Historia del Montecelia de Nuestra Señora de Salceda;* fol. Granada, 1616, p. 382.

[2] See Hubner's *Sixte V.*, Paris, 1870, 3 vols. 8vo, i. 196-7, for a curious anecdote of his mode of showing hatred to the French.

nothing, especially in the presence of Sesa, Mondejar, and Quixada. Two things, however, appeared to him essential to the King's service. One was, that the Moriscos of the Albaycin should be forthwith ejected from Granada, and sent to a distance; they and their houses being, in spite of all their professions of loyalty, the true centre and hotbed of the rebellion. The second thing required, was that a signal example should be made of some place notorious for the outrages upon Christians and their faith, which had marked the outbreak of the rebellion; and he suggested that the first victim village should be Las Albuñuelas, which he asserted was at that moment full of the most desperate of the rebels, who had flocked thither under the pretext of making their submission, but really for the purpose of robbing and murdering unwary Christian travellers in the neighbourhood of Granada.

These proposals were debated for several days in the council. The President was supported from the first by Sesa, and afterwards by Bribiesca de Muñatones; and he finally overcame the scruples of the archbishop and Quixada, who, without disapproving of his plan, saw great difficulties in the way of its execution. Mondejar found himself unsupported by a single voice in any one of the three courses which he had pointed out. He therefore contented himself with dissenting from the opinion of the majority, on the ground that the loss of its population would be the ruin of the Province, and with sending his second son to Madrid to lay the reasons of his dissent before the King. As Don John and his council could do nothing without the royal sanction, they did nothing for six weeks but talk, write, and despatch couriers. Don John himself wisely devoted his leisure to a careful examination of the state of his army, and of the merits of the various commanders of fortresses in the disturbed districts, many of whom he found necessary to change. He likewise addressed letters to the cities of Andalusia, inviting them to send him men and supplies; and he issued commissions to veteran captains, Antonio Moreno, Hernando de Oruña, and Francisco de Mendoza, authorising them to raise regiments for the royal service.

The Admiral Requesens, with twenty-four galleys, made a prosperous voyage from Naples to Marseilles. But on leaving the French port his fleet was dispersed by a storm, which raged for three days and nights and destroyed four of his ships. In some of those which weathered the gale, it was found necessary to throw overboard the arms and accoutrements of the troops. After

hastily refitting his shattered vessels at Palamos, the Grand Commander ran down the coast without further disaster; and, calling off Adra, cast anchor on the 1st of May in the harbour of Velez. The troops were immediately disembarked, to the number of eleven companies; one of those which had been taken on board having been lost. Besides the regular soldiers, there were many adventurers of various degrees, most of whom, having lost their equipments on the voyage, were fitter objects for relief at the door of a convent, than for service in a campaign.

Meanwhile the fiery Marquess of Los Velez, at his camp at Terque, was revolving plans by which the war was to be finished at a single blow, to be struck by his sole arm. The licence which he had allowed his troops had recoiled upon his own head. His camp was greatly thinned by desertion; many of his soldiers having preferred secure enjoyment of their plunder at their own homes to dangerous and toilsome gleaning in a field where they had already reaped an abundant harvest. The jealousy with which Los Velez had hitherto looked upon Mondejar he now transferred to Don John of Austria, in fuller measure perhaps, because the King's brother was a still more formidable rival. On learning that Requesens was bringing reinforcements from Naples, he had entreated the King to place them at his disposal, promising that with them and his own troops he would speedily put an end to the war. After due hesitation, Philip granted this request; sending an order to the admiral to land the troops at Adra, to be used at the discretion of Los Velez. But this order did not reach its destination until the sails of Requesens had already disappeared towards the west, and the men had been disembarked at Velez.

Weary of inactivity, Los Velez then determined to invade the Alpuxarras. With a view to his communications with Guadix, he ordered the construction of a fort, or at least of a fortified position, at the pass of Ravaha. But Don John of Austria neither approved of the design, nor was, perhaps, disposed to allow an inferior officer to push on the war, whilst he himself, by the terms of his commission, was compelled to wait for instructions from Madrid. He therefore sent a peremptory order to the impatient Marquess to halt wherever the messenger should find him; giving him at the same time to understand, that by entering the Alpuxarras, he would drive the tide of the rebel force against the Christian army posted at Orgiba, which had strict orders to remain on the defensive, and which, moreover, was feebler in numbers than the position demanded. Compelled to obey, Los

Velez reluctantly retreated to the valley of Andarax, down which he marched, and leaving Almeria on his left, encamped near the sea at Berja. The working party whom he had detached to fortify the pass of Ravaha were attacked during their labours by the Moors, and driven off, with the loss of several officers and a hundred and seventy men.

Aben Umeya and his captains made good use of the breathing time afforded by the procrastinating policy of the Catholic King. Within four leagues of Granada, they raised the standard of revolt in the upper valley of Xenil, whence Don John had barely time to withdraw the Christian and peaceable inhabitants to a place of security in the Vega; and on that side of the city the Christian wayfarer was not safe a league beyond the gates. The Sierra of Benitomiz, the mountain spur which touches the sea at Velez-Malaga, at last declared for the Moorish cause. This region, about eight leagues long and six wide, though rough and difficult of access, was one of the richest and most populous districts bordering on the Alpuxarras. Its alpine pastures were famous for their flocks; and in its well-watered valleys were cultivated the finest silks woven in the looms of Granada, while the finest fruits were shipped for the Thames and the Scheldt at the sea-tower of Velez. Its people, richer and more intelligent than their inland countrymen, were also more alive to the hopeless nature of the struggle in which the rebels were engaged. But even they were not proof against the outrages of the Christians, the appeals of their fellow-believers, and the tales, with which they were plied, of powerful Turkish aid approaching by sea, and wonderful successes achieved by the Moriscos among the northern hills. Their fathers had furnished to the Moorish Sultans of Granada the flower of their armies; and now, around the banner of faded crimson, studded with green crosses, which one Francisco Roxas raised at Caniles de Aceytuno, there flocked a brave band determined to maintain the martial fame of their native glens. At one end of the Benitomiz range, a strong force of insurgents seized upon the important fort of Frigiliana; and from the other, Aben Umeya descended to attack the camp of Los Velez—an attack which was indeed repulsed, but which induced Los Velez to retire eastward to cover the seaport of Adra. Still the popular feeling, it must be owned, was not unanimous. If Aben Umeya found bold partisans, King Philip also found some loyal subjects in Benitomiz. The castle of Caniles de Aceytuno was repaired, in the expectation of the revolt, for its Christian commander by his Morisco vassals, some

of whom were also willing to incur great hazard in carrying despatches for the Christians, and in spying the movements of the rebels.

Repeated remonstrances addressed to the King at last obtained for Don John permission to commence active operations against the enemy. Presuming on his inaction, the Moriscos had every day been becoming more daring in their outrages. Not only were travellers robbed and murdered, but the convoys of provisions were generally attacked on their way to Tablate and Orgiba. On the 1st of June, Don John despatched Antonio de Luna with a strong force of infantry, and Tello Gonzalez de Aguilar with a hundred horse, against Las Albuñuelas, a large village, which affecting to be loyal, was, nevertheless, as Deza had stated, the habitual harbour and resort of the rebels of the valley of Lecrin. Halting during the afternoon at Padul, the Christians resumed their march at night, and entering Las Albuñuelas at daybreak, put many of the male inhabitants to the sword. The rebel chiefs who happened to be in the place effected their escape to the Sierra. The women, to the number of fifteen hundred, attempted to do the same, but were overtaken by the cavalry, and carried off to Granada, where they were distributed as slaves amongst their captors. Luna, rendered cautious by disaster, would not permit the village to be sacked, although it was full of valuable spoil; the signal-fires on the surrounding hill-tops warning him that his retreat to Padul, if delayed, would not be accomplished without hard fighting in the defiles.

A few days later the Grand Commander of Castille opened the campaign on the Mediterranean shore. Early in May he had cast anchor off the sea-tower of Velez, and mustering his force on the beach found that it amounted to two thousand six hundred Italians, and four hundred soldiers of the galleys. The Corregidor of Velez, Arevalo de Zuazo, who was there to receive him, urged him to march at once against the fort of Frigiliana, the key of the Sierra of Benitomiz, before the Moriscos had completed its defences. But want of provisions, beasts of burden, and tents, and above all, of orders from Madrid, compelled Requesens to remain inactive. For a whole month the martial ardour of his men, cooped up in their ships, was suffered to cool, while each day added strength to the fortifications, the resources, and the confidence of the enemy. It was not until the 7th of June that Requesens was empowered to land his troops at the castle of Torrox. Near the town of that name Arevalo de Zuazo had

assembled a force of fifteen hundred foot and four hundred horse. The two leaders then marched inland, and encamped beneath the rocky heights of Frigiliana. This natural stronghold terminates a spur of the Sierra of Benitomiz, beneath which two mountain streams, the Chillar and the Lautin, mingle their waters. From the bluff promontory thus formed, a bold crag, accessible only by a few narrow and difficult paths, lifts its head high above the summits of the surrounding hills. The top, being tolerably level and spacious, was capable of sheltering the whole population of the adjacent Sierra; and a watercourse, led, for purposes of irrigation, from the upper stream of the Chillar, skirted the base of its precipices in a manner so convenient for defence, that there was little fear of the garrison being reduced by thirst. Such was the natural strength of the position, that the Moriscos had hardly taken possession of it, when they repulsed an attack made upon them by an exploring detachment from the force of Arevalo de Zuazo. Since that time they had been labouring, for several weeks, to improve their means of resistance. Approaches, difficult at first, were rendered impracticable by barricades of rock. Some firearms and ammunition, and a plentiful supply of bows and arrows, had been provided; vast heaps of stones were piled up at the more exposed points, to be rolled down on the advancing foe; and the platform on the summit of the hill, around the fort, was covered with tents and huts of branches, sheltering no less than seven thousand persons, of whom four thousand were fighting men.

The Grand Commander Requesens with his troops, three thousand strong, encamped in the rugged valley of Chillar, near a spot called the Fountain of the Poplar; while the Corregidor Arevalo posted his nineteen hundred men in a ravine to the north-east of the fortress, beside a spring known as that of the Wild Olives. The latter position was somewhat exposed; but it was necessary to occupy it, in order to cut off the besieged from communication with the Alpuxarras. The night after their arrival was passed by the Christians under arms, in expectation of a sally, which, however, was not adventured by the Moriscos. The next day, the two leaders made a careful survey of the place, and two skirmishes occurred, in which a few Moors were picked off by the Christian marksmen.

On the evening of St. Barnabas's Day, Requesens, having completed his plan, ordered the troops to take up their positions after dark. The place was to be assaulted at four different points;

the leaders of the divisions being Pedro de Padilla, Juan de Cardenas, Martin de Padilla, and Arevalo de Zuazo. They were ordered to kindle fires as a signal that each had taken up the ground allotted to him; and they were expressly forbidden to move forward until a gun was fired at headquarters. Pedro de Padilla, however, at the head of three hundred Italian adventurers eager for the first place in the race of glory, began the ascent before the signal had been given. The Moriscos were no less alert than their assailants. As the leading Christians toiled up the crags, they were received with so galling a discharge of stones and arrows, mingled with musketry, that many of them rolled dead upon their companions, and those behind began to falter and fall back. Requesens, perceiving what had occurred, immediately gave the signal of assault. The three other divisions sprang forward, and the rock was soon covered, at all practicable points, with men struggling up its sides, from which the Moriscos had done their best to smooth the inequalities and clear the brushwood which could assist the hand or foot of the climber. The darkness concealed and protected, if it retarded, the efforts of the assailants; and as the day broke, many of the soldiers found themselves at the foot of the defences which the rebels had drawn around their citadel. It was now that the combat began to rage with full fury; and the adjacent ravines re-echoed the rattle of musketry, the whistling of arrows and darts, and the thunder of rocks launched from the precipice's edge upon the advancing foe. Here and there the more daring of the besieged, sallying from their defences, fought hand to hand with the foremost of the assailants. For a while the fortune of the day seemed doubtful. But a circumstance, often fatal to mountain fortresses, proved the ruin of Frigiliana. One side of the rock was shaped into a narrow ridge, bearing the name of the Knife (*cuchillo*) of Conca, affording space for a narrow pathway between two huge crags, which it seemed impossible to scale. The Moriscos, having barred the passage with a huge stone, believed the point so secure from attack as to require a very slender guard. Upon this point the Corregidor of Velez prudently concentrated his whole force. Some of his men, having clambered like cats to the top of the barrier, assisted their comrades to follow, and a sufficient number having mounted, they pushed on and surprised the castle by a vigorous and unexpected assault. Gonzalo de Bozmediano, a soldier of Velez, first reached the top, waving a white handkerchief on the point of his sword, and he was immediately followed

by the standard-bearers of Velez and of Malaga, who planted the flags of these towns upon the battlements. From the same point the Christian trumpets, sounding a note of victory, proclaimed to the royalists and the rebels, fighting desperately on the more accessible points of the platform, that further attacks were unnecessary and further resistance was unavailing. Flight was the only resource left to the unfortunate Moriscos. They accordingly flung themselves headlong into two ravines which scarred different sides of the hill. At the lower end of one of these issues were posted the horsemen of Velez, and the flying multitude either fell beneath their sabres, or were made prisoners. From the other gorge, of which the mouth was left unguarded, the more fortunate fugitives escaped to the Sierra. Of the four thousand men who had mustered the night before for the defence of Frigiliana, two thousand lay dead upon the rock, and of the remainder many died of their wounds in the neighbouring ravines. During the conflict a number of Morisco women distinguished themselves by the desperate valour with which they fought by the side of their husbands and brothers; and in the flight many Morisco mothers were seen leaping like goats from crag to crag, preferring the chances of a horrible death to the prospect of falling into the hands of the Christians. Three thousand prisoners were taken, and an immense quantity of plunder, the gathered wealth of the villages of Benitomiz. Frigiliana did not fall without some effusion of Christian blood. Four hundred men were killed in the assault, and eight hundred were wounded, several officers being amongst the number. The Italian contingent suffered the greater part of the loss. When the action was over, Requesens caused the wounded to be collected and cared for, and the rest of the day was employed in the destruction of the Morisco defences, and of such part of their store of provisions as could not be carried away.

The day following, the Grand Commander marched to Torrox, and, embarking there, steered for Malaga to enjoy his triumph. The Corregidor Zuazo returned to Velez, where he and his troops were received with acclamations by their fellow-townsmen. Much dissatisfaction afterwards arose amongst the soldiers of Requesens on account of the delay in the division of the captives, or of their value in money. The Neapolitan regiment, in particular, had left the country before any share of the spoil was allotted to it. The fort of Frigiliana had hardly been taken, when a force of eight hundred men from Loja, Alhama, and other towns, arrived there

to join the army of the Grand Commander. For lack of other employment they made a foray into the Sierra of Benitomiz. Driving off the flocks and herds, and digging for concealed treasures in the deserted houses of the unfortunate inhabitants, they returned with a share of plunder little inferior to that which rewarded the conquerors of Frigiliana.

While the Christians were thus successful in the south, they met with equivalent reverses in the north-eastern portion of the disturbed Provinces. The rich and populous valley of Almanzora declared in favour of Aben Umeya and the revolt. It had previously been overawed by the vicinity of Mondejar's army in the Alpuxarras, and still more by the camp of the Marquess of Los Velez at Terque. But from the remains of the one force it was now separated by the Sierra Nevada; and the Murcian Viceroy was also far away, posted in sullen and compelled inaction between the hills and the sea at Adra. Most of the villages along the Almanzora valley possessed strongly situated castles, either in good condition or such as could be easily rendered capable of defence. Happily the revolt was unusually free from sanguinary outrages against the Christians. Their houses were pillaged, but their persons were protected, and they were generally permitted to escape. Content to wreak their fury on the churches, the Moriscos desecrated and destroyed the altars and the images, and employed the beams of the buildings in strengthening or repairing the forts. Purchena was deserted by the Christians; and the castles of Tahali and Cantoria capitulated, their garrisons being allowed to retire to Almeria. The fortress of Seron, a strong position among the high mountains at the head of the valley, was the only place of importance which remained in the hands of the Christians; and it was soon invested by five thousand Moriscos, led by Mecebe, one of the most skilful and enterprising captains of the rebellion.

The aspect of affairs every day becoming worse, and the Moriscos increasing in strength and boldness, the King at length resolved upon measures which some months before had been proposed and debated in the council of Granada. Orders were sent to Don John of Austria to remove from the Albaycin all Moriscos between the ages of ten and sixty, and to send them under military escort to various towns beyond the frontiers of Andalusia, there to dwell under the eye of the Christian authorities. To induce them to submit quietly to this sentence of exile, they were to be told that His Majesty was acting in the matter purely for their

safety and advantage, and that, so soon as the country was again at peace, their cases would be considered, and any loss which they might have sustained made up by the royal treasury. On the evening of St. John's Day, the 24th of June, the troops in and around Granada having been ordered to hold themselves in readiness, a proclamation was issued, requiring all the Moriscos to repair at a certain hour on that festival night to their respective parish churches. The grief and consternation which followed this order was so great, that Father Albotodo, a benevolent priest who enjoyed the confidence of the Moriscos, went to plead their cause with the President Deza. That dignitary assured him that their lives were in no danger, and gave him a paper to that effect signed and sealed by his own hand. Somewhat relieved by this intimation, they assembled in great numbers at the parish churches. Thither Don John of Austria himself repaired, and there addressed a few words to each congregation, declaring that they were now under the royal protection, and that it was His Majesty's desire to provide for their safety, by removing them for the present from the scene of the rebellion. Don Alonso de Granada-Venegas, a gentleman in whom they reposed great trust, and whom they had formerly sent to state their grievances to the King, also gave them the same assurances. Strong assurances, certainly, were needed to allay the fears of a crowd of persons, most of them peaceful citizens, who had thus been suddenly dragged from the delights of a festival and the cherished seclusion of their homes, to pass the night in the temples of an abhorred faith, with Christian musketeers keeping guard at the doors.

Next day, at dawn, the troops were mustered on the open space beyond the walls, between the royal hospital and the Elvira gate of the city. Don John of Austria, the Duke of Sesa, Mondejar, Quixada, and Bribiesca de Muñatones, each took the command of a separate district, and superintended the removal of the inmates of a certain number of churches. From the various quarters of Albaycin and Alcazaba long lines of captives were marched between files of soldiers towards the Elvira gate. "It "was truly a miserable spectacle," said the historian Marmol, who was himself on duty on the occasion, "to see so many men of all "ages, with streaming eyes and downcast heads and crossed arms, "sadly leaving their homes and families and property, and full of "doubt as to what might betide their lives." Notwithstanding all the precautions taken by Don John of Austria an incident

occurred in the quarter where he himself commanded, which might have produced a dreadful catastrophe. Avellano, a captain of the Seville infantry, had chosen to distinguish his company by using for an ensign a crucifix carried on a lance and covered with a veil of black crape. As he was escorting the Moriscos of two parishes towards the Elvira gate, this lugubrious standard, carried at the head of the procession, attracted the eyes of the foremost captives. Tearing their hair, they called out in Arabic to their companions: "Oh, wretched race that we are! led like lambs to "the slaughter! how much better would it have been for us to "have died in the houses where we were born." As in this excited frame of mind they approached the royal hospital, a Provost-Marshal struck with his wand a half-witted prisoner who had incurred his displeasure. The Morisco had concealed under his arm a brick, which he immediately flung at his assailant's head, inflicting a severe bruise on the man's ear, and knocking him off his horse. The Provost-Marshal happening to wear a coat of the same colour as Don John of Austria, a cry was raised that the Prince was slain, and the soldiers at once turned to take vengeance on the unhappy prisoners. Don John himself, however, was fortunately within hearing; and forcing his horse through the crowd, he quelled the tumult by showing that he was unhurt, and threatening with the severest punishment the first man who struck a blow. He likewise posted Luis de Marmol, the historian, and another officer, at the gates through which the troops and prisoners were filing, to prevent any of the multitude returning into the city until all had passed out. The Moriscos were at length marched into the spacious courts of the royal hospital, a vast pile in the richest Gothic of the fifteenth century, a monument of the piety of Isabella the Catholic, and of her care for the sick and insane among her Moorish people. Here their names were entered in registers opened for the purpose, and they were divided into companies for removal to their places of exile. Licences to remain in Granada were granted to persons holding certain municipal offices, and to others who had sufficient credit and interest to obtain them. The Mudejares, or descendants of Moors who had submitted to the Christians before the conquest, were likewise exempted from the general sentence. The number of persons actually expelled from the city, including the younger men who, on the promulgation of the order, escaped to the Sierra and the standard of the rebellion, can hardly have been less than ten thousand. Three thousand five hundred men, and

a much larger number of women and children,[1] were marched out of the city under military escort to their destinations in Castille and Estremadura. "It was a sad spectacle," said Marmol, writing on the spot and very near the time, "for those who had "beheld the prosperity, the politeness and refinement of the "houses, with their vineyards and gardens, where the Moriscos "held their festivals and pastimes, to see them within a few days "all deserted and forlorn, and hastening to ruin, as if to warn "men that in this world the things most splendid and flourishing "are most exposed to the strokes of fortune."[2] There was a prophecy current among the Moriscos of Granada, that a day was coming when a brook of Moorish blood should flow down the hill of Alcazaba, and cover a great stone which lay at the bottom of it, by the side of the street near the pillar of Our Lady of Mercy. On the morning when the long files of captives were led down the hill, filling the street and concealing the stone, the prophecy was supposed to be accomplished in the first steps of a journey which cost so much misery and so many lives to the unfortunate children of the Moor. "It was a journey," says an eye-witness, "of which the setting forth might well move the "compassion of those who had seen the Moriscos in their "commodious and splendid houses. Many of them died on the "road of grief, of hardship, and of hunger; and many were "robbed, and sold as slaves, or were slain by the soldiers whose "duty it was to protect them on the way."[3]

The castle of Seron was meanwhile closely invested by Mecebe and the insurgents of the valley of Almanzora. The lord of the town, the Marquess of Villena, was happy in having his fortress commanded by a bold and skilful Alcayde, Diego de Mirones. This leader found himself at the head of no more than one hundred and thirty men, including in that number the Christian inhabitants who had taken refuge in the place. They were very poorly provided with the munitions of war; and the supply of water was very scanty and precarious, the soldiers having spent, in plundering the deserted houses of the Moriscos in the town below, that precious time which ought to have been passed in bringing up water to fill their tank for the siege. Mirones being popular in the district, the Morisco chiefs entreated

[1] D. Hurtado de Mendoza: *Guerra de Granada*, lib. ii. cap 30, p. 147, 4to, Valencia, 1776.

[2] L. de Marmol Carvajal: *Hist. de la Rebelion*, lib. vi. cap. 27, tom. ii. p. 104.

[3] D. Hurtado de Mendoza: *Guerra de Granada*, lib. ii. cap. 30, p. 148.

him to surrender, promising him a secure retreat for himself and his men to Baza. But he declined the offer, alleging that he could not strike his flag without the permission of his lord. He also despatched a trusty messenger to Granada to inform Don John of Austria of the perils which awaited him. Don John immediately ordered Alonso de Carvajal, Lord of Jodar, whose estates lay at no great distance from Seron, to march to the rescue; an order which was so promptly obeyed, that within a few days fifteen hundred foot and one hundred and fifty horse, the flower of Baeza and Ubeda, were on the road to Seron. But the King, usually procrastinating, now inflicted a heavy blow on his own cause by an unwonted piece of promptitude and prevision. He, too, had heard of the danger of Seron, and had commanded the Marquess of Los Velez to take measures for its defence. Los Velez, too distant to execute this service, was too jealous of his own powers and rights to leave the execution of it to his rival. He therefore wrote to Don John of Austria, naming three persons at Granada, of whom Carvajal was not one, either of whom he might, at his option, despatch on the duty at the head of fifteen hundred foot and three hundred horse. The council was much divided in opinion as to the course to be pursued. The President Deza and the majority held that Carvajal, having been already employed on the service, ought not to be recalled. Quixada, on the other hand, maintained that His Majesty's orders were in all cases to be obeyed. Don John sided with his old friend and preceptor. An order was therefore sent to Carvajal, requiring him to halt whenever it might reach his hands; and in spite of the urgency of the case he was compelled to retreat, almost within sight of the fortress where he was so eagerly expected. A second letter from Los Velez soon informed Don John that he had reconsidered his plan, and had committed the relief of Seron to his brother-in-law, Enrique Enriquez, whose residence at Baza, and whose possessions near the head of the valley of Almanzora, enabled him to act with the least possible delay. But Enriquez was unfortunately ill, and he had besides at his disposal no more than five hundred infantry and seventy horse. This force immediately marched under his brother Antonio, and approached to within three leagues of Seron. Here the signal-fires, blazing on the surrounding hill-tops, warned them of the danger of a further advance in the face of an overwhelming force prepared to receive them. Overtaken in their retreat by Mecebe, they returned as fugitives to Baza, with the loss of two hundred men.

Meanwhile Don John, having learned the illness of Enriquez, ordered Luis de Cordoba, one of the officers first named by Los Velez, to march with all speed to Seron. Enriquez, to keep up the spirits of the besieged, sent a squadron of fifty horse to show themselves within sight of the fortress. But the appearance of this body of cavalry, being followed by no efficient aid, rather dismayed than encouraged the garrison. They had observed the rejoicing in the Moorish camp which followed the successful attack on Antonio Enriquez; and they knew by the subsequent report of their firearms, that the rebels had supplied their powder-horns with Christian powder. They therefore took the appearance and retreat of the handful of horse as evidence of some new disaster. Every day their spirits sank, and the want of water reduced them to the greatest misery. The Alcayde Mirones at last determined to go out in person in quest of aid. At the head of thirty picked musketeers he left the fortress at night, and breaking through the Moorish lines without loss, took the road towards Baza. But, parched with thirst, his men lingered so long drinking at the river that the Moriscos, tracking them by the light of the matches of their firelocks, overtook them, and put fourteen of them to the sword. Fifteen escaped to Baza. Mirones himself, being on horseback and attended by a single follower, lost his way among the ravines and at last threw the reins on the neck of his weary steed. Instinct guided the animal homewards, and when at day-break the rider began to flatter himself that he was approaching Caniles in the valley of Baza, he recognised with dismay the vine-clad slopes of Seron. Descried by the Moorish sentries, pursued and captured, he was led to the tent of Mecebe. That chieftain received him with courtesy, and proposed the surrender of the castle, promising that all the inmates of it should be permitted to depart in safety, if they would give up their arms, and all their money but eight reals each; but if this offer was rejected, the Alcayde was threatened with a cruel death. Knowing the sufferings which his people had already undergone, Mirones accepted the terms proposed. He was accordingly conducted to the castle gate, and calling for his officers and his notary, briefly related to them his mishap, and his determination. The notary then came out, under a safe conduct, and in concert with his chief and the rebel leaders drew out the capitulation in regular form. The castle was then delivered to the Moriscos, on the 11th of July. But no sooner was it in their hands, than the conditions were cast to the winds. One hundred and fifty Christians, of

whom two were priests and four old women, were immediately butchered in cold blood, and eighty women were distributed as slaves amongst the conquerors. Mecebe justified his cruelty, if not his treachery, by producing a letter from Aben Umeya, commanding that no quarter should be given at Seron to any male Christian above the age of twelve years. The expulsion from Granada of the Moriscos, of whom the more warlike had found their way to Almanzora, doubtless prompted and aggravated the vengeance taken at Seron; nor can it be pretended that such retaliation was excessive in amount. Next day, the vanguard of the relieving force, led by Antonio Enriquez and Antonio Moreno, came in sight of the town. Observing the streets encumbered with the bodies of the slaughtered Christians, and the fortress occupied by the rebels, they returned to Baza. Luis de Cordoba, who was also on the march, on learning the fall of Seron, likewise returned to Granada.

ARMS OF DON JOHN.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MORISCO REBELLION; FROM THE 12TH OF JULY TO THE END OF OCTOBER 1569.

A GREAT effect was produced on the councils both of Don John of Austria and the wandering rebel king by the fall of Seron. At Granada much alarm prevailed. The President Deza urged the immediate reinforcement of the garrisons of Oria and Velez el Blanco, places feebly manned, although the latter contained the daughters of the Marquess of Los Velez, whose peril might recall their father from the Alpuxarras at a time when he could be worst spared. Some infantry and a few troopers being sent thither from Lorca, both fortresses succeeded in holding out against El Malek, who was obliged, therefore, to content himself with compelling the Morisco population of the two towns to declare for the rebellion, and follow him to the mountains.

Master of Seron, Aben Umeya was master of the whole valley of Almanzora, with its numerous population and strong places of defence. He considered himself, therefore, in a condition to treat on an equal footing with the provincial Government for the release, or at least the honourable treatment, of his father and brother, who were still prisoners in the chancery of Granada. From his headquarters at Lauxar de Andarax he therefore addressed letters to Don John of Austria and Don Luis de Cordoba, and sent them by a Christian youth, captured at Seron. The bearer was furnished with a passport in Arabic, certifying that he was

employed on important business of the King's, and of his suffering people, and countersigned by Aben Umeya himself, in very large characters, and in the form used by the African sovereigns: "This is the truth." A letter to the Marquess of Los Velez likewise obtained for him a free passage through the Christian force encamped at Calahorra. Having reached the Alhambra in safety, he delivered his letters into the hands of the Marquess of Mondejar, saying that he had received his liberty in consideration of performing that service, but that he was ignorant of the contents of his despatches. Mondejar immediately repaired with both the letters and the lad to the quarters of Don John; and the council was forthwith assembled. Some of the members were for calling the messenger before them; but it was decided to be more consistent with their dignity not to admit to their presence the emissary of the rebel kingling (*reyezuelo* or *reyecillo*), as he was contemptuously called, but to depute Bribiesca de Muñatones to receive his statement and examine the letters. In the letter to Don John, Aben Umeya said that he knew that his father and brother had been already submitted to torture, a proceeding wholly unjust, as they were in no respect implicated in his rebellion, to which he had been driven by injuries inflicted upon him by the ministers of justice; that he requested they might be well treated, otherwise he should feel compelled to put to death all the Christians in his hands; and lastly he offered, in exchange for them, eighty Christian prisoners, promising to produce any that might be asked for, even such of them as had been sent to Barbary or to the Grand Turk. The letter to Don Luis de Cordoba merely asked for his good offices in obtaining Don John's consent to his proposal. To these communications the council resolved that no direct answer should be given. But Don Antonio de Valor himself was entrusted to write to his son, assuring him that neither he nor his other son had suffered torture or ill-treatment of any kind, and advising him to forsake his evil courses, and return to his allegiance. Such a letter having been written by Valor, it was despatched to Aben Umeya, who in a few days sent a reply, which never reached its destination. Written in Castillian, it was enclosed in an Arabic letter to Xoaybi, Alcayde of Guejar who was required to forward it to Granada in haste and secrecy. But that Morisco, sharing the discontent and suspicion which the rebel king's correspondence with Granada had already caused, thought fit to detain it, and the first intimation of its existence which the Christians obtained was from the Arabic letter before

mentioned, found among the effects of Xoaybi, when, later in the war, Guejar fell into the hands of the royal troops.

Meanwhile Aben Umeya received secret information from Moriscos in Almeria, that the garrison there was insufficient for the defence of the place, and that the moment was favourable for the surprise of a seaport which would be of the greatest advantage in his future operations. He accordingly collected around him at Andarax all the forces he could muster, and prepared for the enterprise. But though slenderly provided with soldiers, Almeria was fortunate in possessing a watchful and active commander in Don Garcia de Villareal. Hearing of Aben Umeya's preparations, this bold captain determined, in spite of the smallness of his own force, to anticipate his attack. On the 23d of July, he marched out at the head of two hundred musketeers and thirty horse, taking the road along the coast to Inox. Halting at nightfall for a few hours' repose, he informed his men, up to this time ignorant of their destination, that he intended to surprise Guejar, a considerable village occupied by a portion of the rebel force, and within four leagues of Andarax, the headquarters of the rebel king. Some of his officers were at first staggered by the boldness of the design, but they were eventually won over by the reasoning of their chief. Resuming their march after dark, by a difficult path over the hills, they reached the unsuspecting village, unperceived, at dawn, put many of the Moriscos to the sword, chased the fugitives for some distance in the direction of Andarax, and finally turned their faces homewards without loss, and with one hundred and twenty captives, and a long train of mules laden with plunder. When the news reached Aben Umeya, he despatched a strong body of his swiftest men on the track of the Christians. Anticipating this movement, Villareal halted at a favourable point of the road to receive them, and so intimidated them by the bold front which he presented, that they immediately retreated, on seeing their leader slain by the first shot fired by a royalist musketeer. This expedition produced not only the desired effect of deterring Aben Umeya from his descent upon Almeria, but likewise a breach between him and Moriscos in the place who were well disposed to his cause. Believing that they had purposely deceived him as to the strength of the garrison, in order to lure him upon a desperate enterprise, he treated all of them who fell into his hands as criminals and traitors. If there was evidence to show that they had been seen speaking to Villareal, they were put to the most cruel deaths. Some were

buried to the waist and shot at as a mark, others were quartered, and one was sawn asunder alive. Within a few days, twenty-three Moriscos of Almeria and the vicinity were missing, and it was supposed that they had fallen victims to the vengeance of Aben Umeya. Terrified by his severity, those of the race who

before had been ready to give him information, or to act as spies, refused to run the double danger of punishment from both sides; and strong exasperation against him took the place of secret good-will to his cause.

About the same time Don John of Austria sent an expedition, of greater pretension, but with far less result, into the valley of

Lecrin. Don Antonio de Luna marched from Granada at the head of three thousand two hundred foot and one hundred and twenty horse; and at Tablate was joined by the garrison of that place, consisting of three companies of infantry, under the captain, Alonso de Cespedes. This officer was a veteran of the Imperial armies, famous for his personal strength, who in 1546 swam the Elbe with a few followers, and in the face of the enemy seized some boats which secured to the Emperor and his troops a passage to their victory at Muhlberg.[1] With their imposing force Luna and Cespedes proceeded to scour the valley. But the revolted villages were all found empty both of the inhabitants and their goods; and of the skirmishes which took place between the royal troops and parties of the enemy only one was worth recording. On a hill near Restaval, on the 25th of July, Cespedes found the Morisco chief, Rendati, strongly posted, in charge of a large number of women, and much cattle and baggage. The Christian captain had with him only two hundred arquebusiers; but although the enemy greatly outnumbered him, the temptation of booty was irresistible, and he led his men up the height. The rebels were so well prepared to receive them that, after the smoke and dust of the first onslaught had somewhat cleared away, Cespedes found that most of his marksmen had fled, leaving him with some twenty better spirits to finish the adventure. Rallying this little band, he threw himself into the midst of the foes; and with his famous Valencian sword, three fingers broad, and weighing fourteen pounds, he is said to have cloven a hundred of them, through head or shoulder, to the girdle.[2] A bullet, however, piercing his cuirass, laid him dead on the hillside. There was hardly a Morisco in the combat who did not plunge his weapon into the body of the fallen champion; and his banner and sword were sent as trophies to the kingling of the Alpuxarras.

Don John of Austria heard with great sorrow of the death of

[1] Rod. Mendez Silva: *Compendio de las hazañas que obró el Capitan Alonso de Cespedes, Alcides Castellano*, sm. 8vo, Madrid, 1647, fol. 26. He was born at Orcajo, in La Mancha, in 1518. Among his feats of strength were, riding a very large horse under a gateway, and there grasping an iron bar fixed above his head, and lifting the animal from the ground by the pressure of his legs (fol. 29); and tearing from the wall of a church a marble vessel of holy water, and presenting it to a lady whom the crowd had prevented from approaching it (fol. 32). The book has his portrait prefixed, by J. de Noort; a bust in armour within an oval. He has a bold soldierly face, with a pair of fierce mustachios. Below were his canting arms *or*, six turfs or sods (*Cespedes*, fr. *Cesped*, a sod) *vert*, surrounded by an orle *gules*, with eight X-shaped crosses *or*.

[2] Gines Perez de Hyta (*Guerras Civiles de Granada*, 8vo, Paris, 1847. Parte ii. cap. xiii. p. 321) says he had had it in his own hand, and had seen it weighed. Mendez Silva (*Hazañas de Cespedes*, fol. 49) says it was preserved in his time by D. Fernando, the nephew of Cespedes, at Ciudad Real.

this stout soldier of his sire, whom, but two days before, he had recommended to the King for promotion to the rank of major (*maese de campo*) and a commandery of Santiago. The mangled corpse was afterwards found under a heap of stones, and removed to the church of Restaval; and the spot where he fell, near the road from Granada to Motril, was marked by a large stone cross, inscribed, *Here died the great captain Alonso de Cespedes the brave.*[1]

During the whole summer, the Marquess of Los Velez had remained in a state of unwilling and feverish inactivity in his camp at Adra. Want of employment and plunder had wofully thinned his ranks; and desertion was now compelled and justified by a dearth of provisions. In despatch after despatch, he had entreated the King to send him supplies, reinforcements, and orders to act, and entreated in vain. It seemed almost as if Philip the Second was in league with the Morisco pretender against his own commanders. The fall of Seron, however, reminded him that the enemy would not always suspend his operations until he and his council had agreed upon the best mode of resisting them. Towards the end of July, orders had been issued which had brought to Adra, in the galleys of the Grand Commander of Castille, the Italian troops; the garrison of Orgiba, commanded by Don Juan de Mendoza, their place being supplied by Don Francisco de Benavides, with one thousand infantry from Guadix, and fifty horse from Granada; five companies of Cordobese foot, under the Marquess of Favara; and a regiment of Catalans from Tortosa, led by Antic Sarriera. The galleys had likewise made three voyages, bringing munitions and provisions from Motril. Thus reinforced, and obeying orders which he had been instructed to take from the council at Granada, Los Velez, on the 26th of July, broke up his camp at Adra, and began his march to Uxixar.

His force consisted of twelve thousand foot and four hundred horse, each man carrying rations for five days. Halting the first evening at Verja, he remained there for three days, informing himself of the state of the road, and the movements of the enemy. From Verja the road lay through wild hills intersected with difficult gorges, offering every facility to an opposing force. But although El Hoseyn, with five thousand Moriscos, at a pass called the Cow Pass (*paso de las Vacas*), hovered in front and on the flanks of the army, no serious resistance was made to its advance.

[1] *Aqui murió el gran capitan Alonso de Cespedes el bravo*, Mendez Silva: *Hazañas de Cespedes*, fol. 50-51.

In the skirmish which there took place, Los Velez, unexpectedly passing a ravine with his cavalry, overtook and slew fifty of the light-footed mountaineers; and besides a number of baggage-mules which sank under their loads, and were trodden to death in the same ravine, the Christian loss consisted only in a few men and horses who perished of fatigue and thirst. From Lucaynena, the halting-place of the fifth night, they pushed on next day to Uxixar, and occupied the place, the Moriscos retiring to the hills at their approach. They had hardly taken possession, when El Zaguer arrived with a force which he had brought up from the valley of Almanzora to support El Hoseyn. He, too, finding an attack out of the question, retired greatly discouraged, and died a few days afterwards, of disease, at Meciña de Tedel.

Los Velez had held Uxixar for two days, when his scouts brought him intelligence that Aben Umeya, with the whole rebel army, was at Valor, anxious to give battle. Desiring no better news, he made a careful personal examination of part of the ground which it was necessary to traverse in order to gratify the desire of the Morisco. Contrary to the opinion of the guides, who recommended a circuitous route, he determined to advance directly up the course of a stream, which flowed, during winter, from the mountains around Valor, but which was now nearly dry. On the 3d of August, the army, having heard mass, began its march. The van was led by Don Pedro de Padilla and his veteran infantry. Next came the cavalry, headed by Los Velez himself. The gallant Marquess wore armour of dark steel, a helmet with an ample plume, and a broad crimson scarf, and carried in his hand a lance rather stout than long. His bay charger, also distinguished by a well-plumed [1] headpiece, rivalled, in his proud action, "the pride and fiery spirit of the master "whom he bore." The baggage followed the cavalry; and after the baggage came the regiments of Cordoba and Murcia, led by the Marquess of Favara. The rear-guard consisted of the soldiers from Orgiba, led by Don Juan de Mendoza, and the Catalans under Sarriera. To avoid surprise, each division threw out, right and left, parties of skirmishers along the sides of the valley. In this order they approached within a short distance of Valor. There, at a turn of the valley, on a hill which seemed to bar further progress, Aben Umeya had posted fifteen hundred chosen musketeers to receive them. He himself was conspicuous on a white horse, dressed in a crimson robe and a Turkish turban.

[1] Luis de Marmol Carvajal: *Hist. de la Rebelion*, ii. p. 133.

Riding from rank to rank, he exhorted his men not to fear the empty name of the Marquess of Los Velez, but to fight bravely, trusting in God, who never forsook his people. The battle which ensued was obstinately contested, although from the nature of the ground only a small number on each side could engage at once. The undisciplined Moriscos fought, as their enemies confessed, with the order and tenacity of regular troops; and Padilla and his captains found it necessary to dismount from their horses, and on foot lead their men in the repeated charges which were required to break the stubborn ranks of the rebels. Two hundred Moriscos and thirty Christians lay dead before any ground was gained by the latter. Meanwhile Los Velez remarked a water-course to the left of his position, up which he sent a few troops under his son, Diego Faxardo. Slowly and in single file the horsemen pursued this difficult path unobserved, and, forming in a small vineyard behind the rebels, charged them in the rear to their great astonishment and dismay. The panic spread through the whole army, which immediately betook itself to flight, scattering itself over the hills like a mist before the breeze. Aben Umeya, after vain efforts to rally the fugitives, was himself compelled to follow their example. Passing beyond the village of Valor, he dismounted at the mouth of a wild gorge and hamstrung his white horse; and there he also took a false and cruel revenge upon his conquerors, by hanging two prisoners who were with him, Diego de Mirones, the gallant Alcayde of Seron, and Juan Alguacil, a Christian of Filabres. He then plunged into the Sierra, leaving their bodies to be found by the royalist infantry who were already on his track, and who bivouacked near the spot. Los Velez, followed by fifty of his cavalry, pushed on the same night to Calahorra. There he found none of the supplies upon which he had counted, having addressed repeated memorials to the King on the importance of providing them. The army meanwhile remained in and around Valor, suffering much from want of food, especially the Catalan regiment, which had left behind at Adra for the sake of lightness half of the five days' rations which had been served out, and on which for nine days the troops had been chiefly subsisting. Messengers being sent off in all directions, to Granada, Baza, and Guadix, the bishop of the last-named town, with a promptitude not usual in Spanish affairs, despatched next day two hundred mules laden with bread and biscuit, which afforded some relief. After two days' delay at Valor, during which time the houses of Aben Umeya and his

relatives were burned to the ground, the famished army moved on to Calahorra with many sick, victims to hunger and the keen air of the Sierra.

The victory of the Christians at Valor, though signal, was by no means decisive. The loss sustained by the rebels was, owing to the difficulty of the ground, but small, and the real advantage gained by the conquerors consisted in the destruction of a favourite rallying-point, and the blow inflicted upon the military reputation of the rebel king. His captains began to lose confidence in him, and the feeling spread rapidly through the mass of his followers. The tide of his fortune had turned, and the efforts which he made to maintain his position became the means of his destruction. On the day of the battle of Valor, he despatched El Habaqui to sue for assistance at Algiers. The emissary reached the coast, crossed the sea in safety, and induced Aluch Ali, the Turkish Pasha, to publish a proclamation, permitting his subjects to enlist under the banner of the Morisco, and fight the battles of the Crescent in Spain. Hope of plunder, and hatred of the Christian name, soon assembled a large and excellent body of volunteers. But no sooner was the number complete, than the treacherous Aluch Ali marched them off on an expedition of his own against Tunis, leaving El Habaqui, instead, a permission to ship for Spain all the criminals, in and out of the Algerine prisons, who chose to earn a pardon by joining his enterprise. From these base materials the Morisco selected a band of four hundred musketeers, whom he placed under the command of Hoseyn, a Turkish felon, and landed safely in Spain. The eight galleys which conveyed them were also laden with arms and ammunition sent on speculation by Algerine traders; and another convoy of stores, shipped by Jews and Moors at Tetuan, about the same time, likewise eluded the vigilance of Requesens and his cruisers, and found its way into the Alpuxarras.

During the greater part of August and September there was a cessation of active hostilities, as if by mutual consent. The remissness of the Christians lost to their cause all the advantages which might have been gained from the action at Valor. Their inactivity is to be attributed to the want of concert between Mondejar and Los Velez, and the imprudence of the Government at Madrid. The only feat of arms which disturbed the general lull was a night attack, made on the 21st of August, by the Moriscos on Padul. They wisely approached the place by the road from Granada, and were at first, therefore, taken for an escort coming

with supplies from the city. A sentinel, indeed, discovered them, but his alarm was laughed at by his comrades, who deemed an attack from that side impossible. The result of this security was a conflict which lasted for four hours, and terminated in favour of the assailants. The loss of the latter was considerable ; but they carried off thirty horses and much other booty, slew fifty Christian soldiers, and retired only at the approach of a squadron of cavalry from Otura, followed by a strong force under the Duke of Sesa, to whom timely notice of the affair had been conveyed.

Early in September, Juan de Quiroga, the secretary of Don John of Austria, died at Granada. In a letter announcing the event to the King, Don John spoke of him with kindness as having served him well, and suggested, as a desirable successor, one of two persons—Arriola, in the office of the secretary Eraso ; and Soto, formerly in the service of Don Garcia de Toledo. The first he represented as a man of ability, with considerable knowledge of law, but ignorant of maritime affairs, while the second had been much at sea with his former chief, and was therefore well versed in the business of a fleet. But considering that military experience by land was at present of special importance, and holding that an able man trained in that school would easily pick up the knowledge necessary for a secretary at sea, he was disposed, of the two, to prefer Arriola.[1] The choice of the King fell upon Soto, who, though he was not the choice of Don John, gave him great satisfaction.[2]

While the Christians were thus inactive in the field, their councils were the scenes of many battles. At Granada, Los Velez was bitterly blamed for retiring upon Calahorra after his victory at Valor, and also after his previous vaunting offer to reduce the Alpuxarras to obedience with half the number of men actually around his standard. He, on his part, considered himself very ill-used by the council at Granada. He alleged that he had no choice but to retire from a country which could not support his troops, when he found that Calahorra, whence he had counted upon drawing his supplies, remained unprovisioned ; that not only had this neglect forced him to quit the Alpuxarras, but had

[1] Don John of Austria to the King [Granada], Sept. 6, 1569 ; a letter, of which the draft is in the possession of Don Pascual de Gayangos. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. 20.

[2] Don John of Austria to the King [Granada], Oct. 4 [1569]. Beso las manos á V. M. por la merced que fué servido hacerme en enviarme á Soto, persona tan hábil de cualidad y suficencia, que cierto conozco que hay todo esto en su persona, y que teniéndola á par de mi no tengo necesidad de mas para dar bastante recuerdo á los negocios porque muestra entenderlos y estar muy instruido en ellos, y con satisfacion general de todos los que negocian. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. 30.

greatly thinned his ranks by desertion; that, forty days before he moved from Adra, he had urged the council to collect stores of all kinds at Calahorra, and that his demands had been neglected through the personal ill-will of Mondejar, Sesa, and Luis Quixada. Each party made its complaint to the King, and after further discussion at Madrid, Mondejar was called to Court to give an account of the affair. He did not return to Granada; but after accompanying the King to the Cortes held at Cordoba in the following spring, he was named Viceroy of Valencia, and afterwards, of Naples.

Don John appears to have taken the side of his council, and to have written to the King complaining of the arrogance of Los Velez. Philip, while he admitted that there was justice in the charge, endeavoured to keep the peace between them, assuring Don John that the Marquess had never ventured to cast any blame upon him, and pointing out that the interests of the service required that they should act together in a courteous and amicable spirit. With Don John himself the King remonstrated against his going out with skirmishing parties to harass or surprise the enemy. "I heard with regret," he wrote, "that you had been "out the other day on one of these expeditions, because it does "not befit you, nor is it your duty, which is to watch over the "safety of the city. . . . If a large force went with you, the "Moriscos might appear on the other side, and effect something "which might be inconvenient; so you must do this no more. "Even if the Duke of Sesa and Luis Quixada go with you, that "is not right, for one of them ought to look after such things, "and the other remain with you. I have also heard that you go "and visit the sentinels, and watch the patrols on their rounds: "this should not be done by you too often; only from time to "time when circumstances require it."[1]

Don John promised to treat Los Velez with all courtesy and consideration; but he was very averse to shutting himself up in Granada if there was anything to be done against the enemy in which he could take a part. "If I had more experience and "practice in my profession," he wrote, "I should have nothing to "reply to your Majesty, but seeing that I am only learning the "service in which I hope to die, it is not right that I should miss "what opportunities there are of improving myself in it, and "besides, I know that it does not suit your Majesty's affairs. I "entreat you to observe how little it befits me, being what I am,

[1] Philip II. to Don John of Austria; Madrid, 7th September 1569.

"or my age, that I should shut myself up, when I ought to be "showing myself abroad."[1] In vain the King replied: "You "must keep yourself, and I must keep you, for greater things, "and it is from these that you must learn your professional "knowledge."[2] Don John's reasonable and spirited rejoinder was: "I am certainly most desirous to give satisfaction to your "Majesty, and do in all things as you wish; but at my age, and "in my position, I see that your Majesty's interest requires that "when there is any call to arms or any enterprise, the soldiers "should find me in front of them, or at least with them, ready to "encourage them to do their duty, and that they should know "that I desire to lead them in the name of your Majesty."[3]

For some weeks the war was waged but languidly on either side. At Albacete de Orgiba the garrison had some skirmishing with the Moriscos. By order of Don John, Francisco de Molina had repaired and improved the defences of that place, carrying them round the church, and providing, by means of cross-walls and trenches, safe and easy communication between the different works, in spite of certain crags from which the Moorish sharp-shooters were wont to annoy the garrison. Water, however, was wanting, nor was it found after sinking wells to the depth of a hundred and fifty feet. Molina therefore dug a number of deep pits inside his walls, purposing to fill them with the water of an *acequia* or irrigating stream which passed near the town. As soon as these pits were completed, Aben Umeya, who had been watching the operation, sent eleven companies, or banners as they were called, of Moriscos to cut off the stream, at the point where it was drawn from the river, about half a league above the place. Diego Nuñez, with two hundred musketeers, succeeded in protecting the stream, but was not strong enough to dislodge the enemy. Reinforcements, at first under Lorenzo de Avila, and next led by Molina in person, finally accomplished this object, and guarded the point of attack until nightfall. After dark the Christians retired, leaving among the shrubs and rocks a number of lighted rope-matches, which, being supposed to belong to a strong party of arquebusiers, not only secured to their reservoirs a free supply of the water during the night, but tempted the Moorish marksmen, who hovered amongst the higher crags, to waste a good deal of powder and ball. In the morning, the reservoirs being full, no

[1] Don John of Austria to Philip II., 23d September 1569. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. p. 26.
[2] Philip II. to Don John of Austria, 30th September 1569. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. p. 28.
[3] Don John of Austria to Philip II., 4th October 1569. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. p. 29.

further opposition was made to cutting off the stream, which the enemy effected and retired. But, observing that the porous soil did not long retain the water, Molina abandoned his plan, and by digging a trench from his fortifications into a neighbouring gulley, obtained an easy and tolerably secure access to the river.

Foiled at Orgiba, Aben Umeya turned his arms northward and towards the sea. Descending into the valley of Almanzora with five thousand men, he collected a still larger force in the villages of the valley, and after making an unsuccessful attack on the strong castle of Las Cuevas, belonging to the Marquess of Los Velez, and destroying a fine garden attached to it, he appeared, on the 24th of September, before the seaport of Vera at the head of twelve thousand men and two pieces of artillery. The old town, on the heights above, was immediately occupied by his troops, and but for the foresight and vigilance of the Alcayde of Lorca, the Moriscos might now have possessed themselves of a communication with the sea. This Alcayde, Don Matias de Guerta Sarmiento, a lawyer by profession, was a soldier by inclination, and had seen something of Moorish warfare ten or eleven years before, at Oran. The confession of two Morisco spies, who had fallen into his hands, having informed him that Vera was threatened, he immediately warned the council at Granada and the towns in his own neighbourhood, and arranged with the place itself a system of signals by which assistance could at any moment be summoned. Aben Umeya and his host therefore found the place prepared to receive them. While Mendez Pardo, the Alcayde, at the head of thirty horse, skirmished with his rear-guard, the watch-towers along the coast gave the alarm to the fleet of the Grand Commander, and columns of smoke, rising on peak after peak along the crest of the inland Sierras, aroused the Christians of Lorca and Murcia. The Moriscos commenced operations by a brisk fire of musketry, and by attempting to batter down with their cannon a piece of old wall. One of the guns, however, speedily burst in their unskilful hands, and the other was rendered useless by the loss of the artilleryman, who was slain by a musket-shot. After much desultory and ineffectual expenditure of powder, they approached the wall, and endeavoured to break their way through; but their labours being interrupted by the news that Christian troops were advancing in their rear, in spite of their numbers, they desisted from their attempt, and retired upon Las Cuevas. At dawn, on the 26th of September, about a thousand foot and seventy horse from Lorca marched

into Vera, having accomplished nine leagues, or upwards of thirty miles, since the afternoon of the previous day. Thus strengthened, and after some repose, the garrison of Vera and their auxiliaries issued forth against the enemy, and advanced to the river of Las Cuevas, but did not think it prudent to follow them into the defiles of the mountains. As they returned to the town they were joined by the troops from Murcia, consisting of three thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry. The majority of the leaders were now of opinion that the Moriscos should be pursued and attacked. But a new difficulty arose in a question of military precedence. The men of Lorca asserted the ancient privilege enjoyed by their ancestors in the wars of Granada, which entitled them to lead the van of an advance and close the rear of a retreat. The men of Murcia contended that the troops of the capital had a right to march first within the bounds of the Murcian kingdom. The dispute became so warm that the Christians were ready to turn against each other the steel prepared for the infidel. Apprehending danger, the leaders separated their forces and marched them homewards; Aben Umeya returned to Lauxar, and disbanded his host; and so ended an affair in which neither party used its opportunities or added to its laurels.

Encamped at Calahorra, Los Velez remained utterly inactive, alleging as his excuse the want of provisions and munitions necessary to carry on the war. His scanty supplies came day by day from Guadix, and his army was reduced to the greatest misery. Desertion, a natural consequence of inaction, was further stimulated by hunger; some of his companies hardly mustered ten soldiers; and the officers were suspected of conniving at the escape of the men that they might themselves leave the camp under pretence of recruiting the ranks. On one occasion the Marquess was informed that four hundred men were about to desert in a body under cover of the darkness. He therefore ordered his son Diego Faxardo, and Rodrigo de Benavides, to patrol the camp with a squadron of horse, and if possible prevent this evasion. These officers succeeded in detecting the fugitives as they were stealing off, and turned many of them back to their quarters. Others, however, were less tractable, and making no reply to their remonstrances, marched sullenly off towards the mountains, with the matches of their firelocks ready lighted. Seeing that they were fast gaining ground where cavalry could not follow, Benavides persuaded Faxardo to charge, he himself, as he galloped towards the deserters, shouting *Santiago!* Provoked

at finding themselves thus treated like foes and Moors, some of the men fired their pieces. One of the balls, piercing the shield of Faxardo, broke one of the fingers of his left hand, and his horse stumbling at the same time, flung him over his head. This accident put an end to any further attack, Faxardo being popular among his soldiers. After some moments' insensibility he was able to remount and return to the camp, from which the Marquess himself, aroused by the shots, was leading the whole of his cavalry. Enraged at his son's mishap, he immediately ordered a pursuit of the deserters, none of whom, however, were taken. Day by day their comrades followed their example, and the army of twelve thousand men soon melted away to less than three thousand.

In the valley of Lecrin, El Anacoz, one of the rebel chiefs, at the head of a thousand men, was committing great ravages, and sometimes cutting off the supplies which were sent from Granada to Orgiba. Pedro de Vilches, better known as Pedro Wooden-leg (*pie-de-palo*), being a man of great boldness of character, and well acquainted with the locality, was summoned to advise Don John of Austria and the council on this matter. He suggested a plan for drawing the enemy into an ambuscade, which was forthwith approved and entrusted for execution to himself and Don Garcia de Manrique. At the head of a few chosen foot soldiers, Vilches made a stealthy night march upon the rebel villages of Las Albuñuelas and Salares, which he aroused at daybreak by a feigned attack. A large force pouring out to oppose him, after some show of resistance he retired towards some gardens in the low grounds between Durcal and Padul, where Manrique lay concealed with four hundred musketeers and two hundred horse. The Moriscos, who gained courage and numbers as they advanced, pressed him so hard that before he had reached the ambuscade two of his soldiers were slain and several others wounded. Observing his dangerous situation, Manrique rode out to his assistance, without waiting for the concerted time when the rear of the assailants should have descended into the plain. Six Turks and two hundred Moriscos fell beneath the sabres of his troopers, and three standards were taken; but El Anacoz and the half of his force escaped into broken ground and regained the mountains. The Christians returned to Granada in triumph, entering the city with great parade, trailing the rebel flags in the dust, and bearing heads and hands of the slain on the points of their lances. Victories had of late been so rare on the royal side that both the council and the populace were much elated by the success. Only

Pedro of the wooden leg shook his head and considered the expedition a failure, saying that but for the impatience of Manrique they might have slain the whole rabble of Moriscos. "But," replied the President Deza, "if he lost an opportunity of killing "more of them, he lost it in order to save you from being killed." —"I know that," rejoined the bold cripple; "but what signified "the life of a man like me if it could have been sold for the "heads of two thousand Moors?"[1]

The unfavourable aspect of affairs at length forced the King and his advisers to adopt more decided measures for pushing on the war just as the season for active operations was passing away. On the 19th of October orders were received at Granada for the removal from the city of those Moriscos who had been excepted from the last expulsion. A royal decree was also published, declaring a war "of fire and blood" against the rebels. Hitherto it had been carried on under the milder name of "chastisement," which, while it permitted great latitude of interpretation to the commanders, did not extend to the process of extermination which was now proclaimed. The decree gave to every Christian who should enrol himself under the royal banner the right of free booty, and of disposing as he pleased of his prisoners, without regard to the fifth share heretofore claimed by the Crown. The monthly pay of the troops was raised to the Italian rate of four golden crowns to the musketeers, and three to the pikemen; and the corporations and feudal lords were tempted to raise fresh levies by an offer from the treasury to pay all but the horse soldiers. The alarming desertions from the army of Los Velez, and the discontent which the deserters had spread through Andalusia, were the reasons of this appeal to the cupidity and loyalty of the Christian population.

An event now occurred amongst the mountains held by the insurgents which vigilance and promptitude on the royal side might have made the means of terminating the war. Aben Umeya had for some time been personally odious to certain of the leading Moriscos at Uxixar and Jubiles on account of his severities in these districts. Diego Alguacil had vowed to revenge the death of a relative executed by the King's order on suspicion of treason. Another and deeper offence was given to him when Aben Umeya carried off a young widow of noble Morisco blood, a first cousin of Alguacil, and compelled her to live with him as one of his mistresses. Of this lady some said that Alguacil was

[1] Marmol: *Reb. de Granada*, ii. p. 159.

himself enamoured, but according to others it was only his family pride that was wounded by the elected monarch taking for a concubine a woman whose birth entitled her to share the throne of the Caliphs. It is certain that he bitterly resented the injury or the insult which he sustained in the person of the fair Morisco; that she shared his resentment; and that Aben Umeya, being either ignorant of her real feelings, or blinded by passion, enabled her to become an important accomplice in his destruction by sometimes employing her as his secretary. Since his negotiations with Granada, the popularity of the rebel king had greatly declined. Amongst an ignorant and treacherous people no invention was too absurd, no treason too black for belief, and the rumour was widely spread that Aben Umeya had endeavoured to secure his own safety by betraying his subjects to the Captain-General of Granada. The suspicion was certainly rather confirmed than allayed by his long inaction after the battle of Uxixar, and by the feebleness of his operations against Orgiba and Vera. He was also on bad terms with his Algerine auxiliaries, who, being irreclaimable ruffians, had naturally resumed the predatory habits which had brought them to the galleys and dungeons of Algiers. Robbing their allies, and violating their women, they had made themselves so odious to the district of Andarax that Aben Umeya had been obliged to remove them to the frontiers of Orgiba, where they were placed under the command of Aben Aboo. But change of place producing no change in their conduct, the victims of their outrages were constantly repairing to Lauxar with complaints, out of which grew endless correspondence, and at last a coolness between the King and his lieutenant. Being at a safe distance, Aben Umeya was for repressing their disorders by severe punishment; while Aben Aboo, exposed to the ill-will of the dangerous delinquents, was inclined to take their part, and to wink at the evidence against them. The unfortunate monarch, harassed by these vexations, became apprehensive for his personal safety. Of two thousand followers whom he kept about him at Lauxar several hundreds patrolled the neighbourhood day and night, while the more trusted stood sentry at barriers placed across the street leading to his quarters.

Hoping to improve his position and employ his troops, he had been for some time meditating a descent upon Motril. The Algerines formed part of the force which he destined for this enterprise. But for reasons of his own he desired to keep them as long as possible ignorant of the service for which they were

wanted, and he therefore did not confide even to Aben Aboo the direction in which they were to move until the last moment. The messengers who went and came between Lauxar and the quarters of Aben Aboo having to pass through Uxixar, Alguacil was kept informed by the Morisco widow of the purport of each of the despatches. Aided by two or three friends, the conspirator waylaid and slew the bearer of the final order; and by means of the letter which was found on the person of the murdered man, and the pen of Diego de Arcos, who had been secretary to Aben Umeya, he forged a despatch suitable to his treacherous design. In this missive Aben Aboo was ordered to march his Algerines not upon Motril, but to Mecina de Bombaron, where, after they had been lodged as far apart as possible, they were all to be slain in the night by their Morisco comrades, with the help of a hundred men to be brought up for this service by Diego Alguacil, who was himself to be put to death as soon as the bloody deed was done. A trusty messenger immediately carried the forgery to Aben Aboo. Lost in wonder at the crime which he was thus suddenly commanded to perpetrate, that loyal and gallant Morisco began to believe the stories, which he had hitherto disregarded, of his chief's treasonable correspondence with Granada. It was only by supposing a secret understanding with the enemy that it was possible to account for an order so fatal to the Moslem cause. He was still pondering over the astonishing document, and considering what he ought to do, when Alguacil, who had nicely calculated his time, halted at his door at the head of his hundred men. Pretending that he too had received orders to aid in the massacre of the Algerines, the crafty conspirator declared his abhorrence of such treachery, and his intention of warning the intended victims of the trap laid for them; but in the first place he desired to know the opinion of his superior officer. His opportune arrival and concurrent instructions confirmed Aben Aboo in his worst suspicions. They agreed that they would not be guilty of the cruelty required of them; and they called in two of the Algerine captains and showed them the letter of the King. The Algerines immediately laid the case before their fellow-ruffians, who loaded their muskets, and vowed vengeance against their traitorous employers with such passionate vociferation that it was some time before Aben Aboo could quiet the uproar and make them understand that no danger threatened them. Seeing the success of his plot, Alguacil produced some *hasheesh*, or opium prepared for chewing, which he asserted had been furnished to

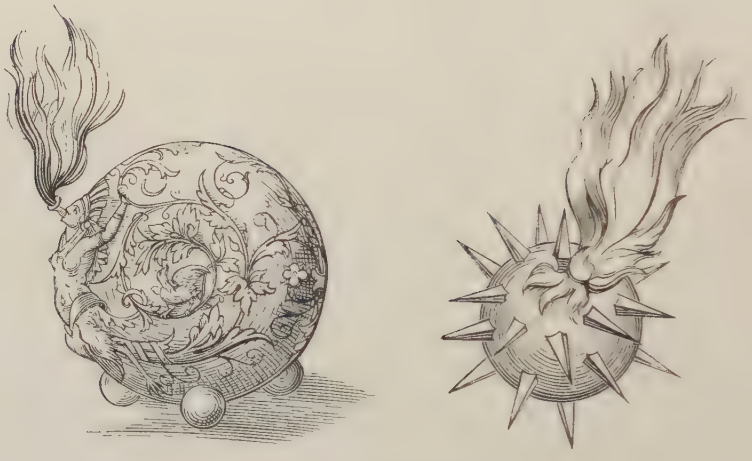
him by Aben Umeya, with instructions to distribute it at supper to the auxiliary leaders that their sleep might be sound and their fate sure. A fresh burst of indignation followed this new evidence of intended treason; and there were cries that such a traitor should no longer reign, and that a new sovereign should be immediately chosen. Alguacil artfully proposed that one of the Algerine leaders should be elected. They, however, had the wisdom to reply that their Pasha had sent them not to rule but to serve, and that the government ought to be entrusted to some native chief of high birth and popular character until the will of the Pasha, as organ of the Grand Turk, could be ascertained. Under this condition Aben Aboo was immediately declared King. It was some time before he would accept a dignity which he had refused at the beginning of the rebellion. But he at last consented to accept a provisional election, and the Moriscos and Algerines present swore to obey him for three months. The assembly next decreed the death of Aben Umeya, and the imprisonment of his chief partisans who should refuse to recognise the new king. Aben Aboo, Alguacil, and their friends, at the head of two hundred Moriscos and two hundred Algerines, then immediately set forth to Lauxar.

They arrived there at midnight. The patrols and sentinels, to whom Aben Aboo was well known, allowed them to pass on the plea of urgent business with the King. On reaching his door, they at once burst it open and rushed into the house. The circumstances of his capture were variously related. According to some accounts he met the intruders on the threshold with a gun in his hand; according to others, he was found in his bed-chamber lying asleep between two women, one of whom, the Morisco widow, flung her arms round him, and baffled his efforts to defend himself. Having returned weary from an entertainment, he had slept too soundly to awake in time to reach the stable, where two horses stood, night and day, ready saddled and bridled. No attempt was made to rescue him, his people being bewildered, not only by the suddenness of the attack, but by finding that it was led by the most trusted of the Morisco chiefs. Aben Aboo and Alguacil immediately bound the King's hands, and then openly charged him with his crime, producing the letter which proved his treasonable intentions. The unfortunate man, having examined the signature, solemnly declared that it was a forgery committed by an enemy, and that he had neither written any such letter, nor thought of giving any such orders. Denying

that he had held any secret communication with the Christians, he at the same time protested, in the name of the Prophet and the Grand Turk, against being judged by his own subjects, who had no authority to judge him. His defence ended with an appeal to El Habaqui, who had raised the Algerine levies, to come forward and prove his innocence of the charges brought against him. Reason and justice, however, had little chance with an ignorant and angry rabble, horror-struck by the massacre which the culprit was accused of devising, and not disposed to require better evidence than that which had satisfied Aben Aboo. Instead of comparing the conflicting statements, they therefore betook themselves to the more congenial occupation of plundering the house, while Alguacil and his accomplice Diego de Arcos led their vanquished enemy aside into a retired apartment. There they strangled him with a cord, of which each of them held one end. The story went that Aben Umeya himself adjusted it round his neck, and covering his head with his robe, said that he died a Christian, and that his death would be amply revenged. It was also told that, many days before, he had spoken of a dream which he had dreamed three successive nights, and in which a party of strangers had come and strangled him with his own turban; and that, in consequence of this warning, he had looked with increased distrust upon his African allies. But whatever may have been his feelings towards them, he fell a victim to private hatred and vengeance, which he does not appear to have suspected, and which contrived to use as its chief instrument the loyal follower who, but a few months before, had nearly lost his life in his defence.[1] Raised to his brief command for his birth, personal beauty, and courage, he discovered no latent qualities to justify his people's choice, or to diminish the fearful odds against them in the struggle in which a handful of mountaineers, with few resources beyond their stout arms and wild hills, were opposed to the skill and strength of the greatest empire in the world. The constancy with which he met the hardships of savage warfare, after having passed his youth amongst the amenities of civilized life, is perhaps the sole feature in his career which deserves praise; while at least an equal measure of blame must be awarded to the man who, so nurtured, learned soon to be as cruel as the fiercest revenger of the Numidian wilderness. Except for the panic and uncertainty which it could not fail to cause throughout the Alpuxarras, the death of Aben Umeya cannot be regarded as any

[1] Chap. VI. p. 143.

great misfortune to the rebellion. His body, the day after the murder, was ignominiously buried in a dunghill. The plunder of his harem was given up to the soldiers, with the exception of his women, who were divided amongst the chiefs. The beautiful and treacherous concubine was the reward of her cousin, Diego Alguacil, who carried her off to Africa, and married her at Tetuan.



BOMB-SHELL AND FIRE-BALL.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MORISCO REBELLION; FROM THE END OF OCTOBER TO THE END OF DECEMBER 1569.

THE new King of the Moriscos now assumed the name of Muley Abdallah Aben Aboo, and inscribed on his banner an Arabic legend, signifying —"*I cannot wish for more, and I will not be content with less.*" He immediately sent off Mahamete Ben Daud, a tried partisan, with a present of Christian captives, and such other things as the valley of Alpuxarra afforded, to the Pasha of Algiers, to inform him of the circumstances of his election, and to ask him to confirm it by his approval. The envoy did not return, but settled at Algiers, transmitting the Pasha's favourable reply by another hand—a proof that, in his eyes at least, the prospects of the rebellion were not hopeful. Most of its chiefs, however, gave in their adhesion to the new ruler, and of the few who stood aloof only Aben Mequenum could command any following. That leader, at the head of four hundred men, retired to the valley of Almanzora; but, as no record remains of his subsequent proceedings, it is probable that he ultimately rejoined his companions in revolt. Aben Aboo next divided the country which he considered as under his authority into three separate commands. The valleys of Almeria and Almanzora, and the parts adjacent, were placed under the orders of El Malek, while El Xoaybi and El Hoseyn commanded in the Sierra Nevada and the Vega of Granada, the Alpuxarras, and the district round Velez. Of his disposable force

of about four thousand men, the King set apart one thousand as his guard, of which two hundred were always to be in attendance on his person. The Turk Hoseyn, a chief of the Algerines, he despatched with a second present to Algiers, and also with orders to proceed to Constantinople with an offering to the Grand Mufti, whose good offices with the Sultan he was to endeavour to secure. By these means he hoped to obtain the aid of ships and men both from Africa and the Levant.

The first sign which reached the Christians of the revolution which had taken place in the Morisco camp was the increased activity of the enemy. His first arrangements made, Aben Aboo immediately assumed the offensive. With all the force that he could raise he marched into the valley of Lecrin, swept the adjacent country, and took up a position in the valley through which the river Rio Grande or the Motril flows to the sea. Here he learned the good news that an ensign and eighty soldiers from Orgiba had been drawn, by the skilful treachery of a spy, into an ambuscade of Moriscos, who had slain them all. Believing that this loss must have both weakened and disheartened the garrison, he resolved at once to attack the place. Francisco de Molina was, however, better prepared than the Morisco supposed. The service at Orgiba was so hard and harassing that it was the custom to change the garrison every month in order to prevent desertion. Just after the loss of the surprised detachment, the relieving party, of six companies of foot and two troops of horse, with provisions and munitions, had fortunately arrived from Granada. Aben Aboo reached the place on the night of the 27th of October. Concealing his force, which the Christians estimated at no less than ten thousand men, of whom six hundred were Turks and Moors, in ravines formed by the spurs of the mountains within two gunshots of the fort, he sent out at early morning four of his men with instructions to proceed as if they were in pursuit of game. Being soon discovered by a corporal's guard which was patrolling the neighbourhood, the pretended sportsmen fled in all haste, hunted by the unsuspecting soldiers, who soon found themselves surrounded by enemies springing from behind every crag and bush. The corporal and four men fell; the rest escaped to the fort through a shower of bullets. Molina next sent out an exploring party of horse, who, advancing to the spot whence the firing had come and finding it deserted, pushed forward up the glen. They soon found themselves in the presence of a strong body of the enemy with Aben Aboo at its

head, and were received with a volley, which killed one horse and wounded another. Their retreat was followed by the Moriscos, who, issuing from the defiles and occupying every spot of vantage-ground, opened a brisk fire upon every point of the fortress and its works where a Christian was visible. Their numbers and bold demeanour showed that a serious attack was intended.

The outer defences of the fort, constructed of earth or dry stone, were in many places so low or so ruinous that a man could hardly find shelter behind them. The garrison therefore met the fire of the Moriscos by a continuous discharge of musketry from the loopholes of the tower and the higher walls, and by occasional sallies upon points where the assailants mustered in force. In this manner they inflicted considerable damage, with little loss to themselves beyond two standard-bearers killed at the commencement of the affray. Finding that he did not make much progress, Aben Aboo, instead of delivering the general assault, which the Christians feared, and in which his superior numbers would certainly have enabled him to carry some portion of the works, drew off his men, and afterwards posted them in four divisions, each occupying a different side of the place. He then cut off the water of the canal before mentioned, which Molina had again employed to supply his tanks, and began the siege in a somewhat regular form.

Molina, on his part, narrowly watched the motions of the enemy, and so disposed of his force, under his most experienced officers, as to be ready for an attack on any side. The first step taken by Aben Aboo was to occupy the house of a baker, separated from the fort only by the breadth of a narrow street. Opposite to this house, and incorporated with the walls of the fort, was another dwelling with windows opening upon the street. Into these windows the Moriscos began to throw faggots, to which they afterwards intended to set fire. But the Christians, guessing their design, flung down from their wall mats, oiled and lighted, on the faggots as they lay in the street, and consumed them before they could be used. They then forced their way into the house which the enemy had wished to burn, and kept up so hot a fire of musketry from the windows that the occupants of the opposite tenement were dislodged. After several furious but unsuccessful attacks on other points a pause ensued, when Aben Aboo placed his best marksmen in some high houses and a dovecote, from whence, by means of an almost vertical fire, they killed several soldiers and eight horses, and compelled Molina to

dig within his works some trenches for the purpose of enabling his men to pass from place to place under cover. At the same time the Moriscos were engaged in sinking four mines. One of these, directed against the church, being an open cutting, was stopped by a high scaffolding which the Christians erected within their own walls, and from which they were able to shoot down the workmen; another was met by a countermine, in which an affray underground terminated in the defeat of the assailants, with the loss of their mining tools. The remaining two mines were abandoned in consequence of the occurrence of rock, which forbade the further progress of the spade.

These operations occupied two days. On the third, which was All Saints' Day, the Turks, having gained possession of the house incorporated in the wall of the fort, piled on its flat roof a quantity of earth and stones, which placed them on a level with the top of the wall. They did this with sufficient speed and secrecy to elude the vigilance of the Christians, and the ground being higher within than without, an easy access was thus obtained. The Turks and Algerines and flower of the Morisco host instantly rushed to the assault, and the drums and cymbals and barbarous shouts of the infidel resounded within the works of the Christians, who were driven back upon their interior defences. Even these were for some minutes in danger, and became the scene of a desperate hand-to-hand combat; and ere Francisco de Molina, conspicuous in his gilded corselet, had by his personal prowess turned the tide of battle, two crescent-spangled banners had been planted on the wall. When the assailants were repulsed, these trophies were left behind them, as well as two hundred corpses. One of the standard-bearers, mortally wounded through the shoulder, fell within the works. In hopes of rallying his retreating comrades, he called out to them that it was better to die like men than run like women. His advice being disregarded, he then cursed them as dogs and cowards; and, finally, he addressed himself to the Christians, begging them to put him out of his torment, as it was better to die by their hands than to live with the vile rabble who had deserted him. A soldier, descending from the wall, complied with his request by cutting off his head.

Another assault, planned with less skill and pushed with less vigour, indicated a want of ammunition in the Morisco ranks, stones being the missiles principally used against the Christians. The chief incident of this attack was a severe blow inflicted on the head of Molina by one of these primitive projectiles. But in

general, the helmets and shields of the royal soldiers protected them from injury, and they flung back the stones from the height

DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA.

of their walls with excellent effect upon their less completely armed assailants. Aben Aboo now desisted from active hostilities,

and contented himself with turning his siege into a blockade. He posted strong guards upon the defile through which passed the road to Granada, and upon the access to the river. The water-tanks contained only two days' supply of water, and they could not be reached from the fort without exposure to attacks, being situated between the inner and the outer works. Finding his position thus perilous, Molina sent out by night two of his men, who spoke Arabic fluently, disguised as Moriscos, to convey to Don John of Austria a verbal account of his case. They passed safely through the enemy's camp, and on arriving at Granada, found that news of the siege of Orgiba had already been received, and that relief was about to be despatched. A considerable force soon set forth under the Duke of Sesa, and advanced by way of Padul to Acequia, where the Duke halted, partly to wait for reinforcements, and partly because he was seized with gout. Even there, however, the presence of troops was of advantage to the besieged, for Aben Aboo, when he heard of it, broke up his leaguer on the eighth day, and marched to Lanjaron to dispute the entrance to the Alpuxarras. His retreat was effected at midnight, and so quietly that it was not suspected in Orgiba until the following morning. Molina immediately refilled his tanks, and notified to Don John of Austria that the enemy was gone towards Lanjaron. About the same time, the two soldiers whom he had sent to Granada returned with a letter from Don John, informing him that the council were of opinion that the garrison should be withdrawn from Orgiba, but that he would not consent to such an order until the commander had been consulted. In case Molina considered that the place should still be held, he was to send an estimate of the force and the supplies which would be required for that purpose. Molina replied that he thought Orgiba ought to be defended, were it only on account of the encouragement which its abandonment would give to the rebellion; that the garrison ought to be immediately relieved; and that when relief arrived it would be time enough to consider the strength required for the subsequent maintenance of the place. Reasonable as it was, this advice was not followed; and it was resolved by the council that after the retreat of Molina and his men Orgiba should not be re-garrisoned.

In moving upon Lanjaron Aben Aboo by no means relinquished his hopes of taking Orgiba. His army still occupied the road to Granada; all the other valleys by which Molina could escape were closely guarded; and he believed that the place was so

slenderly provisioned, that want would soon compel it to capitulate. In fact, he flattered himself that while he held Sesa in check, he was still besieging Orgiba, if not so closely, at least as effectually as before. His spies in the country, and his secret partisans in Granada, industriously spread the most exaggerated reports of the strength of the rebels and the distress of the Christians. Some pretended that Molina and his men had already perished from hunger. A friar waited, with great mystery, upon Don John of Austria, to whisper to him that the fact had just been made known to him in the confessional; and Don John immediately summoned the council, who were much disturbed at the announcement, excepting the President Deza, who remained sceptical, and who, himself a churchman, treated it with especial contempt when he learned the source from whence it came. The rumours of course reached the camp of Sesa, who, being the grandson of the Great Captain, was predestined to be an example that military genius is seldom hereditary. On arriving at Acequia, Sesa had written to Molina, to inquire into his condition, and had received for answer that the garrison had bread for only five days, and that amongst his people there were eighty wounded and sick, for whom, as well as for a considerable store of ammunition, means of transport must be furnished. Sorely perplexed by the rumours which were now in every mouth, the Duke hesitated whether to wait for reinforcements at the risk of the surrender of Orgiba, or to push on to its relief, at the risk of facing the greatly superior force of Aben Aboo. By way of obtaining exact information, he expressed a wish to intercept some of Aben Aboo's messengers. On this service the gallant Vilches of the wooden leg immediately volunteered. The Duke with some reluctance consented; and the bold cripple, setting off at night with a few picked men, posted himself with so much judgment near the rebel army, that by daybreak he had captured no less than six Morisco couriers. But when they were brought to the camp, and their letters opened, no one was to be found sufficiently versed in Arabic to read them. It was necessary to send to Granada for an interpreter, a signal instance of the want of foresight which pervaded both Court and camp. When at last their meaning was penetrated, the despatches of Aben Aboo were found to contain some valuable revelations. They afforded evidence that Molina still maintained himself at Orgiba, although probably reduced to great straits; and that the reports of his death or surrender, circulated at Granada, and even the statement made in

confession, were tricks of the rebel king. The plans and hopes of Aben Aboo were further indicated in his orders to his chiefs. Some were directed to repair to his standard with every man they could muster, as he was about to fight a decisive battle with the Duke of Sesa; and El Xoaybi, of Guejar, was required to watch the Duke's movements, and as soon as he should have crossed the ravine of Tablate, between Acequia and Lanjaron, to occupy it with six thousand men, so as to cut off his communications with Granada.

These indications of the strength and spirit of his antagonist did not inspire Sesa with any vehement wish to test their accuracy. He would not accept the offer of Don John of Austria, made on receiving the tidings of his being ill of gout, to send Luis Quixada to command in his place. But although his gout abated, and his army amounted to five thousand five hundred foot and three hundred horse, he allowed several remonstrances from Granada and several appeals from Orgiba to be made in vain before he would advance. When he could no longer decently delay he sent forward the trusty veteran of the wooden leg, Pedro de Vilches, at the head of eight hundred men, to explore the broken ground and occupy the heights near Tablate. Later in the day he detached another body of eight hundred men to support him, keeping the whole army in readiness to march. The moment a movement was perceived amongst the Christians the Morisco legions posted here and there among the hills were immediately in motion. Vilches was met by large parties of skirmishers, who retired as his files advanced, but made a sufficient show of opposition to occupy his attention, so that a considerable force contrived to steal unobserved along his flank, and place itself between him and the main army. On reaching, towards the afternoon, the oft-disputed gorge of Tablate, Vilches found it so strongly defended that after some fighting he considered it necessary to fall back; and in retreating, being attacked both in front and rear, he halted his men in a strong position and determined to pass the night there. But the imprudence of one of his captains, a Castillian named Perea, forced him to alter his plan. This officer, impatient of delay, attempted to proceed along a gulley or hollow, where he hoped to elude the enemy, but where he was immediately attacked, and perished with a great part of his company. Vilches and the rest of the detachment, hastening to the rescue, found it impossible to regain their original position, and had to cut their way back to the army through thickening

ranks of the enemy. Sesa was happily on the alert, and hearing the firing marched out to his assistance. A desultory engagement was fought in the twilight and the dark, and the rebels were repulsed; but they continued to follow and harass the Christians until they reached their camp at Acequia at midnight. On this affair public opinion at Granada was much divided. Some thought that if Aben Aboo had been able to bring up his whole force, Sesa and his army might have sustained serious defeat, and they did not consider that the Moriscos over-estimated the Christian loss in stating it at four hundred killed and many more wounded. The friends of the Duke, on the other hand, asserted that he had left on the field only sixty of his men, and that he deserved great credit for the vigour and vigilance with which he had repulsed a night attack. The real loss was probably something less than the one party supposed, and a good deal more than the other allowed; but as the Duke, by detaching Vilches and his men, had commenced his march on Lanjaron, and as the result of the conflict was that the army remained in the camp at Acequia, it was impossible to deny that the royal forces had received a check.

Meanwhile Molina had learned, or had divined, that the castle of Orgiba was to be abandoned. Relief had been so long and so unaccountably delayed that it seemed as if he and his unfortunate garrison were also to be left to their fate. He had informed the Duke of Sesa that he had bread left for only five days. He had made shift to subsist upon this provision for ten days. Still he looked westward down the valley every morning and all day long for the expected Christian banners, and looked in vain. Wishing to ascertain for himself how matters stood, he rode out with five of his officers towards the rebel army. Although they saw many Morisco sentinels on the heights, they arrived without molestation at the castle of Lanjaron. A few Christian soldiers who kept that small but strong fortalice told them that they had seen nothing of Sesa's army, and that the whole country was covered with Moriscos. Returning to Orgiba by a different path, Molina now determined to trust to his own skill and courage for his garrison's deliverance. He therefore broke up some pieces of artillery which defended his shattered walls, and buried the fragments along with the rest of his stores which he could not carry away. The troops were silently mustered; the sick and wounded were mounted on the horses of the cavalry; and all commended themselves to God before a crucifix reared upon a

flagstaff. With this standard carried before them, they cautiously stole from the place at ten o'clock at night and took the road to Motril. Four soldiers were left behind to ring the bell in the church-tower and to make the challenges as usual, until a light, gleaming from a well-known hill, should give notice that their comrades had crossed the river, and that it was time for them also to retire. The well-conceived plan was perfectly well executed; no accident occurred, nor did any enemy appear to interrupt the march. During the night ten leagues were traversed, and in the morning the weary and famished troops halted at the gates of Motril. Their appearance at first excited a panic in the town, a panic of which the explanation likewise explained why their progress had been so peaceful. Weary of inaction, the rebels who were posted in the valley had chosen the night of Molina's escape from Orgiba for an attack upon Motril. They had not indeed penetrated beyond the suburb inhabited by the Moriscos, of whom some had joined them voluntarily and the rest had been carried off by force to the mountains. But the Christians had been nevertheless roused from their beds; the women and children to take refuge in the church, and the men to defend the gates and the barricades which protected the principal streets. They were reposing after the fatigues of the night, when the soldiers from Orgiba arrived and were at first taken for a fresh body of infidels. The mistake being discovered, they were received with open arms.

When the news reached Granada that Molina and his men had made good their retreat from their perilous position, Don John of Austria bestowed the highest praise on the gallant leader, and immediately appointed him commander of the district of Motril. The Duke of Sesa, still at Acequia, hesitating at the head of the relieving army, was glad to be himself relieved from an enterprise to which he was not equal. To escape the imputation of having done absolutely nothing, he sacked a few villages, and placed a garrison of a thousand men in Las Albuñuelas to overawe those whom his own feebleness had emboldened; after which exploits the heir of the great captain closed his ill-managed campaign, and led his forces back to Granada. It was soon discovered that Molina had foretold the truth when he warned Don John of Austria that the evacuation of Orgiba would be hailed as a triumph by the rebels. The most extravagant rejoicings were held in every valley of the Alpuxarras; and the news of Molina's retreat was first carried to the camp of the

Marquess of Los Velez by a Christian captive who managed to escape from his house of bondage during the festal riot.

During the greater part of November and December, nothing occurred beyond a few desultory enterprises, in which success was sometimes with the Christians and sometimes with the rebels. On the Murcian frontier, the inhabitants of Galera, a place considerable both in population and means of defence, were so peaceably disposed that, although Moriscos, they had incited their lord, Don Enrique Enriquez, to send them a garrison of his Christian retainers to protect them from the solicitations of their revolted neighbours. Enriquez accordingly sent them sixty musketeers, under one Almarta ; and so careful was he to avoid causes of offence, that he directed them to lodge, not in the people's houses, but in the church, which stood apart from the village on an open space between it and the river. In its strong belfry a sentinel kept watch day and night against flying parties of the rebel host ; but of the inhabitants the soldiers felt no distrust, and lived with them on the most friendly terms. El Malek, however, had cast a covetous eye upon Galera, and he found an opportunity of proposing to some of its chief townsmen to revolt. Their answer was favourable ; but as they could not openly declare themselves while Almarta remained among them, they treacherously received into the place, for the purpose of removing this difficulty, two hundred armed men furnished by El Malek. It was agreed that these strangers should post themselves in and near the street along which the unsuspecting soldiers were wont to come, straggling by twos and threes, to market ; and that, after massacring as many of them as they could in a sudden onslaught, they were to burn the church with the rest of the garrison. The night before its accomplishment, this treachery was happily foiled by another. One of the two hundred, a robber before he became a rebel, weary of the cause or its hardships, conceived that now was a favourable occasion for making his peace with the Christians. He therefore slipped away from his comrades through a back window, and warned the inmates of the church of their impending danger. Almarta immediately despatched two of his men to Guescar, a town about a league off, to alarm the Alcayde, and none of the soldiers went to market next day. The men of Guescar obeyed the summons with great alacrity, and a considerable body of horse and foot arrived at Galera, as the disappointed conspirators had lighted fires before the doors of the church. The siege was raised, and the garrison carried off without loss ;

but the rebels retired into the place, whither it was not considered prudent to follow them.

The town of Guescar belonged to the Duke of Alba, and his Alcayde, Franciso de Villa Precellin, a knight of Calatrava, shared the administration with Dr. Guerra, the chief Alcayde. These officers, finding that their people had returned from Galera in a state of great excitement, and fearing for the safety of their Moriscos, assembled the latter, for their better protection, in some granaries belonging to the Duke. Meanwhile, the volunteers of the expedition to Galera were busy in stirring up their fellow-citizens to undertake another. With some aid obtained from the neighbouring town of Bolteruela, they again marched out, in a disorderly and tumultuous manner, to punish, as they pretended, the treason of the Moriscos to a generous and considerate lord, but especially to plunder their houses—the real end of the enterprise. Neither the Alcayde, nor even Almarta, seems to have sanctioned the plan, or to have lent his experience to its execution. The strength of Galera, and the valour of El Malek's chosen men, foiled the desultory attacks of the assailants, who made up in obstinacy what they wanted in skill. After skirmishing round the place for two days and nights, they sent a message to Baza, asking for reinforcements. Meanwhile, news of what had happened had reached the widow of Enriquez, lord of the town. She immediately sent a kinsman, with a small body of horse, to endeavour to bring her vassals to reason, and to stop the hostilities. Antonio Enriquez rode up to the place, and calling by name on some of the principal inhabitants, said that he knew that the revolt had been the work of strangers, and that if they would return to their allegiance he would engage that the people of Guescar would desist from any further attack. The obnoxious strangers, however, again interposed, and not only prevented the persons addressed from answering, but replied, for them, that Galera owed no allegiance except to God and Mahomet, and that if the envoy did not ride away he should be fired upon. Enraged by this insolence, the volunteers from Guescar were for rushing at once to the assault. Enriquez, still anxious to save the town, now addressed his remonstrances to their leaders. During the parley which ensued, and which engaged much of the attention of both the besiegers and the besieged, a party of Christians found their way into the place, and raised a shout of triumph in the principal square. Had they been promptly supported, a victory might have been won. But while the leaders parleyed, the in-

truders were fiercely attacked and driven out with great loss. Although the fear of the cavalry prevented the rebels from attempting to carry their success beyond the walls, the Christians were so intimidated by the repulse that they retreated to Guescar. As they marched in, sore with humiliation, a cry was raised against their own Morisco townsmen. "They are the kindred," it was said, "of those who shed Christian blood, and proclaimed the law "of Mahomet at Galera; why should they be suffered to live?" The reasoning seemed unanswerable to logicians who had gone out for wool and had come home shorn. A rush was instantly made upon the granaries; some of the unfortunate inmates were shot down through the windows; and a bonfire was lighted at the door. The place, however, being full of forage, the fierce conflagration which followed proved the protection of those whom it was intended to deliver to their destroyers. Surrounded by an impassable barrier of flame, they took refuge in the vaults, where they remained in shelter until the besiegers, weary of waiting for their blood, had gone off to the more profitable occupation of sacking their houses. The Alcayde Precellin seized this opportunity of conducting them to a neighbouring castle, where they were lodged for many days in the cellars, until a royal decree appointed them a place of retreat with the other exiles from Granada.

Successful at Galera, El Malek now aspired to the possession of the still more important stronghold of Oria. This fortress was not only in want of supplies, but was burdened with more useless mouths than it ought to have been expected to maintain. The Marquess of Los Velez sent orders to Baza and to Velez el Blanco that the place should be immediately furnished with the necessary supplies, and relieved of the superfluous mouths. Baza did its part quickly and well; but the people of Velez, after supplying some provisions, found that the escort which had taken charge of them, and which was to bring back the women, children, and sick, was shut up in Oria, barred from returning by two thousand rebels who had seized a ravine through which it must pass. A priest had luckily discovered them while out on a shooting excursion, or the detachment of a hundred foot and forty horse, with its helpless charge, would have fallen into the ambuscade. In this dilemma, Don Juan de Haro, the Governor of Velez el Blanco, applied to the town of Lorca for aid; but the request was made in terms so commanding that the town council replied that they would refer his wishes to the councils of Murcia

and Caravaca. The daughters of the Marquess of Los Velez were, happily, more prudent and persuasive than either their sire or his lieutenant. Suspecting the real cause of the delay, they addressed a courteous letter to the martial Alcayde of Lorca, Dr. Guerra Sarmiento, which explained the urgency of the case, and somewhat smoothed the ruffled pride of the corporation. In spite of eight out of twelve of his colleagues voting for further postponement, Sarmiento, alleging that the relief of Oria too nearly concerned the King's service to be postponed further, marched on the 5th of November to Velez el Blanco, at the head of eight hundred infantry and one hundred cavalry. A few days were spent in waiting for reinforcements from more distant places, and in collecting supplies, which, on the 11th, were safely delivered at Oria. The soldiers of Velez were now free to retire; the new combatants were removed and quartered in different places of safety; and the whole operation was effected without loss, the Moriscos having retired on learning the numbers of the Christians.

Finding himself at the head of a considerable force, the Alcayde Sarmiento was not the man to lead it back to his town without striking a blow at the enemy. After some discussion, in which an attempt to recover Galera was proposed and rejected, it was resolved to attack Cantoria on the homeward march. Seated in a wild valley, very difficult of access, built on a rising ground near a river, surrounded by a strong wall, and boasting a fort of some pretension, Cantoria contained many of the women and children and much of the movable property of the district, and also a powder manufactory, which formed the rude arsenal of the rebellion. The militia of Lorca marched from Oria at midnight, hoping to surprise their prey before the dawn. But although the distance to be accomplished was only four leagues, they had not sufficiently estimated the difficulties of a mountain march in the darkness of a winter's night. Day had broken before they approached Cantoria, and before the inhabitants became aware of the attack which threatened them. Moving through the fields and gardens which lay along the river, the Christians saw before them, towering over the morning mist, the gray fortress with its walls covered with men; and as they drew nearer they could see on the flat tops of the houses, in the town below, a number of people brandishing weapons, beating drums, and blowing horns, hoping, according to the habits of their race, to dismay their assailants by noisy and furious defiance. Sarmiento there-

fore led the main body of his men towards one of the gates, and opened a fire of musketry which, answered not only with musketry but with two small cannon, was continued with little damage to either party for several hours. Meanwhile, a chosen band of marksmen, retiring unobserved in the confusion, were gaining by a circuitous path a crag which commanded the town. The summit reached, they thence opened a fire so heavy and so well directed that the gate and adjacent wall were soon rendered untenable. Sarmiento, being thus enabled to burst in the doors, was soon in possession of the outworks, within which a great number of cattle had been driven for shelter, and the powder manufactory was also situated. He first attacked the manufactory, destroying the machinery and setting fire to the building, which was speedily consumed. A few of his men were shot down from the loopholed walls of the castle, but no sally was made to thwart his operations. The castle itself being too strong and too high to be attacked without artillery or scaling-ladders, the Christians then retired, carrying off two thousand seven hundred sheep and goats, and three hundred cows. Ere they had gone far on their homeward march, a multitude of Moriscos, summoned by smoke-signals from the neighbouring valley of Almanzora, poured into that of Cantoria, and finding that they were too late to defend the place, moved in pursuit of the assailants. At Alborcas the road passed through a maze of intricate gardens, which were also intersected by watercourses, many of them without bridges. An attack, while this difficult pass was choked with sheep and cattle, might have been disastrous. Sarmiento therefore ordered the company in charge of the droves to push on, while he halted at the entrance of the gardens to cover their retreat. As he himself retired, the Moriscos pressed more and more upon his rear; but although his men were eager to attack them, he would not yield to their impatience until he had reached a piece of flat ground, called the Court (*Corral*), where his cavalry could manœuvre. He then halted, formed his order of battle, and indulged his men with a *Santiago*. The Moriscos, amongst whom were many Moors and Turks, charged with no less courage and determination than the Christians. The musketeers, on each side, fired their pieces but once ere they closed; and the men of Lorca at last owed the victory to their cavalry. Even against this force the rebels fought stoutly; and the Christians themselves admired the gallantry with which one of their standard-bearers, after having been twice pierced with a horseman's lance, defended his

flag until the breath had left his mangled body. The Moriscos at length gave way, and were cut down, as they fled, by their mounted pursuers. They left five hundred and fifty dead on the field, while Lorca lost only two men and fourteen horses killed and thirty-seven men wounded. The victorious troops rested that night at Guercal, where the Alcayde next day received a summons from his town council to return forthwith, the town having been several times alarmed by flying parties of Moriscos. He replied by sending forward two of his officers with tidings of his success; and he himself, on the 13th of November, marched in at the head of his men, amidst the acclamations of the people. Five Morisco banners were hung up in the church as trophies; and the corporation passed a vote that St. Millan's Day, the day of the victory, should thenceforth be held as a high festival at Lorca.

Snow was now beginning not only to whiten the crests of the mountains, but to impede communications through their valleys. The village of Guejar, four leagues to the east of Granada, became under these circumstances a dangerous stronghold of the rebellion. Sometimes no less than three or four thousand men were assembled there at a time, sending out strong parties to scour the Vega and the valley of the Xenil, and to carry terror to the very gates of the capital. Don John of Austria found himself compelled to strengthen his outposts, to lead detachments to places hitherto unprotected, and to increase the force and make new rules for the guidance of the horse patrols, which watched day and night over the safety of the city. Wishing to apply a still more effectual remedy to the evil, he proposed to his council to invite the Marquess of Los Velez, still inactive in his quarters at Calahorra, to join in an expedition against Guejar, which at that season could be attacked, to any purpose, only by two forces acting at the same time on opposite sides of the Sierra. Approved both by the council and by Los Velez, the scheme seemed promising, and preparations were made both at Granada and Calahorra for its execution. But for some reason which was not explained, either finding that his force was not sufficient for the undertaking, or averse to a junction with Don John of Austria and Luis Quixada, who, it was reported, were to lead the troops from Granada, the Marquess suddenly announced that he could not co-operate in the plan, which was accordingly abandoned, leaving no improved understanding between the two Viceroys and their respective staffs.

Somewhat later in the month, Los Velez, wishing perhaps to

excuse or explain his backwardness, undertook an expedition on his own account. In the fertile little vale of Boloduy, the nest of several revolted villages, the olive crop was ripe for the press. Anxious to secure it to the people, Aben Aboo sent down from some of the mountain strongholds a large number of women to gather it in, and a body of eight hundred men to guard them during the process. Informed by spies of this movement, Los Velez conceived that he too might make a harvest amongst the busy olive groves. With some reinforcements obtained from Guadix his dwindled army mustered two thousand five hundred foot and three hundred horse. This force, suddenly entering the valley at its lower end, swept all before it, in spite of severe weather and considerable resistance from the rebels. Los Velez, as usual, distinguished himself by the daring with which he led his cavalry up amongst the crags, where horses had never been seen before, and where their presence intimidated the enemies whom it ought to have inspired with fresh courage. Two hundred Moriscos were slain, and of the unhappy olive gatherers eight hundred, many of them mothers with infants in their arms, were made prisoners. Several of the children died of cold during a night of snow and wind, to which they were exposed on the march to Calahorra. Eighteen Christians, one of them a captain, fell, and several more returned wounded to the camp.

This success came too late to staunch the desertions by which the army of Los Velez was, as it were, bleeding to death. When he at length received orders from Madrid to incorporate the remains of his force with the garrison of Baza, he marched from Calahorra with no more than one thousand infantry and two hundred horse. Antonio de Luna, the Governor of Baza, having been called to Granada, the Marquess succeeded to his command, and the united troops now at his disposal were recruited by a thousand men raised by the Marquess of Caramasa. He reached Baza on the 23d of November.

El Malek, the active rebel leader, at the head of five thousand men, was now concentrating his forces at Galera. Repulsed in a second attack upon Oria, he had determined upon making Galera the headquarters of his operations. He had removed thither the Morisco population of several adjacent places; he had established there a large magazine of food and warlike stores, and a new powder manufactory; and a Turkish engineer was busily employed in strengthening the defences of the place. While these preparations were in progress, he employed a part of his force in retaliating

upon Guescar the hostile visit which its people had paid to Galera, with the view not only of signalizing his command by a new feat of arms, and perhaps of acquiring possession of a new stronghold, but also of liberating a number of Morisco captives who were languishing in the dungeons of the castle. With five thousand men he posted himself, during the night of the 17th of December, in some vineyards outside the town. Early next morning a party of twenty horsemen, who had rested at Guescar on their way to the fortress of Orce, were mustering in the market-place for the day's march. As they slowly dropped in from their several billets, a Dominican friar appeared, running at full speed in the robes in which he had just been saying mass, and roaring out that the rebels were in the place. Guescar being built in a straggling manner, and covering much uneven ground, was peculiarly exposed to a surprise. The old town and the castle were surrounded by a wall; but the remaining and larger portion was quite defenceless. The Moriscos had unwisely commenced operations by sacking and setting fire to the houses on the side by which they had entered. The trooper immediately galloped to the rescue, and they were speedily supported by two hundred musketeers from the castle, and by a few cavaliers of the town, who had sprung to their saddles on the first alarm. A desultory combat took place amongst the houses and gardens, and lasted for two hours. By that time a considerable number of the inhabitants had collected to defend their homes, and the rebels began to give way, and finally retired, losing, it was said, four hundred men, and killing only five of the Christians. But for the gallantry of two hundred Turks and Algerines, who covered their retreat and kept the cavalry in check, their loss would have been much more severe. El Malek fell back, after his discomfiture, upon Galera, and, after a brief repose, marched upon the valley of Almanzora. Meanwhile, tidings of the attack upon Guescar being spread through the country, bands of volunteers from Caravaca and other towns marched in and offered their assistance. Proud of his successful stand against the rebels, and emulous perhaps of the glory of his brother of Lorca, the Alcayde would have led his men and these auxiliaries against Galera, had not a messenger arrived from the Marquess of Los Velez forbidding the enterprise. In a few days that leader himself, at the head of four thousand foot and two hundred cavalry, appeared before Galera. Leaving a strong force to observe the place, he marched on to Guescar, where he strengthened his army and

made his dispositions. He then retraced his steps to Galera, which he had absurdly expected that its garrison would abandon, and which he now began to besiege. But the natural strength of the position, and the care and skill of the Turk who conducted the defence, defied all his efforts. In vain he bombarded the town with six brass guns and two iron lombards—a more considerable battering train than had ever before awakened the echoes of the alpine valley. His fire produced no effect, and the Moriscos and their African allies made frequent and skilful sallies, in which they always inflicted more damage than they suffered. Continued for some time with little spirit and no success, the siege was in the end raised, and ingloriously closed with a failure the career, in the Morisco war, of the proud and fiery Marquess of Los Velez.

Don John of Austria having been compelled to abandon, or at least to postpone, his attack upon Guejar, the Moriscos of that robbers' nest pursued their depredations with increasing boldness. Four hundred of them, while ravaging the valley of the Darro, and within sight of Granada, were attacked by a squadron of eighty horse, led by Tello Gonzalez de Aguilar. They retired to the hills, drawing the Christians after them to a spot where they conceived a stand might be made. But, in spite of the roughness of the ground, Aguilar and his cavaliers executed a *Santiago* so vigorous and unexpected that after a single volley the rebel musketeers were driven to headlong flight, many of them throwing away their firelocks to have the freer use of their limbs. The Christians had three horses killed, and the shield of their leader was pierced by a ball. The Moriscos lost fifty men slain, and were pursued for some distance by their conquerors, who even made reprisals on the marauders of Guejar by carrying off a hundred cows and thirty mules from their pastures. Although a portion of the drove was rescued by their skirmishers in passing through the difficult defiles to Granada, the lesson was salutary, and the predatory bands of Guejar in future kept a more respectful distance from the cavalry patrols.

When the fortress of Frigiliana fell into the hands of the Grand Commander of Castille, the whole Sierra of Benitomiz, being exposed to attacks both by sea and land, had been forsaken by its Morisco inhabitants, who had taken refuge in the Alpuxarras. So perfect was the solitude, that the townspeople of Velez-Malaga used to wander fearlessly through the deserted villages, gleaning the poor remains of the household goods or

searching for buried treasure. Towards the end of autumn, however, food becoming scarce in the Alpuxarras, and the prospects of the rebels having been brightened by some gleams of success, the inhabitants began to return. Bands of insurgents ventured to pillage in the neighbourhood of Velez-Malaga. The Moriscos were reported to be fortifying Competa, and Arevalo de Zuazo considered it a necessary precaution to lead seventeen hundred men against that village. The report proved to be unfounded, nor did the people await his coming; but there was sufficient evidence to prove that they had once more settled themselves in their homes. He returned to Velez with a considerable booty of provisions, mules, and cattle. But the Christians of Torrox were made to pay for the losses of the Moriscos of Competa. Alarmed by the return of the rebels to the neighbouring villages, the Christians at Torrox had left their houses and sought security in the empty castle. During the day, the men went to their work in the fields or vineyards, leaving the women and children under the protection of one man. The Moriscos, who had found out the ways of the place, quietly posted themselves one night in the deserted houses, and lay concealed there until the men had gone out for the day. They then set a dog a-barking, and by other noises attracted the attention of the castle. The solitary guardian, thinking no harm, incautiously strolled out to see what was the matter. He was instantly despatched by a bolt from a crossbow. The infidels then rushed from their hiding-places, and lit a fire against the door of the castle. The female garrison, whose protectors were too far off to hear their cries of distress, were forced to capitulate; they and their goods were carried away to the Sierra, and when the husbands and fathers returned at evening from their labours, they found nothing remaining of their home but its fire-blackened walls.

CHAPTER X.

THE MORISCO REBELLION; FROM THE END OF DECEMBER 1569 TO THE END OF FEBRUARY 1570.

SUMMER and autumn being now over, and the last few months having been spent by the Christians in disastrous and unintelligible sloth, and by the Moriscos in active and successful preparation, the King of Spain, according to his wont, began to open his eyes to dangers which, but for his blindness, might never have threatened his kingdom. He had neglected the rebellion until it had greatly extended its area and improved its organization and resources. During the season favourable for military operations he had allowed one army to lie idle at Granada, and another almost to melt away in camp at Calahorra. Now that winter was come with its frost and snows, its impracticable roads, and impassable torrents, his troops were ordered to take the field and contend at once with the rebels and the elements.

Notwithstanding the impolicy of the summer's sloth and the dangers of a winter campaign, the further postponement of active operations would have been still more unwise and more hazardous. Seron, Purchena, Tahali, Xurgal, Cantoria, Galera, and several less important strongholds, were in the hands of the rebels. Orgiba was theirs whenever they chose to occupy it. Aben Aboo, far more active and enterprising than his predecessor,

was not the man to neglect these advantages. Under his influence the rebellion had already passed the Murcian frontier; and a few more successes obtained by his arms, and a little longer apathy on the part of the Christian leaders, might raise the whole Morisco population of Murcia and Valencia, and might arm against the King the long and intricate tract of mountain country which lies between the Almanzora and the Ebro. The scenes of destruction and massacre which had been enacted in the Alpuxarras might be repeated beneath the shadow of the Pyrenees.

Moved by these present and prospective dangers, the King at last issued an order that two armies should be immediately formed and sent into the field. One of these, under Don John of Austria, was to replace the shattered force of Los Velez, and to overawe the country around the valley of Almanzora; the other, led by the Duke of Sesa, was to enter the Alpuxarras. This order produced the greatest joy at Granada, and stimulated the enthusiasm and the exertions both of the leaders and of the rank and file of the army. It was hoped that some signal blow would be struck against the rebellion now that the young and gallant Viceroy, who had been so long chafing at the desk and the council-table, was about to take the field. Active preparations for war animated every public department and almost every Christian home. The universal movement and energy displayed at once accused the King of unwise delay in speaking the word which called them forth, and justified the complaint of Los Velez that he and his army had been sacrificed by the neglect of the Council of Granada. That provincial Government certainly took measures, as was natural, for the success of its own arms, which it had not taken on the demand of the haughty Viceroy of Murcia. The Grand Commander of Castille sailed to Cartagena to bring a supply of arms and stores from the royal dockyard. Large stores of provisions were ordered to be collected at convenient points beyond the frontiers of Granada, and money was sent to the various local authorities to pay for them, a precaution of which the neglect had hitherto been pleaded by dishonest commissaries and alguazils as a justification of many a deed of gross extortion or open rapine. Over the whole kingdom of Granada officers galloped hither and thither, busied in calling out fresh levies and in forming magazines of food and munitions of war. Their efforts were aided by the corporations of the various towns; the broken ranks of the local militia were filled up with fresh men; and many a volunteer, whom the war had hitherto

failed to bring from his loom or his plough, shouldered his musket and went to serve under the banner which the son of the great Emperor was about to unfurl against the infidel.

Thus supported by official zeal and popular enthusiasm, Don John soon found himself in a condition to obey the royal command and march upon the valley of Almanzora. He was furnished, probably by the Prince of Eboli, with a paper of hints for his

guidance in his new position as a commander of troops in the field. In this document he was advised to be careful to secure accurate returns of his whole force—horse, foot, and volunteers—and of the men and boats employed in the transport service. Every day he must be informed of the number of mouths to be fed, and of the amount of victuals required to feed them. If possible, he should visit all parts of his camp twice a day, taking with him Luis Quixada, the Grand Commander, and half a dozen

men, the fewer the better, "as Quixada knows that the Emperor "was wont often to visit his camp alone." The gentlemen volunteers were to be formed into two companies, as a choice body for special services; and care must be taken that all their servants above eighteen years old should have each his firelock. Occasionally false alarms should be given, to practise the men in getting quickly into their ranks. The Commander-in-Chief was incited to set an example of plainness of dress, wearing no gold chains or gold halters in the field; to stop where he found men at dinner, observe their fare, and eat a morsel with them; to visit the hospital twice a week, and to be very particular in learning from each superior officer the number of his sick. To a man who had been badly wounded he might occasionally give a crown or two; and to any officer or soldier who distinguished himself by any act of special gallantry, it might be well to give a handsomely-trimmed cap or a sword. On the other hand, bad or disorderly conduct ought to be rigorously punished. One piece of advice was probably far more easy for the courtier to give than for the captain to follow—that he should always have about his person two or three hundred crowns in gold, to meet unforeseen emergencies and demands.[1] But before leaving Granada he desired to relieve the city from one cause of annoyance and alarm, by destroying the nest of rapine and rebellion which the Moors held at Guejar. Some members of his council opposed the enterprise, saying that success would be no very signal advantage, and failure would be injurious to the credit of the new leader. The President Deza, who was to be charged with the safety of Granada during the Viceroy's absence, held a contrary opinion, asserting that both the strength of the troublesome stronghold and the difficulty of approaching it had been greatly exaggerated, and urging that it would be absurd in Don John to go in search of enemies at a distance and to leave them in force at the very gates of his capital. Believing it unwise to spare Guejar, Don John was no less sensible of the importance that his first blow against the rebellion should be strongly and surely struck. He therefore called before the council persons of consideration who were intimately acquainted with the neighbourhood of the place, sent out a squadron of cavalry to observe it, and employed Don Diego de Quesada, a native of the Sierra, to waylay and bring to Granada some of the inhabitants of Guejar. The evidence thus obtained was all in favour of the attack.

[1] *Advertimientos á Don Juan de Austria: Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. pp. 65-68.

Posting himself with a dozen picked men near a path leading to the town, Quesada succeeded in capturing three Moriscos, who, when examined separately before the council, spoke with a degree of mutual concurrence very unusual in testimony wrung from unwilling witnesses. From their accounts it appeared that Guejar was garrisoned by four hundred musketeers under Xoaybi, sixty Turks and African Moors under the Turk Carvajal, and a few smaller parties under other leaders; that the chief approach was defended by a strong wall and trench drawn across a narrow rocky pass; and that on the side of the town not built on scarped rock they were now constructing a strong mud wall. By the scouts and guides attached to his army Don John was assured that they knew of paths by which his troops might climb the hillsides and descend into the road between the fortified pass and the town; and that the place might also be attacked on two sides if part of the army would undergo the fatigue of a circuitous mountain march.

The expedition was therefore at once resolved on. The force employed, so far exceeding the probable requirements of the service, shows how anxious Don John must have been to render success absolutely certain. Nearly nine thousand men were ordered to march against something less than six hundred. On the 23d of December, at three o'clock in the afternoon, Don John moved from Granada at the head of five thousand infantry and four hundred horse, taking the longer road, by which he would approach Guejar from the north-east. It is probable that he went up the side of the Aguas-blancas, but it is also possible that he may have taken the valley of the Darro, a much longer way. He rode with the vanguard of two thousand men commanded by his trusty old friend, Luis Quixada, who now resumed, on the banks of the Xenil, and against an infidel foe, the arms which he had last borne against the French on the plains of the Moselle. Don Garcia Manrique led the cavalry; the rear was under the orders of Pedro Lopez de Mesa, and Francisco de Solis had the charge of the artillery and the baggage. At the village of Veas they halted to sup and repose for a few hours, and then continued their march soon after nightfall. At midnight, the Duke of Sesa led the rest of the royal army, amounting to three thousand foot and three hundred horse, from the gates of Granada. The vanguard was commanded by Don Juan de Mendoza, the cavalry by Villafuerte, Corregidor of Granada, and the artillery and the baggage brought up the rear under the conduct of the historian

Luis de Marmol. The distance from the city to Guejar is not quite four leagues. The Duke therefore advanced very slowly up the valley of Xenil, and halted for some time at the bridge of Cenes, where the river receives the waters of the tributary Aguas-blancas. Guejar is the chief place of the rugged mountain district lying between these two streams, through the defiles of which Don John was now leading his division. When Sesa resumed his march, he ascended the heights above the Xenil, and held his course along the ridge, kindling signal-fires as he advanced, so that Don John, whom he conceived to be moving upon a parallel line of heights, might be apprised of his approach. The guides of the Viceroy, however, had led him by a route still more circuitous than he had expected, and the sun had risen before they came within sight of Guejar. The Duke was more fortunate in completing his march in the darkness. The first streaks of dawn were just visible over the eastern hill-tops when his vanguard came upon the rebel outposts. It seems to have been a surprise on both sides. The Moriscos at once fell back, taking the direct path to the fortified pass on the road, a position which it had been Sesa's intention not to attack but to turn. The Christians rushed down the hill in pursuit, without order or concerted plan, but with the happiest effect; for, pouring into the trench with the fugitives, they drove out the guard, and possessed themselves of the post which they had undergone so much fatigue to avoid the necessity of attacking. Another fortified point in the rear was immediately assaulted, and likewise abandoned by the Moriscos, who seemed intent only on escaping with their women and goods to the mountains. The sole point at which they made a stand was at the lower part of the town, on the ford of a tributary of the Xenil, which it was necessary to cross in order to reach the rugged spurs of the Sierra Nevada. Thither the Duke of Sesa, as soon as there was light enough to see how the affair was going, led a strong force, and there the rebel musketeers were drawn up to protect the retreat of the townspeople. In the desultory affray which ensued the Moriscos lost about forty men, and the Christians a captain and thirty-six men; most of the latter being stragglers who had wandered from their banners in pursuit of the fugitives. As the rocky heights beyond the stream gave immediate shelter to the rebels, few prisoners were taken; but the town afforded a considerable booty of sheep and cattle, and a quantity of provisions and household goods was found hidden in the caverns beneath its rock-built walls.

The place was already in the hands of Sesa when the banners of Don John's division were seen on the eastern heights. On learning that the affair was ended, he expressed great disappointment; but he received the Duke's explanations with perfect courtesy, and on finding that a messenger had been sent to urge his approach, admitted that it was impossible, under the circumstances, for Sesa to have delayed the attack without risking the success of the enterprise. But he rebuked Diego de Quesada, who acted as his guide, for leading him by a way so unnecessarily circuitous. Quesada excused himself by pleading the orders which he had received from the council to take the safest road and the injunctions privately pressed upon him by Luis Quixada, on no account to expose the Prince's person to danger; a commission which, he said, he believed he could not more exactly fulfil than by keeping as long as possible under cover, and at two leagues' distance from the enemy.[1] Don John immediately made a careful inspection of the place, and having given orders for its occupation, he committed it to the charge of Don Juan de Mendoza, and then, without stopping to eat or drink, rode back to Granada.

The easy capture of Guejar, if it afforded no laurels to Don John's young brow, was a happy commencement of his military career. The magnitude of the force which he led to the field proved that the war had been resumed in earnest. It also intimidated the rebels; for the Moriscos complained that many of their Turkish and African allies, who cared more for plunder than success, deserted the place when it became apparent that defending it would be a desperate service. Amongst the inhabitants of Guejar who fled to the mountains was Farax Aben Farax, the chief who had played so prominent a part in the beginning of the rebellion. Employed by Aben Umeya to collect for his treasury the money and valuables of which the insurgents had spoiled the Christians, he executed this duty with so much violence and cruelty, that he was soon no less detested, amongst his own race, than any tax-gatherer or alguazil of King Philip. Finding his life equally menaced by the knife of the Moslem and the halter of the Christian, he was reduced to the forlorn extremity of delivering himself up to the Inquisition. He persuaded a renegade dyer, who was lurking with him in the caverns of the Sierra Nevada, to take the same course. Further reflexion, however, induced the dyer to think that he should be better received by

[1] Mendoza: *Guerra de Granada*, 8vo, Valencia, 1830, p. 320.

the Holy Office as the assassin than as the companion of a principal rebel. Watching his opportunity, as Farax slept, he beat his head to pieces, as he thought, with a stone; and taking the road to Granada, confessed himself to the archbishop, and was consigned to the Inquisition. His wretched victim lay senseless for two days and nights in the cavern, but was at last found by some compassionate people of Guejar, under whose care he revived, though his battered features scarcely recovered their human shape. The once powerful chief lived, during the remainder of the rebellion, a beggar in the Alpuxarras, and when it was quelled, was exiled with the rest of the unhappy survivors.

Don John of Austria did not linger long at Granada. Transferring the direction of affairs to the Duke of Sesa and the President Deza, he again set out on the 29th of December. He was accompanied by Luis Quixada and Bribiesca de Muñatones; and the force under his command consisted of three thousand foot and four hundred horse. A march of four days, halting at nights at Hiznaleus, Guadix, and Gor, brought him to the city of Baza. Here he found the Grand Commander of Castille, who had come up from Cartagena with arms and supplies, and here he remained for some days preparing the plan and organizing the materials of his campaign.

Meanwhile the Marquess of Los Velez was maintaining a feeble and fruitless leaguer of the stronghold of Galera. His interest and enthusiasm for the war had subsided with his hopes of being left to conduct it alone. Since he had learned that Don John of Austria was coming to take the command, he seemed anxious to leave the enemy, whom he had been unable to subdue, as formidable, and the Christian cause as weak, as circumstances would permit. The Grand Commander, on passing from Cartagena, had visited him by his own desire, and had even furnished him with some supplies. So strongly, however, was Requesens impressed by the Marquess's want of zeal, that he urged Don John to make every exertion to reach Galera before the Marquess should find a pretext for breaking up his camp and leaving the place at liberty. But in order to besiege Galera with effect it was necessary to form a large magazine of stores at the neighbouring town of Guescar. Don John therefore despatched thither all his available material under the charge of the historian Marmol, ordering him to return as speedily as he could, with his waggons and baggage-mules, for a fresh load. The distance between Baza and Guescar is seven leagues by the straight track, and nine leagues by the

road for wheel-carriages. Galera is situated between Baza and Guescar, at the distance of two leagues from the latter place, and about one league to the south-east of the highway connecting the two towns. A detached fort, in the hands of the enemy, between Galera and this highway, still further menaced the communication. The convoy was therefore despatched by Don John in the belief that the blockade of Galera secured it from any attack from its strong garrison. Los Velez, who was well informed of what passed at Baza, and who had transferred his animosity from the Moriscos to the new Christian commander, maliciously chose the night preceding the convoy's departure for breaking up his camp, retiring to Guescar, and leaving the men of Galera free for any enterprise. Marmol was in great peril. To guard his seven hundred waggons and fourteen hundred pack-mules, he had an escort of only three hundred horse. But he was vigilant or fortunate enough to obtain timely notice of the trap which had been laid for him; and halting for half a day at the farm of Malagon until a stronger force was sent from Baza, he conveyed his charge in safety to Guescar.

When the bulk of his stores had been transported to Guescar, Don John of Austria moved thither from Baza at the head of his troops. He accomplished the march in one day, in spite of the impediments thrown in his way by the Moriscos, who opened the reservoirs of their irrigation and laid the valleys under water. The Alcayde Salazar had been sent forward three days before to advise the Marquess of Los Velez of his coming, and to prepare his apartments in the castle of Guescar. Los Velez would not, however, give up these apartments until the last moment, and it was not until he rode out to meet his successor that he ordered his baggage to be packed up and removed. The two Viceroys met about a quarter of a league from the town with all the punctilious courtesy of men, one of whom at least cordially hated the other. Still stronger perhaps than the hatred with which the Marquess regarded his successor, was the animosity which he cherished against the Grand Commander and Quixada, with whom he had resolved on no account to sit at a council-board. Don John, in spite of his various causes of displeasure at his proceedings, received him with great politeness and with compliments which seemed excessive. He esteemed himself fortunate, he said, in knowing so great a captain, and had certainly not come to diminish his power. He hoped the Marquess would remain with him to give him the benefit of his counsels, and he promised to

treat him like a father, showing him all the deference which was due to his valour and gray hairs. Los Velez replied that he too had gratified his chief wish in life in becoming acquainted with the brother of his sovereign, and that he would have been proud to serve under him, but that he had long made up his mind to retire to his home, his age not according with the command of a detachment.[1] As he rode towards the town beside Don John, he therefore seized the opportunity of giving him a brief account of the state and prospects of the war, and having conducted him to the gates of the fortress, there took his leave. Without alighting he at once turned his horse's head eastward, and, attended by five or six gentlemen and preceded by his trumpeter, he took the road to his castle at Velez el Blanco.

The new Commander-in-Chief had not been many days at Guescar before he found that the force at his disposal, consisting of his own troops, the remains of the army of Los Velez, and the fresh levies of militia which poured in, amounted to twelve thousand men. His first step was to detach ten companies of foot to occupy Castilleja, a deserted village a league westward of Galera, in order to intercept the supplies of the garrison, or cut off their retreat on that side. On the 19th of January 1570 he led the rest of his army against Galera itself.

The natural strength of this fortress justified the Morisco leaders in making it one of their principal places of defence. Its site was a long precipitous height between the rivers Huescar and Orce, rising abruptly out of the fertile Vega in which these streams met beneath its crags. The form of this hill, bearing a rude resemblance to a galley, is said to have given the town its name. The eastern and higher part of the rock, crowned with an old castle, represented the lofty stern; and the imaginary vessel lay with its prow aground, as it were, in the alluvial soil near the junction of the rivers. The castle, though somewhat ruinous, was covered, where the steepness of the rock did not sufficiently protect it against surprise, by a strong flanking wall; and on its tower of homage still bleached the head of Leon de Robles, an ill-fated officer of Los Velez. The town occupied the north and eastern sides of the hill, a few of its houses extending down to the plain, and grouping themselves round the church, of which the belfry—tall, massive, and new—was an important advanced post of the defences. The place was not surrounded with regular

[1] "Pues no me conviene a mi edad anciana aver de ser cabo de esquadra." Hurtado de Mendoza: *Guerra de Granada*, p. 261.

walls, which, however, would not have added greatly to its strength. The steep rock was in most places inaccessible; and on the town side the houses, being hung on scarped ledges, could be approached from without only by steep paths, or by stairs cut in the rock, which were carefully fortified, and constantly watched. The houses rose so abruptly and so closely that the roof of one dwelling was almost on a level with the foundations of that next behind it; and each roof became a position from which musketry could act with deadly effect upon assaulting foes. Even if a house were battered down with artillery, no effect would be produced on the solid rock beneath. Two principal streets, narrow and tortuous, traversed the length of the town from the castle to the church. In these thoroughfares strong barricades were erected at every fifty yards. The doors and windows commanding them were loopholed; internal communications were opened through the houses; and, to supply the want of wells or tanks, a strong covered way had been constructed to the river. Stores of all kinds had been collected during many months; and three thousand fighting men, directed by skilful Turkish engineers, were prepared to defend the place to the last extremity.[1]

In order to choose his place of encampment and points of attack, Don John of Austria made a careful observation of the town in person. Accompanied by the Grand Commander of Castille and Luis Quixada, and escorted by all his cavalry and a few picked musketeers, he rode along the ranges of heights on both sides of the Vega of Galera, and examined the defences and the dispositions of the enemy.[2] For his main encampment he selected a piece of ground to the east of the town, protected from its fire by an intervening ridge of rock; while to the north, near the church, Don Pedro de Padilla was posted with a strong body of infantry. Three batteries were next erected—one menacing the castle from the south; another, commanding the town on the east, from the rock which sheltered the camp; and the third, on the north, to direct its fire upon the church and its fortified belfry. The last of these batteries was not executed until the force under Padilla had suffered much annoyance and some loss from the rebel marksmen posted in the church. It was armed with two pieces of the heaviest artillery from Cartagena, brought from Guescar by a road and a couple of bridges, which Vazquez

[1] G. Perez de Hyta says they had only two hundred arquebuses, and two falconets, one of which had been taken from Los Velez (p. 362).

[2] G. Perez de Hyta (*G. C. de Granada*, p. 364) says that Lope de Figueroa was here with his regiment.

de Acuña contrived to construct in a single night. From a platform defended by gabions, these guns commenced an unexpected fire at daybreak, and soon opened a practicable breach in the church wall, through which the Christians were immediately led by Padilla. The Moriscos defended themselves for some time; but not with the desperate valour which was looked for, and of which they afterwards showed themselves capable. Inflicting more slaughter than they suffered, the Christians obtained possession both of the church and the tower. They then opened trenches towards the town, covering the workmen with musketry from the tower, and protecting their advances with bundles of broom, which had to be cut on a neighbouring hill, the rebels having taken the precaution to burn all that grew in the Vega. As collecting and bringing in this broom was a fatiguing duty, Don John of Austria, to encourage his men, marched to the hill at their head, and returned thence with his faggot on his back like a common soldier. A new battery was thus obtained between the church and the houses, the central parts of the town being at the same time raked by two pieces of cannon on the eastern height. The houses near the church being mostly built of clay, a practicable breach was quickly made. The Christians, eager for victory, were again led to the assault by Don Pedro de Padilla. Here the difficulties of the enterprise and the obstinate valour of the foe first revealed themselves. Openings into the outer houses had indeed been effected; but when the soldiers entered, they found that all means of further progress were carefully cut off, and that, while endeavouring to force a passage, they were exposed to a murderous fire from a concealed enemy. After an ineffectual struggle they were compelled to retire, having suffered far more loss than they had inflicted. Amongst the slain was Don Juan Pacheco, a knight of Santiago, who had arrived in the camp only two hours before. Pushing on amongst the foremost stormers, and entangled amongst the half-demolished walls, he was captured by the rebels, who, on spying the red cross on his breast, instantly cut him in pieces.

Thus repulsed, and finding his artillery less effective than he had expected, Don John resolved to mine beneath a portion of the wall which surrounded the craggy steep of the castle, hoping that the explosion would blow away a sufficient mass of rock and wall to enable his men to climb the heights and pour a plunging fire into the town. The work was entrusted to Francisco de Molina, who soon announced that his mine was finished and

charged with combustibles. In the rear of the adjacent trench Don John then drew up a body of four thousand men; the trench itself was filled with troops; and a feigned attack was made upon the houses nearest to the mine, in order to inveigle the enemy to that point. The plan succeeded admirably, the houses being occupied by seven hundred of the rebels, of whom about six hundred were immediately blown into the air, amongst masses of rock, wall, and roof. When the smoke and dust began to clear away, a few wretched survivors were descried here and there escaping from the outskirts of the devastation. Before Don John could give the order to assault, the soldiers in the trenches sprang forward to rush into the place. But once amongst the ruins, they found the task more difficult than they had reckoned on. In the block of houses over the mine a broad breach had indeed been effected; but the explosion had not reached the wall of the castle, which remained intact, except at one point where it had been pierced by a cannon-shot. To this small opening the stormers had to clamber up a steep bare crag, coasting for a considerable distance the wall itself, exposed to a brisk fire of musketry from its loopholes and a storm of huge stones hurled from its top. Amongst the defenders on the wall were many women, supplied with their primitive ammunition by troops of their children. Don Pedro Zapata was the first man who reached the opening, and the only man who contrived to make his way through it. Climbing to the top of the rampart, he stuck into it a Christian banner and raised a shout of victory. Had he been supported even by two or three bold spirits like himself, the place might perhaps have been taken. But the breach being too small to admit more than one at a time, before assistance could arrive the rebels had closed round the spot, and had hurled him from the battlement, gashed with mortal wounds, but still grasping his banner. The hole through which he had entered was then stopped up with timber and rubbish, and that side of Galera was for the time rendered secure.

Meanwhile an assault upon the east end of the town was made under the directions of Don John himself. Here too the Christians were baffled and driven back. The Moriscos waited for them with perfect coolness until they came close to the walls, and then, from loopholes or terrace-parapets, poured volley after volley into their ranks, or picked off their leaders with certainty and ease. Every avenue was strongly guarded, and a hundred and fifty soldiers lay dead beneath the clay walls, without having

gained possession of a single house. In the two assaults the loss of the royal troops was four hundred killed and five hundred wounded, fifteen officers being killed and more than thirty wounded.

At the close of this disastrous day, after the dead had been buried and the wounded cared for, Don John summoned a council of his chief officers. His purpose was less to receive advice than to issue peremptory orders. The repulse which they had sustained, he said, ought now to show them the way to victory. He was resolved to raze Galera to the ground, to sow the site with salt, and to punish the inhabitants for their obstinate and bloody resistance by putting them all to the sword. The engineers were to take no rest until two new mines had been made, and until the castle wall, which had baffled them, was laid low, when it was certain that the place could no longer resist their arms. "If we "use the diligence we ought to use," he concluded, "the news "of our success will reach His Majesty as soon as the tidings of "to-day's misfortune."

This address, ferocious as it was, was well suited to the audience, who applauded it vehemently, and returned with fresh spirit to their several posts. The sappers and miners of Molina resumed their mattocks, and new mines and fresh batteries were pushed still closer to the devoted town. The gallant garrison had suffered almost as severely as the besiegers. On its inferior numbers equal loss told far more heavily, and its ammunition was beginning to fail. Nevertheless, the Moriscos confided in El Malek's promise to come to their aid with the whole force of the rebel army, and not only laboured stoutly at the task of strengthening their defences, but made several nocturnal sallies with various fortunes. In one of these enterprises two hundred of them were driven back from the approaches to one of the mines by Molina and twenty determined men; but in another, they succeeded in surprising a company of Catalans under the command of Juan Buil, and cutting it to pieces.[1]

The mines were ready by the 10th of February. On that day the batteries again opened upon the place. Four pieces of artillery poured their fire upon the south side, and four upon the west. Two guns in position near the church galled the north, while the main battery of ten guns, under the orders of Molina himself, directed its fury against the castle and centre of the town.

[1] This achievement is not mentioned by Marmol, but it is admitted by Portalegre; *Discurso* appended to Mendoza's *Guerra de Granada*, p. 332.

After a bombardment of some hours the troops were drawn up in and near the trenches for the assault, and squadrons of cavalry were posted at convenient points in the Vega to intercept the rebels in case they should attempt to evacuate the place. The eastern mine, which had been dug close to that which had caused so much havoc, was then fired. A mass of rock and houses was again dislodged, but the castle wall still remained intact. The Moriscos, as the besiegers afterwards learned, always considered it impossible to shake the vast crag on which the castle stood, and rejoiced at what they held to be a waste of their enemy's powder. Profiting by their former experience, they kept at a respectful distance from the mines, retiring into the market-place, and leaving only three sentinels, crouching on their faces amongst the upper crags, to watch the movements of the Christians. During the intervals of the explosions of the mines the bombardment was resumed. The second mine, at the west end of the town, did far more execution than the first. Having been pushed farther than the besieged had been aware of, it blew up many more houses than they expected, laying open a much wider access than had yet been obtained, and appearing to shake the castle itself. A panic now seized those who had hitherto borne themselves so bravely. Fearing further explosions, they remained in their lurking-places, while their sentinels were either themselves too much scared to be vigilant, or were picked off by the marksmen of the enemy. Three scouts, sent forward by Don John to ascertain the proper points for the assault, penetrated far into the town without challenge, and one of them, Captain Lazarte, made his way to an angle on the east side of the castle wall, and, clambering up the rampart, carried off a large red flag which floated there. This feat was performed in sight of a great part of the Christian army. The soldiers immediately leaped from the trenches and, following the path of Lazarte, gained the enclosure of the castle before its defenders returned to their posts. From this commanding position they poured volleys of musketry into the town below, raking many of the nooks and corners to which the rebels had retired for shelter. Emboldened by success, they descended towards the houses, and entered the streets, driving the Moriscos before them, and following them from terrace to terrace down the ladders which they had placed at convenient points of communication. Meanwhile, Don Juan de Padilla led a strong body of troops into the lower town, and pushed forwards up the hill. The wretched inhabitants, thus pressed on both sides, made no further attempts to defend them-

selves. A few, hoping to escape, rushed upon the pikes of the Christians; many took refuge in the houses and were shot through holes made in the flat roofs; and the rest, to the number of above two thousand, fled to the market-place. Here the soldiers closed upon them, slaying as they came. Don John had forbidden quarter to be given, and his order was remorselessly obeyed. He himself, at the head of his cavalry, hovered round the place to guard against the escape of his victims. Of his conduct in the affair there are two conflicting accounts. Marmol, an eye-witness, asserts that after the butchery had continued for some time he observed parties of soldiers carrying off groups of captive women to the camp; that Don John sent orders that these prisoners should be all put to death;[1] and that four hundred women and children were actually despatched, in spite of the murmurs of the troops, who regarded them as part of their legitimate booty. Until he had learned that the town was his own he made no attempt to check the slaughter, and even then, with the ferocity of a Jewish leader, he would spare no male above twelve years of age, and caused many of the wretched people who had surrendered themselves to be butchered in cold blood before him by the halberdiers of his guard.[2] Another chronicler relates the transaction in a manner much more creditable to the humanity of the Commander-in-Chief. He makes no mention of the order to withhold quarter; he attributes the slaughter to the fury of the long-baffled soldiery; and he asserts that when it had lasted two hours Don John used every exertion to bring it to a close. On this bloody day two thousand four hundred fighting rebels are said to have fallen, so that the total slaughter was probably little short of three thousand.[3] Of women and children four thousand four hundred were made prisoners. Immense stores of barley and wheat fell into the hands of the Christians, enough, it was said, to

[1] Portalegre (*Discurso*, p. 333) says, "degollaronlos (the inhabitants) sin excepcion "de sexo ni edad por espacio de dos horas. Cansóse el Señor Don Juan, i mandó "envainar la furia de los soldados, i que cesase la sangre."

[2] Perez de Hyta (*G. C.*, p. 392) says the slaughter was by Don John's order.

[3] Diego de Mendoza (*Guerra de Granada*, lib. iii., in the portion of that book omitted from the earlier editions, and to be found in *Bibª de Autores Españoles*, tom. xxi., *Hist. de Part. Sucesos*, i. p. 112) says, after briefly describing the storming of Galera: "Siguióse "la victoria por nuestra parte hasta que del todo se rindió Galera, sin dejar en ella cosa "que la contrastase que todo no lo pasasen á cuchillo. Repartióse el despojo y presa "que en ella habia y púsose el lugar á fuego, así por no dejar nido para rebelados, como "porque de los cuerpos muertos no resultase alguna corrupcion; lo qual todo acabado, "ordenó Don Juan que el ejército marchase para Baza, adonde fué recebido con mucho "regocijo" (p. 112). He thus throws no light on the personal conduct of Don John, nor on the question whether he is justly chargeable with cruelty to the vanquished Moriscos.

maintain their army for a whole year. A considerable booty of gold, silver, and silk was divided amongst the officers and men. A signal and important victory, the capture of Galera[1] was not made without considerable expenditure of Christian blood. Besides the losses sustained in the assaults by the rank and file of the army, twenty-four officers were slain or died of their wounds. Some of the soldiers who afterwards served in Flanders remembered Galera amongst other more famous sieges, and said that it had cost King Philip as dear as Haarlem or Maestricht. Don John immediately despatched a courier to apprise the King of his success. The news reached Philip at Guadalupe, where he was enjoying the splendid hospitality of the great Jeromite convent, and resting on his way to hold his Cortes at Cordoba. He received the intelligence with his usual phlegm, and would not allow any rejoicings to be held on the occasion.

The stores found at Galera were left in charge of the historian Marmol, to whom Don John likewise entrusted the task of razing the town and sowing the site with salt. He himself led the main

[1] The fate of Galera and the fanciful origin of its name are recorded in one of the most spirited of the ballads preserved by G. Perez de Hyta :—

"The shipwrights bold by Guescar's side have built a galley fair,
No bark doth ride on Spanish tide that may with her compare;
She spreads no sail to catch the gale, no oar to sweep the flood,
Yet through the fray she cleaves her way, her track is red with blood.
Her stern it is a castle strong to bide the battle's shock,
Her ribs and keel, both deep and long, are hewn in living rock.
Oh! here there needs no caulker good to caulk this galley stout,
No pitchy stream, for joint and seam, to keep the water out;
A single opening in her side lets store of water in.
Her captain is a gallant Moor, of Andulasian kin;
Our ruin and his own he brings, I ween, this valiant wight,
While boldly here he stands and sings his vessel's matchless might.

"'Oh galley! beauteous galley mine, may Allah's arm of power
Assure thy way, by night and day, when perils round thee lower;
When great Don John of Austria and all the host of Spain
Embattled come with pike and drum thy lofty deck to gain.
And if above the storm of war my flag thou bearest high,
On old Toledo's battlements one day that flag shall fly;
Madrid and proud Escorial and Pardo's chase below,
And river-girt Aranjuez that ensign too shall know,
Till from the wild Asturian peaks the Muslem crescents glow
O'er all the land our fathers won a thousand years ago.'

"Ah, Moor! how vain thy valiant strain and hope of high emprise,
Ere yet thy haughty song is sung aground thy galley lies!
Nor back nor forward can she go, around her fiercely close
The billows of Castillian war and clouds of Christian foes.
The great Don John, the Cæsar's son, his banner hath display'd,
Bursts at his word the iron storm and roars the cannonade.
Full stout of heart and strong of hand thy bold Moriscos all,
Scorning to strike their crescent flag, like lions fight and fall;
But when these mighty thunders roll and deadly lightnings play,
Thy ribs of rock and hearts of fire are swept like chaff away.
So down the gallant vessel goes, her wreck is strew'd afar,
And ne'er again her goodly keel shall plough the waves of war."

body of his army southwards towards Cullar. The valleys, however, were so deep and miry, having been flooded with water from the irrigation reservoirs, that he was obliged to halt and send back his waggons and beasts of burden to Guescar, with orders to proceed by the high road to Baza. He himself with his troops pushed on to Cullar, and rejoined his baggage train at Baza next day. From Cullar he despatched a squadron of two hundred and twenty horse under Don Garcia Manrique to observe the fortress of Seron. In a midnight march through intricate glens their guide lost his way, and saved himself from unpleasant consequences by flight. Manrique with a few followers got separated from the main body, and narrowly escaped capture. When daylight appeared, they reassembled and found themselves near Seron; but the rebels were on the alert, and so carefully defended the approaches that the Christians were unable to perform the service on which they had been sent. Retiring towards Caniles, they were followed by a party of mounted Moriscos, who succeeded in capturing a straggling trooper.

Don John of Austria was at Caniles awaiting the report of his lieutenant. On learning how he had been baffled, he immediately determined himself to examine Seron, at the head of a more imposing force. With two thousand infantry and two hundred horse he marched at nine in the evening of the 18th of February, and at daybreak his advanced guard occupied some broken ground near Seron. This important stronghold was seated on the side of a hill forming part of the Sierra from whence flow the waters of the Almanzora. The town was irregularly grouped round an old castle on the height. In the glen beneath it ran one of the chief tributaries of the Almanzora. Unprepared for so speedy a reappearance of the Christians, the rebels kept themselves within their walls. Don John's first care was to send forward a hundred horse, under the orders of Francisco de Mendoza, to take possession of a pass below the town, by which help might come from Purchena and the lower valleys. He then ordered two detachments of foot—one under Luis Quixada, the other under the Grand Commander—to advance upon the town by different banks of the river, while the cavalry marched in the same direction in the bed of the stream. When the troops were within musket-shot, a brisk fire, opened upon them from the place, compelled the cavalry to retire to the shelter of some rocks. Beacon-fires on the neighbouring hill-tops showed that the adjacent valleys would soon be apprised of the dangers of Seron. Meanwhile, one of the divisions of infantry engaged

and drove back a body of Moriscos who had ventured out to meet them, and, pursuing them up the heights, entered the town along with them. Even here they made no stand, but continued their flight to the craggy heights above the town, while their women sought refuge in the castle, to the very gates of which the Christians advanced.

But instead of securing this important advantage by prudent dispositions of their force, the soldiers, believing the victory already gained, immediately spread themselves amongst the houses in search of plunder. Mendoza's cavalry, posted in the pass below, being in sight or within hearing of their operations, determined to share the glory and the gain. Nearly the whole force deserted the important position which they had been placed to guard, and were soon absorbed in pillage. The country having been roused, a large body of rebels,—estimated, somewhat too highly perhaps, at six thousand,—having mustered at some distance, advanced upon the pass, drove in the feeble squadron that remained there, and entered the town. Being thus surprised, the Christians began to retire in the greatest confusion, many of them throwing away their arms. The rest of the cavalry was sent to their aid ; but, being unable to stem, turned with the tide of fugitives. The royal army was on the eve of sustaining a most signal and disgraceful rout. Don John and his staff immediately descended from the height from which they were observing the place, and used every exertion to rally the discomfited troops. Riding into the stream of fugitives, Don John reined his horse across their path, exclaiming: "Soldiers, what are you flying "from? Where is the honour of Spain? Is not your general "with you? Turn your faces to this barbarous rabble and you "will soon see it retire before you." While the young leader was thus engaged, Luis Quixada was at his side, making similar efforts. As he was re-forming a party of infantry, whose flight he had arrested, the veteran fell from his horse wounded by a musket-ball, which had passed through his shoulder into his arm-pit. Don John immediately ordered some horsemen of Xeres to carry him to Caniles. Lope de Figueroa received a musket-shot through the thigh, and Don John himself had a narrow escape, a musket-ball striking him on the head, and being turned aside by the strength of his helmet. After restoring something like order among his troops, he led them back to Caniles, the Moriscos hanging for a mile on their rear as they retired through the defiles of the Sierra. The loss of the Christians in this affair

was estimated at six hundred men slain, and one thousand swords and muskets, besides much of the terror with which their victory at Galera had invested their arms. The soldiers who were killed did not all die in the field; some of them perishing a few days afterwards by a more frightful fate. When surprised by the Moors in the act of pillage, many of them shut themselves up in the houses and in the church of Seron, and after enduring a siege of several days were eventually burned alive in their places of refuge. On the side of the rebels four hundred men were supposed to have fallen; and a considerable number of women and children had been carried off by the Christians before their repulse.

In a private letter, written on the day of the disaster, Don John reports to the King, "with no small shame and regret, the "ill-behaviour of his troops." "Those who have long followed "the wars," he said, "saw so much dismay and fear; and I could "not have believed had I not seen it, that a few Moors could "have thrown soldiers into such utter confusion, that neither "angry words nor encouragement, nor blows, nor anything else "availed to induce them so much as to turn their faces to the "enemy. If Don Garcia de Manrique had not showed us a new "way by which to retire, which he had found out the day before, "we were on the brink of a very great misfortune; and in saving "us from this, he has done your Majesty service well worthy of "recognition. It happened that Luis Quixada, in doing that "which all ought to have done, and in using his utmost efforts to "make the men stand fast, received a harquebus-shot in his left "shoulder, from which he is in considerable danger; and to-day "in trying to extract the ball [the surgeons] have made five "incisions at the place where it entered, and also an opening at "the other side, and with all this, although they have found the "ball, they have not succeeded in getting it out, which is very "unfortunate. The loss to your Majesty's service [by Quixada's "wound] is already much felt; for I was so much helped by his "soldierly experience, his care and diligence, that I feel now of "how great importance he is to the service of your Majesty, "whom I entreat to thank him for the services which he has "rendered, and to give him orders to take more care of himself "than heretofore, so that if he recover, as I hope in our Lord he "may, though his state is critical, he may be again able to obey "your Majesty's commands."[1]

[1] Don John of Austria to Philip II.; Caniles, 19th February 1570. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. pp. 49, 50.

The Morisco bullet, or the savage surgery of the Christians, proved fatal to Luis Quixada. When he arrived at Caniles, his wound was found to be mortal. As soon as the news reached Doña Magdalena de Ulloa,[1] she set out for the camp accompanied by her brother the Marquess of La Mota and some other gentlemen. She reached Caniles in time to close her husband's eyes, on the 25th of February. His body was carried with great military pomp, and with Don John of Austria as chief mourner, to Baza, and laid in the church of the ancient convent of St. Jerome, until a church which he and his wife intended to found at Villagarcia should be ready to receive it. His ancestors had been wont to bury in the Bernardine convent of La Espina; but he had long had it in contemplation to add a chapel to his parish church of St. Peter of Villagarcia, which should also serve as a burial-place. "Or if it should appear to Doña Magdalena more "advisable," said he in his will, "to unite our estates and found a "monastery of friars and nuns—always excepting barefooted "nuns, for whom the country would be too cold—in that case I "give powers to her and my executors to take order for such "foundation, that we may there be interred together, and have in "death the good companionship which we have had in life."[2] In 1572 the Jesuits' collegiate church which Doña Magdalena had founded at Villagarcia was sufficiently advanced to receive her husband's remains, and thither they were accordingly removed. After a solemn service lasting nine days, in which the storied and trophied catafalque rose amongst a forest of votive tapers, the dust of Luis Quixada was finally laid in a vault beneath the chapel of the high altar. A noble statue of him was afterwards placed over the spot, its base displaying an epitaph which related that he died, as he had wished to die, fighting against the infidels.[3]

[1] Villafañe (*Vida de Doña Magdalena de Ulloa*) says the news reached her at Madrid; but it was hardly possible that news of the wound inflicted on 17th February could have travelled thither in time to enable her to arrive at Caniles upon the 25th.

[2] Villafañe: *Vida de Doña Magdalena de Ulloa*, pp. 81, 82.

[3] It is thus given by Villafañe (*Vida Doña Magdalena de Ulloa*, p. 91):—"Debaxo "de este sagrado altar està enterrado el excelentissimo señor Luis Quixada, Mayordomo "del Emperador Carlos V., Cavallerizo mayor del Principe Don Carlos, Capitan general "de Infanteria Española, Presidente del Consejo de Indias, y Consejero de Estado y "Guerra del Rey Don Felipe II. nuestro señor, Obrero mayor de Calatrava, Commen-"dador del Moral, señor de Villagarcia, Villamayor, Villanueva, y Santofimia, Fundador "de esta Capilla y Hospital. Muriò peleando contra los infieles, como lo avia deseado, "à 25 de Febrero año de 1570. No tuvo hijos, dexò su hazienda à los pobres, y obras "pias; feliz en todo, y mucho mas en que estas se cumpliessen con la piedad, liberali-"dad, y fidelidad, con que la excelentissima señora Doña Magdalena de Ulloa su muger "lo cumpliò."

Amongst the relics of their church, the Jesuits long preserved a crucifix, snatched by the old comrade of Charles V. from a bonfire of ecclesiastical furniture which he found blazing in the market-place of some deserted Morisco village.

When Doña Magdalena left the army to return to Castille, Don John of Austria sent a squadron of horse to escort her through the disturbed districts, and he himself rode for several miles beside her litter before he took his final leave.

On the day when Don John of Austria had seen his old friend expire, he wrote thus to the King:—"Your Majesty has "this day lost one of your best servants and ministers by the "death of Luis Quixada, especially at a time when his presence "will be so much missed in the affairs now in hand, the war having "been hitherto conducted (as I have already written to your "Majesty) according to his advice and opinion, and when I feel "myself so alone and in want of some person to whom we may "have recourse in what we undertake, as your Majesty may well "understand, here at Seron, where I trust in God your Majesty "may have the victory; but I do not see how we can advance "farther without great risk; and in my judgment it would not "be right to encounter such risk in a case of such importance, "without great caution; and without more experience and "soldiery than the Grand Commander and I possess, I think "there would be so much danger, that I cannot help entreating "your Majesty very urgently to take orders to meet it." He then asked that a certain request contained in a letter which Quixada had written, but had not been able to sign, might be granted, in memory of his good services to the Emperor and his Majesty.[1]

To Cardinal Espinosa he wrote in similar terms, urging the necessity of supplying Quixada's place with a man of military experience and skill. He thought the Duke of Sesa might come to his aid, this being the point upon which the enemy was concentrating his forces, and where royal troops were most needed. He hoped God would inspire the King's soldiers with such a spirit, that it would not be always needful, as heretofore, for the gentlemen who led them always to be in front. "Whatever "occurs to me as desirable to do," he added, "be sure it shall be "done; yet, in any case, a Luis Quixada is wanting to us,—a "want I by no means wish to be felt, though I love him as

[1] Don John of Austria to the King; Caniles, 25th February 1570. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. p. 54.

"dearly where he is (which in my judgment is with God, "considering the Christian death he died) as I did in this "world." [1]

Philip II. received the bad news with real emotion. On hearing of the repulse of his arms at Seron, he wrote to Don John:—"I have heard with pain, you may suppose, of the misbe- "haviour of the troops, but with much more pain of Luis Quixada's "wound. I shall not be easy till I hear that he is out of danger, "and therefore I charge you to let me always know how he is. "I know it to be quite unnecessary to tell you to take the "greatest care of him."[2] When informed of the veteran's death, the King wrote:—"I never received a letter with greater grief "than yours of the 25th, for I know well what you and I have "lost in Luis Quixada. It is impossible to speak of him without "sorrow, and you have great reason to lament him as you do. "Our best consolation is that we are sure he must be in a better "place, seeing how he lived and died." [3]

The Prince of Eboli also wrote to Don John with much feeling:—"I am so grieved by the death of Luis Quixada, that "in truth I have hardly heart or hand to take up my pen, both "on account of the love I bore him and our ancient friendship, "and of the loss he will be to the service of His Majesty and "your Excellency. Such are the fruits of war. Yet one cannot "die a better death than that which the Lord gave him, for it "was in his service, and in defence of his country, and we may "therefore believe that he is now in a better place than that in "which we all are left." At the end of his letter he suggested that as the grant or pension given to Doña Magdalena de Ulloa was only for her own life, Don John should ask the King to grant to her in perpetuity the *alcavalas* on Quixada's estate, and confer on her nephew the title of Cornet or Marquess, as a permanent memorial of the services of so old and faithful a servant.[4] After communication with Doña Magdalena, Don John made the suggested application, except as regarded the

[1] Don John of Austria to Cardinal Espinosa; 25th February 1570. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. p. 59.

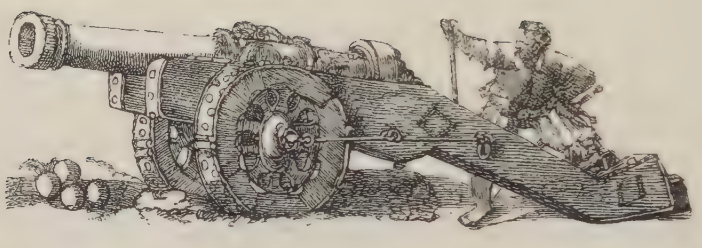
[2] Philip II. to Don John of Austria; Cordoba, 24th February 1570. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. p. 52.

[3] Philip II. to Don John of Austria; Cordoba, 3d March 1570. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. p. 62.

[4] Ruy Gomez de Silva, Prince of Eboli, to Don John of Austria; Cordoba, 4th, March 1570. From the copy in the possession of Don Pascual de Gayangos. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. pp. 68-71.

alcavalas, the existing disposition of which the widow did not desire to disturb.[1]

[1] Don John of Austria to the Prince of Eboli; no place or date, but probably from the Alpuxarras in March or April 1570; it was in reply to Eboli's letter of 4th March. From the draft in the possession of Don Pascual de Gayangos. *Doc Ined.*, xxviii. pp. 72-77.



GUN AND GUNNER.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MORISCO REBELLION; FROM THE END OF FEBRUARY TO THE MIDDLE OF MAY 1570.

DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA informed the King of Spain of the check which the royal arms had sustained before Seron, and of the loss the service had suffered by the death of Luis Quixada, in despatches which found him in the city of Cordoba. They contained a most urgent request for more troops, and for more of a better quality. It was impossible, he said, to attack Seron, and in the opinion of some persons even to hold their present position, without reinforcements. The soldiers were without zeal and spirit; neither the galleys nor the gallows could keep them from deserting, and it was questionable whether the desertions were caused more by love of home than fear of the enemy. If he were not speedily supplied with money, he would be in very great straits. He had not had enough to complete the last pay. He also requested the King to fill up the vacancy made at his council-board by Quixada's death with some person possessing more military experience than the Grand Commander and himself had between them.[1]

The King did not wholly disregard the appeal. Two thousand men who were then on their march from Castille to headquarters at Granada were ordered to halt at the points where the order should reach them, and join the standard of Don John as speedily

[1] Don John of Austria to Philip II.; Caniles, 19th and 24th February 1570. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. pp. 49-53.

as possible. The Duke of Sesa was likewise desired to afford his chief whatever aid he could spare from the troops left in the city, and from the force which he was about to lead into the Alpuxarras. Don Francisco de Cordoba, a man of considerable reputation and especially skilled in Moorish warfare, was sent from Court to Caniles to take the place of Quixada.[1]

While thus complying with some of his brother's wishes, the King in his letters took him sharply to task for what he considered the unnecessary exposure of his person to danger. "I have good "reason to complain," he wrote, "that you keep so ill your "promise not to place yourself in jeopardy, as I know you did at "Galera; how you kept it in this last day [at Seron] is clear "enough, because you tell me you were struck by an arquebus "ball on the helmet, which has given me more pain than I can "tell; you ought not to vex me thus, and to lower the credit of "my arms, and add to that of our enemies, so greatly as would "be the case if they were to shed a drop of your blood. I there-"fore distinctly order you, and will take it very ill if you disobey "my order, not to do so any more, but to remain in the place "which befits one who has the charge of this business and my "brother, which is very different from that in which you have "lately been found, as the Grand Commander will tell you, . . . "for every one ought to do his own duty, and not the general "the soldier's, nor the soldier the general's."[2] "It is well to be "very cautious, as you say you are," he wrote again, "for this is "no affair where you ought to run any risk . . . and you must "not be led away to any other view of it by the counsels of "boys. . . . I again wish to remind you how important your life "is, seeing you are my brother, and that you are not to risk it as "you have heretofore been wont to do; for any accident that "befalls you would be very prejudicial to my service, and to my "authority and credit, as well as to your own . . . so you must "take note of these things, and observe them to the very letter, "since I speak to you as one who loves you, as it is right that "I should, and desires that you should behave in all things like "the son of our father."[3]

Ruy Gomez, on a hint perhaps from the King, wrote in a similar strain. "Your Excellency," he said, "is reputed to be rash,

[1] Philip II. to Don John; Cordoba, 3d March 1570. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. p. 63.

[2] Philip II. to Don John of Austria; Cordoba, 24th February 1570. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. pp. 52-3.

[3] Philip II. to Don John of Austria; Cordoba, 3d March 1570. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. pp. 62-4.

" and more desirous to obtain reputation as a soldier than as a " general; pray let this be changed and listen to counsel." Alluding to some reported misunderstanding between Requesens and Don John, he confessed that the Grand Commander was not so experienced a soldier that much could be learned from him, especially by a novice, but that his good sense, diligence, reading, and conversation with others, and his desire to do his duty, would keep him from any grave error; and that the worst thing that

FERNANDO GONZALVO DE CORDOBA, DUKE OF SESA.

could happen would be a notion getting abroad that His Excellency did not treat him with due respect, and could not act harmoniously with him, in which case due discipline would be observed neither by soldiers nor officers. "For God's sake let " your Excellency take care," wrote the anxious minister, "that " nothing of this kind occurs; learn to act with him in everything, " in such a way that no misunderstanding be suspected even by " your intimates or your household. I say the same with regard " to Don Francisco de Cordoba, now on his way to the army; " he has had more experience of war in Barbary, and is a gallant " gentleman."[1]

[1] Ruy Gomez de Silva to Don John of Austria; Cordoba, 4th March 1570. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. p. 69.

Don John replied to these remarks in a very manly and candid spirit. To the King he wrote :—"I give your Majesty "my word that on the day Luis Quixada fell I feared only that "which did not happen. Under God, I believe that by taking "my position in the path of the fugitives, I was the cause of "preventing the greater part of our force from being cut to pieces. "When a general sees that in no other way may such a disaster "be prevented, how can he do his duty better than by taking such "a post, whatever it may be? I can plainly see, Sire, that as "God has made me different from other men, I ought to be more "heedful of my duties than others, especially on such an occasion, "and when your Majesty wills it; but on such a day as that I "do not know, as I think I have written before, how your Majesty "yourself, had you been there, could have avoided doing that "which I was obliged to do."[1] He assured Ruy Gomez that he was grateful to his friends for telling him of what they disapproved in his conduct; that no counsel coming from him would ever be taken amiss; and that he entreated him to continue to write to him with perfect frankness, "reprehending all that seemed to "deserve reprehension, for since he had lost his uncle [Quixada] "there was no one in whom he trusted more, or who might find "fault with him more freely. I can assure you, sir," he proceeded, "that as regards what you advise about my doing the duty "rather of a captain than a soldier, I keep it in mind and will never "forget it; and as to what happened at Seron, when my uncle, "now in glory, was slain, I will give you a full account when it "pleases God that we should see each other again, but will now "say no more than this, that if you had been in my place and "circumstances you would have done as I did." As to listening to counsel, and showing proper respect to the Grand Commander, he said he had never failed in either respect; that he never took any resolution, great or small, without the advice and approval of his council; and that although it did sometimes appear to him that he was kept in too great subjection by that body, yet he would continue to submit his own opinion to theirs so long as the King required it. If any grounds had ever existed for the belief that he and the Grand Commander were not on good terms, they were more apparent than real, and for the future even the appearance should be avoided. "Don Francisco de Cordoba," he added, "is, as you write, a worthy gentleman, and indeed does

[1] Don John of Austria to Philip II.; Tijola, 12th March 1570. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. p. 81.

" his duty with zeal and sincerity, and I can say the same of " Hernando Tello; but the fact is, sir, that many men in dealing " with affairs like to have comrades, and there are others who " prefer acting alone, and care for nobody. These are not things " to commit to letters, nor will I enlarge on a matter for which " there is no present need. I pay all honour to those who are " with me here; and if you hear anything else, rebuke me for it, " as I once more give you full leave; yet I once more also beg " not to be condemned without being heard." [1]

In March Don John was joined by a new secretary, Juan de Soto, sent from the Court at Cordoba to fill a death vacancy. Soto was the bearer of a strong letter of recommendation from the Prince of Eboli, who described him as a prudent and experienced man, versed in military affairs both by sea and land, having long served as secretary to the Admiral Andrea Doria, and having also acted as the sole secretary to the Duke of Alba in his campaign of Naples and Rome in 1557. " He is a man," wrote Ruy Gomez, " with whom your Excellency may well take counsel on " all matters. I entreat you to show him the favour which he de- " serves; and even if there were another Soto, not to let this one " go, for I promise you he is a great treasure, and a man for bring- " ing whom to your acquaintance you will one day give me many " thanks." [2] The appointment was perfectly satisfactory. Don John wrote to the King, highly praising Soto's ability and diligence, and the secretary soon acquired great influence over his chief.

Towards the end of February, Don John was again ready to attack the town which had cost him so dear in time and blood, and in his faithful friend and counsellor Quixada. He therefore sent forward Tello Gonzalez de Aguilar with a party of cavalry to observe the road, and report upon the movements of the enemy. The Moriscos of Seron unwisely hoped to catch the Christians again in the trap which they had formerly laid for them with success. On seeing the Christian horsemen approach, they immediately abandoned the town and retired to the Sierra, giving the usual alarm to the lower valleys by fires on the hill-tops. Aguilar contented himself with a minute examination of the defences and the adjacent ground; and the fugitives therefore returned to their houses at night. But on the morrow, finding

[1] Don John of Austria to Ruy Gomez de Silva (probably March 1570). *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. pp. 72-6.

[2] Ruy Gomez de Silva to Don John of Austria; Cordoba, 4th March 1570. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. p. 70.

that the cavalry had been reinforced by another large body of horse and foot, and that preparations were being made for an encampment and a regular siege, they again betook themselves to the hills, this time carrying off with them their women and effects, and abandoning and setting fire to the castle. Don John's first care was to send Aguilar to occupy the gorge below the town, and Garcia Manrique with fifteen hundred musketeers to post himself in a mountain pass above it leading to Tijola, as being the two roads by which the rebel host, mustering from the neighbouring glens at the beacons' blaze, could approach Seron. They had hardly taken up these positions when the first column of the Moriscos appeared in the valley, led by El Habaqui and followed by a large force which the Christians estimated at seven thousand men. El Habaqui rode in front with eighty horse. Some chosen infantry followed, marching with the order and discipline of regular troops, and a party of picked musketeers moved along the heights on each side of the valley. Aguilar was anxious at once to charge the enemy with the cavalry ; but his ardour was restrained by Don John, who more prudently moved some field-pieces to the front, and so checked the advance of the rebels without loss or risk to the Christians. Thus baffled in the attempt to surprise the principal approach to Seron, El Habaqui, by a rapid and skilful flank movement, turned his whole strength against the higher pass defended by Manrique. His attack was so sudden and furious that the Christians wavered, and some of them had even begun to fly, when two thousand musketeers, opportunely sent by Don John, arrived to support them. The Moriscos fought with great obstinacy for an hour, but were unable to force the position. Knowing their awe of cavalry, Don John ordered Aguilar to lead his horsemen up the hillside and attack them in the rear. The ascent, though short, was so difficult that the hundred lances, guided by two peasants of the mountains, were half an hour in accomplishing it; and the hundred were reduced to forty when they halted on the summit to breathe their horses and form their line. The clang of their trumpets, however, and the sound of their charging hoofs, decided the action. Scared at the unexpected onset of horse, the rebels turned and fled, and Manrique's infantry pressing forward slew them by hundreds, and captured seven of their banners. El Habaqui, who had ridden into the field in gallant trim, had his horse slain in his retreat, and was glad to escape on foot. Seron and its castle became the prize of the conquerors. Don John established him-

self and a part of his troops in the town, and encamped the rest of them among the vineyards by the river-side, from whence the pioneers were for some time occupied in carrying off for burial the bodies of their comrades slain in the disastrous encounter ten days before. A few days were devoted by Don John to strengthening the defences of Seron, and preparing for his advance. Leaving in the town Captain Antonio Sedeño, with four companies of foot and a troop of horse, and in the castle Cristoval Carillo with two hundred men, he then marched against Tijola, a rebel stronghold a league further down the valley.

He took up his position before this place on the 11th of March. The old town of Tijola was seated on a bold headland of the Sierra, precipitous towards the valley and on most of its sides, and approached only by a single rugged pathway from the hills behind. When the struggle between Moor and Christian had ended in the fall of the Moorish throne, the inhabitants discovered that this airy fastness, however proper for war, was very unsuitable for the pursuits of peace, and they therefore built themselves a new town amongst their fields and gardens along the river, which now flowed between the lines of their dwellings. But the necessities of the rebellion had driven them back to the martial habits and rockbuilt nest of their forefathers. The walls of the old town, repaired and strengthened as well as time would permit, again sheltered their women, children, and goods, and were defended by fifty Turks and a thousand Moriscos, three hundred of whom were musketeers; while the new town with its enclosures became the quarters of the royal army. Don John had brought with him some brass guns of a new construction, each weighing eighteen hundredweight, of which an experiment was now to be made. These, with their carriages and platforms, were to be raised, by some new machinery applied to a couple of very long and strong beams fixed against the rocks, to a height commanding the place. In this operation ten days were consumed, and it was not until the 21st of March that the batteries were ready to open.

During this time, the bad discipline of his troops caused Don John constant anxiety. "The shamelessness of these soldiers," he wrote to the King, "is insufferable. If there are eight thousand " here to-day, two thousand may be gone to-morrow, and neither " hanging nor the galleys seem enough to keep any from deserting. " The day we came here, two were hanged and four condemned " to the galleys, but the rest go on as if that were nothing, and I

" am not much surprised, for there is not the least sense of honour " amongst them, and they care for nothing but plunder and an " easy life. The officers are much to blame for the faults of the " soldiers, and certainly it is my misfortune that they should be so " bad a set. . . . I often call them together, and after rebuking " them, I lament that we should be losing what our ancestors " honourably won, and that they themselves should be losing " their credit, not only with the world, but with your Majesty, to " whom it is my duty to report upon the conduct and character of " every one of them. With all this and more, I cannot get them " to do their duty. . . . The chief cause which makes the men so " ill-disposed and so weak of courage is, I well know, their dis- " solute ways, their carelessness about their souls, and their easy " consciences. Even in this matter, I assure your Majesty what " can be done is done, but for the souls of these soldiers, every " man would need a priest for himself, and on service a very choice " officer; and, besides all this, if they are not humoured and " pampered, nothing can be done with them; and none but your " Majesty has the power to keep them from deserting." As to the siege of Tijola, Don John feared it might be a tedious business: there was but one, and this a difficult, approach to the place; much labour would be required in order to place the battering guns in position; and great vigilance as well as careful entrenchment was needed to defend his camp from the attacks of the enemy.[1]

The ten days spent before Tijola were likewise devoted to a negotiation, which was perhaps no less important in its results than the new artillery. The rebel leaders had now begun to see in its true colours the hopelessness of their cause. While Don John of Austria was thus pressing on the eastern portion of the disturbed district, the Duke of Sesa was preparing to carry the war into the heart of the Alpuxarras. Some days before the attack on Seron, on the 11th of February, the unfortunate kingling of Andalusia had addressed a most urgent appeal to the Grand Turk, informing him that he was beset by two great armies, imploring him to fulfil without delay his promises of support, and warning him that if the cause of the true faith should perish in Spain, a strict account would be required of him at the last day. A similar petition was addressed to the Turkish Viceroy of Algiers; but it produced no result beyond a contribution of arms and ammuni-

[1] Don John of Austria to Philip II.; from the camp near Tijola, 12th March 1570, *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. pp. 81-3.

tion. Although these facts were not known to the Christians until the close of the war, they had reason to suspect, and some of them had begun to pity, the condition of the rebels. Don John of Austria had been directed to open negotiations with them whenever an opportunity presented itself. Some weeks before, he had authorized Don Hernando de Barradas, a person of great influence with the Moriscos, to hold a secret meeting with El Habaqui, the rebel leader, in the Sierra Nevada. These two men had been intimate friends before the rebellion, and each appeared to treat the other with perfect cordiality and confidence. To the exhortations of the Christian that he should lay down his arms, the Morisco had frankly replied that he was most desirous for peace, and that he knew that his desire was shared by many of the insurgents; and he had promised to confer with the other chiefs on the mode and terms of submission. The death of El Malek by disease had made El Habaqui commander-in-chief of the rebel army, and he was now commanding in person against Don John. The delay before Tijola furnished a new opportunity of communicating with him, and a new channel was found in Francisco de Molina. That able and active engineer had in former days, when commanding the military district of Guadix, been on intimate terms with him; he had lived as his guest in his house at Alcudia; and before the outbreak he had done him good service with the Government at Granada. El Habaqui had been quartered at Tijola, until the approach of the royal army, when, not choosing to be shut up in a beleaguered town, he had retired to Purchena. Thither Molina contrived to convey a secret message, in which he urged him, by their ancient friendship, to submit himself to the King's clemency. Having received a favourable reply, he then wrote to him proposing an interview, on the pretext of a complaint of the Turkish auxiliaries, that when captured they were hanged instead of being treated as prisoners of war, and of other matters on which it was important that the commanders of the two armies should come to an understanding. A meeting was fixed for the next day, at a spot half a league from Purchena. El Habaqui repaired thither at the head of forty horse and four hundred musketeers, while Molina brought only forty cavalry, amongst whom were many officers and gentlemen. By mutual agreement the infantry were ordered to retreat, and the two bodies of horse halted within a short distance of each other. Molina advanced to the conference alone; but El Habaqui was followed by two Turks, who spoke

Spanish, and who being, as it seemed, suspicious of his intentions, insisted on hearing what was said. The conversation lasted for some time, and certain conditions regarding the treatment of prisoners were discussed and arranged. Molina then turned towards the Turks, saying: "These gentlemen must require "refreshment; I have brought some with me; let us sit down "and partake of it together, though it may be our duty on the "morrow to meet at the point of the lance." The sumpter-mules were then driven forward and relieved of their loads, and the Turks and Christians sat down to a friendly repast. As the cup circulated, and suspicion slumbered, the two chiefs found the opportunity for confidential talk which both anxiously desired. Molina entreated his former friend, for the sake of their ancient ties, not to continue a hopeless struggle. El Habaqui professed his willingness to follow his advice, were the safety of his followers, Turks and Moriscos, insured. Molina said that this might easily be provided for, and that in his opinion the wisest course for the rebel leader to adopt would be to withdraw his forces from all the strongholds along the river Almanzora, concentrate them in the Alpuxarras, and then explain to them the utter helplessness of their position and the necessity of making peace with the King their master. The Morisco promised to follow the first part of his advice, saying, that as regarded the fortresses the King would find him well disposed to do good service, and that as regarded future movements he would take counsel with Aben Aboo and send an answer in ten days. The two parties then took leave of each other. On the 20th of March, Molina received a proposal from El Habaqui for a second meeting. The batteries, however, requiring the personal attendance of the engineer, Don John sent in his place Don Francisco de Cordoba, who had lately arrived from Court to fill the place at the council-board left vacant by the death of Quixada. This emissary acquitted himself of his delicate mission with perfect skill, and El Habaqui was completely gained over to the royal cause.

On the 21st of March the batteries of Don John of Austria were ready to open upon Tijola. On the same day proclamation was made in the name of El Habaqui through all the towns in the valley of Almanzora, setting forth that it was no longer desirable to defend them, and advising all the inhabitants to retire to the Alpuxarras. Private agents of El Habaqui also warned the defenders of these places that the strength of the Christians was now so great that resistance would only bring

upon them the dreadful fate which had befallen Galera, and which would befall Tijola if its people did not retreat before their dwellings were battered down over their heads. Into the beleaguered town a Morisco contrived to make his way by night, perhaps with the connivance of the besiegers, to urge upon its garrison the necessity of instant evacuation of the place, and to assure them, in El Habaqui's name, that it was impossible for him to render them any aid. Their condition was also made known to the Christians by a Sicilian renegade who deserted to the camp. The Moriscos, he said, were thoroughly disheartened, and their fear of the artillery was so great that the Turks had to drive them with blows to man the walls. A few still trusted to succour from without, but most of them longed to make a midnight retreat. They had plenty of wheat and barley, with hand-mills to grind them, and a small stock of meat; but being cut off from the river, their water was supplied by a single tank, and although it was already served out in very small allowances, the number of women and children was so great that it could hardly be expected to last beyond two days.

On the 22d of March six batteries opened their fire, which was continued until sunset. A breach near the castle was effected, but Don John did not consider it necessary to expose his troops to the fatigue and danger of a night assault. He contented himself with posting strong detachments at all the points by which the besieged were likely to attempt to escape. The bombardment had not increased their disposition to abide the issue behind their walls. In the gloom of a rainy night they began to steal off in all directions. The leaders of the retreat had bitter cause to regret that they had not acted at once as El Habaqui advised; their delay had cost them a day of terror and a night of still deeper horror; turn which way they would, the path to the sheltering hills was cut off by trooper or musketeer. Of a thousand Moriscos four hundred were slain or captured, and those who escaped owed their safety, some to having obtained the royalist password of the night, and many more to the want of discipline in the royalist ranks; for as soon as they were assured that the enemy was in full retreat the soldiers quitted their posts and rushed into the town; and had the flank of the royal army been watched by a bold and vigilant foe he might easily have made himself master of its batteries and quarters. Feeling secure against this danger, Don John was satisfied with posting what men he could collect round the artillery, and sending forty picked

troopers to guard the road to Seron, and turn back the plunderers who were retiring thither with their booty. When dawn appeared he took possession of the place. Its natural strength was such as to show that, if well defended, it could not have been carried by storm without a desperate struggle. A multitude of women and children and a considerable quantity of plunder were collected in the castle, and placed under a guard of four companies commanded by Lorenzo Marmol, the brother of the historian, to be held in the King's name for subsequent partition among the troops.

On the 25th of March, the eve of the day on which the Church celebrated in that year the resurrection of Our Lord and the completion of His work of peace and mercy, Tijola was laid in ruins, and Don John led his troops to Purchena. Built on the rich and level land embraced by a bend of the Almanzora, this town, like several of its neighbours, has forsaken the rocky height from which it formerly overlooked and overawed the valley. The ruined alcazar or castle, given with its territory by Isabella to the last Moorish king in exchange for the Alhambra, still remains as proof of the ancient claim of Purchena to be a mountain stronghold of the first class. Strong as it was, Don John of Austria found the place tenanted only by two hundred persons, too old or too infirm to follow their neighbours to the Sierra. In the castle, finding some women and plunder, he made them over to his officers and the gentlemen of his household. Next day he despatched Don Francisco de Cordoba with two thousand foot and a few horse to Oria, to observe the state of the country, and to inquire into a current story that the Alcayde of that fortress had refused to receive the submission of some Moriscos who desired to return to their allegiance. As Cordoba approached the place he had the good fortune to find, in a neighbouring glen, these repentant rebels themselves. His investigation of their case led him to suspect that the Alcayde, whose account of the matter was lame and inconsistent, had professed to doubt the sincerity of these poor people in order to gain time to send notice to some of his outpost parties to attack and capture them before the forms of submission had been completed. Foreseeing that such an act of treachery would break off the negotiations so auspiciously begun with El Habaqui, Cordoba at once accepted the proffered allegiance of the Moriscos, and ordered the Alcayde to receive them under his protection, warning him to treat them well until further instructions. The same day he returned to

Purchena, bringing to Don John the good news that Cantoria had likewise been abandoned by the rebels. Don John afterwards led his troops by way of Sorbas to Padules, in the valley of Andarax, where he remained until the end of July.

While Don John was achieving these successes on the Almanzora, the Duke of Sesa was making some progress in the Alpuxarras. After strengthening his military posts in the Vega and the surrounding country, he had marched from Granada on the 21st of February. He remained for some time encamped at Padul, forming his magazines, organizing his commissariat, and sending out parties to scour the adjacent valleys. Moving on the 9th of March, he led his troops into Orgiba on the 14th. The mountain passes through which they wound their way afforded many points where the Moriscos might have made a formidable attack, or at least a successful stand. But although the pikes and pennons of the rebels frequently appeared upon the ridges of the hills, it was rarely that they awaited the approach of the Christians. To El Rendedi, one of his principal captains, Aben Aboo had committed the small but strongly-seated castle of Lanjaron, with orders to hold it to the last extremity against the royal troops. No sooner, however, were the trumpets of Sesa heard amongst the adjacent mulberry groves than the garrison of four hundred men abandoned the fortress, and, retiring across the deep ravine below, contented themselves with shouting defiance of King Philip at a safe distance from the firelocks of his musketeers. At one point only, a pass of peculiar difficulty and intricacy, did El Rendedi with three thousand men attempt to oppose the progress of the Duke. Sesa, however, had improved his opportunities of learning the tactics of mountain warfare. He marched with so much precaution, and with his force so skilfully disposed, that the Moriscos could neither surprise him nor withstand the shock of the troops which he launched against them. A precipitate flight saved them from great loss, but they left behind them a quantity of arms, amongst which was a Turkish gun of beautiful workmanship, with a barrel ten palms long, and carrying an ounce and a quarter ball.

At Orgiba Sesa remained encamped for upwards of three weeks, principally engaged in repairing and strengthening the castle in order to place in it a garrison of a thousand men. Although Aben Aboo, from the mountain fortress of Poqueyra, which he had made his headquarters, sometimes threatened his camp with a considerable force, and sometimes attacked his

convoys of provisions, the Duke maintained his position, fed his army, and carried on his works without serious loss, and without the necessity of fighting any important battle.

He also sent out two expeditions which did good service to the royal cause. One, consisting of a thousand foot and two hundred horse, was led by Don Juan de Castilla against the castle of Velez de Ben Andalla, a mountain village to the south-west of Orgiba, from whence the Moriscos threatened and sometimes interrupted the road to Motril and the sea. Instead of marching across the Sierra, Castilla took the circuitous but easier route by Salobreña, where he obtained four small pieces of artillery, which he transported with much labour up the valleys and planted against the place. In spite of the explosion of one of his powder magazines, which killed a captain and several men, the defenders of Ben Andalla learned from their experience of one afternoon's bombardment that the attack could not long be resisted. At nightfall, therefore, they opened communications with some of the Christian sentries, and bribed them to connive at their escape. Next day at dawn Castilla, to his great mortification, found the castle garrisoned only by one old man and three crippled women. Nothing remained for him to do but to leave it in the keeping of a hundred and fifty soldiers and march back to Orgiba. The village of Velez de Ben Andalla, however, afforded some compensation in its plunder. Returning with this booty in a somewhat straggling and disorderly manner, the Christians were attacked and many of them cut off in the defiles by the garrison to whom they had so unwisely sold permission to retreat from the untenable castle. The other expedition was under the command of Don Antonio de Berrio, and was directed against Lentexi, another village still further to the west of Orgiba. It proved an easy and tolerably profitable prey.

From Orgiba the Duke of Sesa moved in a north-easterly direction to Portugos, a march of three days through a wild country. On the first day, learning from his scouts that Aben Aboo was strongly posted in a pass near Poqueyra in order to give him battle, he evaded the encounter by leading his army through a still more rugged glen which the Morisco had not thought it worth while to defend. Thus outmanœuvred, Aben Aboo raised his usual smoke-signals and followed the Duke to a stream which it was necessary to cross, in the Sierra of Petres. There he made upon the rear of the Christians an attack which was led by El Xoaybi with five hundred musketeers, and was supported

by an attack in front by the people of the country aroused by his signals. It was, however, repulsed with considerable loss; nor were the efforts which the Morisco made to harass the Duke's rear-guard, nor the volleys of musketry with which he disturbed his encampment at night, attended with any success. During the next two days the march of the Christians was impeded only by the difficulty of the ground, and they took possession of the deserted village of Portugos without firing a shot. The day following expeditions were sent out to scour the adjacent country, and by one of these, Poqueyra, lately the headquarters of the Morisco king, was sacked, and a hundred persons who remained of its population were taken prisoners. Aben Aboo had retired still further into the Alpuxarras, to Mecina de Bombaron; acting, it was believed, on the advice of El Habaqui, who now maintained in the rebel councils the strange doctrine that it was better to weary out Sesa's force by degrees than to crush it at once, because it would be immediately replaced by a force not only greater, but altogether overwhelming.

From Portugos the Duke moved on the 12th of April, and halted for the night at Jubiles. He found the village deserted and the castle undefended; but the fortifications and buildings of the castle—its gate, trenches, bastions, casemates, magazine, tanks and oven—were undergoing repair, which in a few days might have enabled it to make a formidable resistance. The place was as yet unprovided with artillery; but a Moorish deserter pointed out an Algerine gun with its furniture concealed in a ravine, and ready to be dragged up the hill. Unable to carry it off, Sesa caused it to be buried; and he destroyed the works in the fortress. Yator was his next day's halting-place, and on the 14th of April he occupied Uxixar, the inhabitants as usual betaking themselves to the Sierra. During the three days' march he had not been attacked, although parties of rebels were frequently seen on the heights during the day, and his encampment at night was surrounded by their watch-fires. His foraging parties had brought in a few prisoners and a considerable quantity of cattle. The Moriscos of Jubiles, on their side, could boast of the capture of a royal courier, Don Diego Osorio, who, attended by an escort of fifteen dragoons, and following the Duke from Orgiba, rode into their town an hour after the Christians had left it, and just as the inhabitants were reassembling cold and hungry from the Sierra. After being submitted to torture, he was given in charge to a Morisco whose wife and daughter were in the hands of the

Christians, and who not only offered him his liberty in exchange for theirs, but served him as his guide to Uxixar. Sesa ratified Osorio's bargain, and sent the Morisco to Don John of Austria with despatches. In the course of this mission he was captured by the rebels, and proofs of his treason being found upon his person, he was hanged upon the nearest olive-tree.

The march to Uxixar had nearly exhausted the provisions of the army. Sesa might have easily supplied himself from the seaport of Adra; but he considered that the country was sufficiently overawed to justify him in having recourse to the magazines, less distant, though more difficult of access, at Calahorra. A convoy could go thither and return the same day; and he had, besides, six hundred sick and wounded whom he could transport at the same time to the hospitals at Guadix. The road through the wild gorge of La Ravaha was as wild and intricate as any in the Alpuxarras; but there is little doubt that the baggage-train, guarded by an escort of a thousand foot and a hundred horse, and marshalled with caution and skill, might have performed the march in safety. The Marquess of La Favara, to whom the conduct of the expedition was entrusted, was unfortunately neither skilful nor cautious. He rode at the head of the vanguard, consisting of two hundred infantry and forty horsemen; the centre of his long column was formed of the baggage-animals, carrying the sick and wounded, and six hundred captive Moriscos, and guarded by a few picked musketeers; and in the rear marched the militia of Seville and the rest of the cavalry. For some miles the expedition wound its way through solitary glens, in which not a rebel lance was to be seen, nor even the blue smoke-wreath of a signal-fire curling from the upper crags. Believing that their movements had escaped the notice of the enemy, both officers and men gave way to a false security. La Favara and his troopers pressed forward; the files of mules lagged behind; and the Sicilian soldiery, likewise lingering, either broke into straggling groups, or went in pursuit of cattle which, it was afterwards suspected, the Moriscos had purposely driven within sight of the track. Meanwhile Aben Aboo, hawk-like, was watching an opportunity of stooping on his prey. He placed five hundred picked men under the orders of Alarabi, one of his boldest captains. After carefully examining the enemy's motions, they took up their positions at three points of one of the narrowest gorges on the road. The central party, consisting of a hundred men, was led by Alarabi; the others, consisting of two hundred

each, were commanded by Al Piceni and Al Martel. La Favara and his men were allowed to pass unmolested, and no blow was struck until the centre of the baggage-train had reached a point beneath the spot where Alarabi lay. At a given signal the Moriscos burst at once upon their careless and straggling foes. The baggage-train was attacked at three separate points by the chief; while the two lieutenants, occupying the long intervals which separated it from the main bodies of its defenders, charged the vanguard in rear and the rear-guard in front. The rout was equally sudden and complete. The musketeers in charge of the mules vainly sought shelter behind the animals they were sent to protect. The sick and wounded were butchered without mercy. The beasts which had carried them were slain, or, huddling together in their terror, blocked up the narrow track, and rendered it impossible for the cavalry in front or rear to come to the rescue. The battle was lost before La Favara knew that it was begun. When aware of his situation, he endeavoured to force his way back to the centre, but in vain; and nothing remained for him but to continue his march, which had become a flight, the emboldened rebels hanging on his rear until he reached Calahorra. The actual loss of the Christians was eight hundred men slain, of whom six hundred were sick and wounded, and fifteen taken; and nearly all their baggage-animals, of which three hundred of the best were carried off by the conquerors. Six hundred captive Moriscos likewise recovered their liberty. These numbers, however, by no means represent the whole loss which this disastrous day entailed upon the royal cause; for the panic was so great that of the soldiers and muleteers who escaped the greater part deserted, and La Favara could not reassemble a sufficient force to guard the small convoy of provisions which he sent back to Uxixar for the use of the army.

Informed by a captain and a few troopers of the disaster from which they had escaped, the Duke of Sesa broke up his camp on the following day and marched upon Valor. The troops were much dispirited, not only by the disgrace which had befallen the royal arms, but by the prospect of famine which stared them in the face. From a mountain peak Aben Aboo watched their slow and languid progress, and remarked, with an exultation which his circumstances seldom warranted, that he should yet defeat them merely by showing himself, a vaunt which he prudently refrained from attempting to justify. To harass the Duke's

march as much as possible, the irrigation reservoirs near Valor were opened and the valleys laid under water; and a large part of the army passed the night under arms around the village, in expectation of being attacked. Sesa had intended to move from Valor to Calahorra; but reflexion, and the advice of a council of war which he held next day, induced him to shun a place which had proved so disastrous to the army of Los Velez; but, to avoid the discredit of retiring altogether from the Alpuxarras, he directed his march towards Adra. His movement upon Valor therefore had no other result than a useless expenditure of time, energies, and supplies, as the road to Adra lay through Uxixar. On the way thither the rear-guard of the army was occasionally insulted by the enemy's skirmishers; and when the Duke arrived at his old post, he had the mortification of finding that the sick soldiers and muleteers whom he had left there in a mosque, which he had turned into an hospital, had been massacred by the Moriscos. Want of provisions compelled him to push on without delay, burning the villages near which he passed, and halting for the night at a well three and a half leagues from Adra. His men were half dead with wet, fatigue, and hunger, and he had no rations to give them; and the few who had been fortunate enough to pick up any supplies by the way were offered six reals for a loaf, and a ducat and a half for a measure of wine. Next day they dragged themselves to Adra, followed and annoyed by the enemy, and losing men who dropped down from exhaustion. Half a mile from the place, they were met by the commandant with fifty horse. Sesa encamped amongst some fields and gardens outside the town, and within an hour every green thing within reach had been converted into food by his famished men and beasts, to appease their hunger until biscuit and corn could be served out to them from the royal magazines.

Adra is built on a height overlooking its harbour, the only seaport between Velez-Malaga and Almeria. Protected on the land side by a wall, it had also a rock-built castle, of which the guns were intended to overawe the pirates of the African shore. From this position Sesa's cavalry and light troops scoured the narrow plain which lay between the mountains and the sea, and the more accessible of the valleys of the Sierra of Gador. These forays were rewarded with a few cattle and prisoners, and with a quantity of wheat, rice, and munitions of war, some arms, and a parcel of Korans and other Arabic books, which three Algerine galliots, unaware of their danger, disembarked on the shore near

Dalias. The Duke also put forth a proclamation inviting the inhabitants to return to their allegiance, and promising them the King's clemency and favour. But the principal object which he had in view was to make use of a naval squadron under Don Sancho de Leyva, which was daily expected, to convey an expedition against Castil de Ferro, a castle of his own on the coast, lately sold by the faithless commander to the rebels. Leyva came into port on the 27th of April, and, on the 28th, Sesa embarked with his troops in nineteen galleys and a ship of war. His destination lay seven leagues to the west of Adra, and a fair wind wafted him thither in a few hours. An intercepted letter addressed by El Hoseyn, the rebel commander of Castil de Ferro, to his friends in Algiers, furnished the Duke with full information as to the strength of the place. Landing on a beach sheltered from its guns, he immediately occupied a commanding height upon which the enemy had begun to construct a battery, and dragging two pieces of artillery to the summit, opened his fire on the castle. The Moriscos replied with great spirit, and El Hoseyn not only announced his intention of holding out to the last extremity, but caused one of his men to be impaled alive upon the battlements for hinting at the difficulty of the defence and the prudence of a timely surrender. Next day the Christians, having placed two more guns in position, did further damage to the castle, and disabled its principal piece of ordnance. But in the afternoon, Sesa, finding his ammunition failing, caused ten strong curtains to be constructed of the thwarts of the galleys, intending under their cover to undermine a portion of the wall. At ten o'clock at night he sent a party to explore the ground and the points at which the wall might be most conveniently approached. By a lucky chance this party fell in with El Hoseyn, who, having changed his mind as to the policy of the desperate defence, was now, with thirty chosen followers, stealing off to the Sierra. Some of the rebels threw themselves into the sea, and escaped by swimming to a neighbouring headland; some were captured; and two, one of whom was the chief himself, were slain. A notification of the event was immediately conveyed to the garrison, which at once capitulated, on condition of not being sent to the galleys; terms upon which Sesa was very glad to obtain the castle without being compelled to do it further harm. The Moriscos of the place were made over to the Inquisition; the Turkish prisoners were portioned out amongst the officers; the women and spoil were given up to the soldiers; and the fellow-fugitives of El Hoseyn

were hanged, their captors being allowed twenty ducats for each of their heads by the King.

Castil de Ferro had hardly received its legitimate lord when two Turkish galleys sailed into the anchorage, and, without waiting for a reply to their signals, sent fifteen men on shore. The Turks did not know that the place had fallen into the hands of the Christians; and the Christians mistook the Turks for friendly coasters bringing a supply of provisions. Under this mutual misapprehension, the strangers came close to the sentries; but they discovered their mistake in time to regain their vessels, which then captured a trader from Motril under the guns of the castle, and carried off the prize from the midst of Leyva's squadron.

Leaving a garrison of a hundred men in Castil de Ferro, Sesa returned to Adra on the 8th of May. The recovery of his maritime stronghold, though a bloodless, was a costly victory. Before he sailed from Adra, the rumours of an approaching pacification, and the tone of the royal proclamation, had damped his men's hopes of plunder, and consequently had cooled their zeal for the service. On the day when the proclamation appeared, a hundred soldiers deserted. At Castil de Ferro, a scarcity of provisions, and the fatigue of carrying water to the camp, from a well half a league off, increased this disposition to desert. Every day bands went off, some taking the coast road to Motril, others striking into the Sierra towards Orgiba, many of them being cut off in detail by the rebels. On his return to Adra the Duke found that the proclamation had begun to take effect, and that deputations from the neighbouring villages daily came in to tender the submission of the inhabitants; and he was therefore forced to discontinue his forays against those who were, or might any day become, loyal subjects. Provisions were still scanty; disease appeared in the camp; and the result of these unfavourable circumstances was, that of the ten thousand men with whom he had entered the Alpuxarras in February, not above four thousand remained under his standard in the middle of May.

The eagerness of the soldiers to escape from the camp was turned to good account by a Morisco as a means of gratifying his hatred of the Christians, or perhaps of revenging injuries received at their hands. Speaking Castillian fluently, the man had served for some time in the infantry of Sesa, combining that service with the secret occupation of a spy for Aben Aboo. Being popular amongst his comrades, and being noted for his knowledge of the country, he now offered to conduct those who chose to follow him

through the bypaths of the Alpuxarras until they were safe from molestation from Christian or Moor. Seventy men having agreed to give him a real each for this service, they sallied from the camp at nightfall, under his guidance. The Duke of Sesa being apprised of the direction they had taken, sent two troops of horse in pursuit; but the deserters, although overtaken, were so resolute in their refusal to return, and in their preparations for resisting force, that the cavalry, unwilling to shed Christian blood, left them to follow their own counsels. Their treacherous guide therefore led them deeper into the mountains, to a defile near Mecina de Bombaron, where they were all slain or captured by an overwhelming force posted by Aben Aboo to await their coming.

The royal proclamation published by the Duke of Sesa had already been published by Don John of Austria in the valley of Almanzora. It set forth that His Majesty was aware that the rebellion was the act, not of the great body of his Morisco subjects, but of a few ambitious leaders; that he had nevertheless been compelled to assemble an armed force to put it down; and that the strongholds of the insurrection having fallen into his hands, the unfortunate inhabitants of the disturbed districts were either exposed to all the horrors of war, or were compelled to wander like wild beasts among the mountains. Moved by his royal clemency, His Majesty therefore promised to all who within twenty days should come in and surrender themselves to Don John of Austria or his lieutenants, "that he would grant them "their lives, and do justice to those who should wish to prove the "violence and oppression used towards them to compel them to "revolt." That life, and not life and liberty also, was the boon thus offered to men still free and armed, was made plain by the further provision, that every male Morisco between the ages of fifteen and fifty who should bring in a crossbow or musket should be himself exempt from slavery, and should have the right of obtaining the same exemption for two other persons; and that, to those who did not choose to embrace the King's offer, no mercy should be shown, but that every male Morisco above the age of fourteen who had not made his submission within the time specified might be slain wherever found. The two camps of the royal armies, and the chief military posts, were indicated as the places where submission might be made; and the persons who had submitted themselves were directed to wear a large red cross upon their left shoulders as a protection from the Christian soldiery.

This offer to forgive the rebels if they would lay down the arms which it would be difficult to wrest from them by force, guarded as it was by other conditions which were so many loopholes of evasion, did not, to the Moriscos and other laymen, appear one of extraordinary generosity. But to the Church and its ministers of mercy it seemed otherwise. With natural indignation Don John of Austria reported to the King that the pulpits of Guadix and Granada resounded with remonstrances against His Majesty's benignity and clemency, and begged that orders might be sent to the Prelates to forbid such preaching in the future. "What a pity and misery it is," he wrote, "that "soldiers whose duty it is to seek out and attack the enemy "should be engaged in robbing and deserting as hard as they can; "and that friars who ought to be interceding with your Majesty "for these unfortunate people, who have generally sinned from "ignorance, should expend their energies in denouncing the "pardon now offered, and meddling with the business of others "at the very time when they are doing their own so ill."[1]

While Don John of Austria and the Duke of Sesa were carrying on the war in the disturbed districts the Government at Granada was not idle. By the King's order the President Deza removed from the villages of the Vega all the loyal Morisco inhabitants, and sent them across the mountains to the peaceful plains of Castille. The arguments for and against this measure were the same which had been used in the case of the Albaycin. It was said, with great truth, that it was impossible to distinguish the truly loyal Moriscos from those who were only not in arms against the King; and that as long as there remained in the country a large population, speaking the Moorish language, imbued with Moorish feelings, and connected with the rebels by ties of blood and friendship, so long would the rebellion find in that population much sympathy and support. On the other side it was argued that the measure could not be carried into effect without great difficulty, without inflicting great injustice on the loyal Moriscos, and without converting many of the race who were friendly, or at worst indifferent, to the royal cause, into open and active enemies; and that it was unwise to meet a temporary inconvenience by inflicting so heavy a blow upon the population and the prosperity of Andalusia. In the council at Granada the removal was supported by the President Deza and the Duke of

[1] Don John of Austria to the King; Andarax, 7th June 1570. It is printed in the Appendix. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. p. 101.

Sesa, and opposed by Don John of Austria. Both parties laid their views before the King, who pronounced in favour of the plan. He ordered it to be executed as speedily as possible, excepting from its operation only those Moriscos who had held the office of regidor of their respective villages, or who had obtained licenses to go armed, or who had rendered some signal service to the royal cause since the breaking out of the rebellion. On a certain Sunday, therefore, the inhabitants of Moorish blood were assembled in their respective parish churches, and were informed by the authorities that His Majesty, desiring their good, had resolved to remove them into Castille until peace was restored. It was at the same time intimated that those who pleased might sell their household and other property, and that cattle and other provisions would be purchased by Government at a fair valuation. The removal began about the middle of March in the country round Malaga; and on Palm Sunday, the 19th, it was commenced in the Vega of Granada. The disposition of the troops by the Duke of Sesa had been so made as to ensure the successful execution of the plan which he had supported in the council. The unhappy exiles were divided into three principal bands, two of which were marched to La Mancha, and the third to Montiel, to be distributed amongst the villages of those districts.

After receiving the submission of many villages the Duke of Sesa moved his troops to Dalias, and afterwards to Verja, from whence he went to confer with Don John of Austria at a farm-house midway between their camps. Some days later, according to arrangements then made, he led the wasted remains of his force to Padules de Andarax, where they were incorporated with the army of Don John.

While these events were taking place in the east of the disturbed districts, the royal cause received a check in the west. The submission of the country occupied by his army had induced Don John of Austria to suspend the removal of the peaceable Moriscos of Baza and Guadix. But information which he received from Ronda led him to be less lenient to the inhabitants of the adjacent Sierras. The position of Ronda rendered it a post of first-rate military importance. Girdled on three sides by a river running in a deep gorge, and seated on precipitous rocks which defied the boldest climber, it was defended on the fourth side by a strong castle. A plentiful source gushed from caves beneath the town and furnished a supply of water beyond the reach of a besieger. Had this stronghold fallen into the hands of

the rebels, its recovery would have cost the King a siege to which the sieges of Galera and Seron would have been trifles. To guard against such an accident, Don John thought it advisable to order Antonio de Luna, commanding at Antequera, to assemble all the Moriscos he could collect in the district and remove them as quietly and quickly as possible to the villages on the Andalusian frontier of Portugal. With his own forces and the troops already at Ronda, Luna found himself at the head of four thousand foot and one hundred horse. He undertook to remove the people of the district called El Havaral, while Arevalo de Zuazo engaged to co-operate with a separate force from Malaga, and clear the villages on the eastern side of the Serrania of Ronda. The enterprise was a total failure. Afraid of venturing his troops amongst the mountains by night, Luna did not march from the walls of Ronda until eight o'clock of an April morning. The inhabitants of the villages were of course aware of his approach, and their fighting men, who were to have been mustered in the churches and immediately marched off towards Portugal, were securely hidden amongst their native rocks. The troops, who were imprudently broken into many small parties, found the houses occupied only by women and children, and the neighbouring fields filled with defenceless flocks and herds. They immediately began to pillage, and many of them were thus engaged when nightfall enabled the owners to steal back to their homes and take a bloody revenge on the straggling marauders. Luna returned to Ronda with fifteen hundred men and a quantity of captives and booty which had been prudently carried off before dark. Sending his own troops back to Antequera, he himself set out to Seville, where the King had now arrived, to explain as he might the untoward transaction. The expedition cost the army not only a considerable number of slain, but also many deserters, who, having been successful in the foray, went home to enjoy their plunder.

Arevalo de Zuazo was hardly more fortunate on the other side of the Serrania. He not only failed in surprising the Moriscos, but was himself surprised and compelled to retreat with considerable loss. He had indeed taken possession of the village of Tolox, and carried off some booty ; but he failed in removing any of the male inhabitants, who, when their houses were evacuated, returned to them, and burned down the church in token of their joy and defiance.

The sole fruits of the expedition, of which the questionable

policy could have been justified only by complete success, were a signal disgrace to the royal arms, much discontent and desertion in the army, no less encouragement to the flagging spirit of the rebellion, and intense distrust and exasperation excited in the minds of those Moriscos who had hitherto kept aloof from the struggle. Entrusted with the task of averting a possible though distant danger, Luna, by the unskilful use of ample means, had opened fresh sources of anxiety and alarm.

ARMS OF DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA.

CHAPTER XII.

CLOSE OF THE MORISCO REBELLION; FROM THE MIDDLE OF MAY 1570 TO THE SPRING OF 1571.

WAR is quickly terminated when the interests of both the contending parties are on the side of peace. For this reason the negotiations between El Habaqui and his friends in the royal camp went briskly forward. The rebel monarch, Aben Aboo, indeed, would willingly have played the desperate game a little longer; but although his royal authority was obeyed whenever he appeared amongst his people, yet his back was no sooner turned, than hunger, the hope of regaining their captive wives and children, and weariness of the miseries of war, drove his adherents down in crowds to make their submission to the representatives of the Catholic King. Sorely against his will therefore, Aben Aboo was compelled to signify acquiescence in the negotiations conducted by an agent whom he distrusted, with a foe whom he abhorred. On the other side, Don John of Austria saw that a speedy conclusion of peace was equally important to the cause of his master and to his own military reputation. Knowing the present sufferings of the rebels, he also knew that if they could endure them until the end of May, the resources of a genial climate and a bounteous nature would enable them to prolong their resistance through the summer; and that it would be necessary to recruit the army at a great cost, and without the aid of those hopes of plunder which the wasted country no longer afforded.

Don Alonso de Granada-Venegas, and the other deputies named by Don John of Austria to conclude a treaty with the rebel chiefs, were now assembled at Padules. On the 13th of May, the plenipotentiaries on the other side, Hernando el Habaqui; Hernando el Galip, brother of Aben Aboo; Pedro de Mendoza el Hoseyni, a son of Geronimo el Malek; Alonso de Velasco el Granadino, and Hernando el Gorri, arrived at Fondon de Andarax. They were accompanied by twelve chiefs of the Turkish auxiliaries, and guarded by an escort of a thousand musketeers. El Habaqui having notified, in writing, their arrival to Don Alonso de Granada, Don John of Austria ordered the deputies immediately to meet them. Along with the deputies he sent Doctor Marin and two clergymen, Torrijos and Tamarin. The Moriscos opened the business of the day by a formal statement of their grievances, and of the terms on which they desired to return to their allegiance. Complaining, with great freedom and bitterness, of the wrongs which had driven them to revolt, of the bad faith with which many loyal or yielding villages had been treated during the war, and of the losses and hardships inflicted on the peaceable Moriscos by removal to Castille, they demanded the nomination of persons in whom they could confide to receive their submission and guarantee their safety in their respective districts, the immediate exchange of prisoners, the right of free departure for their foreign auxiliaries, the return to Granada of their exiled countrymen, and a general pardon for the whole population. These terms were discussed until late in the evening, but they were eventually sketched out, and remitted to Don John of Austria by the hands of Hernan Valle de Palacios. This messenger did not reach the camp at Padules until midnight. But Don John instantly received him, and called the council together. After due deliberation, it was determined to reply that the Moriscos must now produce full powers from Aben Aboo and the principal leaders, and embody their views in a memorial of the proper form of which Juan de Soto, secretary to Don John and the council, at the same time furnished a draft. With this answer Valle de Palacios immediately rode back, in the dead of the night, to Fondon. The Moriscos were much pleased with the promptitude of Don John, and promised to return with full powers within eight days, when they requested that Juan de Soto might be sent to assist them in drawing up the memorial in fitting style.

El Habaqui kept his word, and returned to Fondon on the 19th of May. He was accompanied by all his former colleagues,

except El Galip, who had been offended by the greater attentions bestowed by the Christians upon El Habaqui than upon himself, the brother of the Morisco king. Don John of Austria immediately despatched his deputies to meet them, adding on this occasion to their number Juan de Soto and Garcia de Arce. On the road the Christian envoys met ten Moriscos of distinction, sent by El Habaqui to Don John as hostages for his good faith. Arrived at Fondon, the negotiators on both sides exchanged credentials, and Juan de Soto shaped the views and desires of the Moriscos into a memorial, with which Valle de Palacios again rode back to the camp. Their day's work done, the Moriscos and the Christians passed the evening in social conviviality round a common supper-table. But next day their boon companionship was nearly turned into deadly conflict. The Duke of Sesa's cavalry were encamped at no great distance from Fondon, and their foraging parties sometimes extended their excursions as far as Andarax, still occupied by the rebels. El Habaqui, fearing a collision, had ordered his men to abstain from all molestation of the Christian stragglers, and had written at the same time to the Duke informing him of this order, and requesting that his troopers might be directed not to pass certain reasonable limits which he suggested. Very unwisely, Sesa not only took no notice of this letter, but allowed it to fall into the hands of a foolish captain of horse, one Pedro de Castro, who took it upon him to write in his own name an insolent reply, saying that whenever his master had wished to traverse the Alpuxarras, he had always done so in spite of El Habaqui and all his Moors, and that he would not now make his movements depend on his permission. This letter roused the Moriscos to fury, which it is hardly credible that the astute El Habaqui very sincerely shared; and their first impulse led them to declare that negotiations with such foes were worthless, and that their true course was to slay the Christian plenipotentiaries, and return to the Sierra and implacable hostilities. Happily for both parties, they were still in debate in a room looking towards the gate of the town, when Valle de Palacios rode in with the reply to their memorial from Don John of Austria and the council. El Habaqui called him up and put De Castro's letter into his hand. Valle was a prudent and plausible man, who understood the impetuous natures with which he had to deal. Condemning the tone and purport of the letter in strong terms, he urged the Moriscos not to let the foolish vapouring of an insolent subaltern outweigh the courtesy, clemency, and good faith

of the Commander-in-Chief; and receiving a promise from El Habaqui that none of his colleagues should leave the room until the Christian envoys had met, he carried off the letter to Juan de Soto and Juan de Enriquez. These gentlemen hastened to the angry Moriscos, and completed the work of pacification. The whole congress then assembled, and the negotiations were soon brought to an amicable conclusion.

The answer of Don John of Austria to the memorial was satisfactory. In the main he conceded all that the rebels asked, on condition that El Habaqui should make a full submission in the name of Aben Aboo, and that those who had joined in the rebellion should be removed from the Alpuxarras to villages to be appointed by the King. He was ready to receive the submission that very day. El Habaqui and El Granadino, who alone of the Morisco chiefs would consent to take a part in the humiliating ceremony, accordingly mounted their horses and accompanied the Christian envoys to the camp. They were followed by three hundred rebel musketeers, marching in files of five, who at the gate of the camp were enclosed between four companies of foot posted there for that purpose. The procession was led by Juan de Soto, bearing the banner of Aben Aboo fixed upon his lance; and it passed between lines of troops, with colours displayed and music playing, and amidst volleys of artillery, to the tent where Don John sat surrounded by his staff. On approaching the tent El Habaqui dismounted from his horse, and advancing with all the forms of Oriental reverence, prostrated himself at the foot of the young general, saying: "We entreat your Lordship's "mercy in the name of His Majesty, and pardon for our offences, "which we acknowledge to be great." He then took off his fine Damascus sword and presented it, with these words: "This "sword and this banner I surrender to His Majesty in the name "and by the authority of Aben Aboo,"—Juan de Soto at the same time flinging down the banner at Don John's feet. The young general demeaned himself with all the grave dignity which his Castillian officers expected of the son of the Emperor and the pupil of Quixada. Courteously bidding the kneeling suppliant rise, he returned him his sword, desiring him to keep it for the service of His Majesty; and he afterwards conversed with him for some time with great kindness and urbanity. The three hundred Moriscos were then allowed to march back to Andarax; but El Habaqui himself remained in the camp to arrange the details of the execution of the treaty. He dined that day with

Francisco de Cordoba, and the next with the Bishop of Guadix, who treated him with marked attention. On the 22d of May he returned to the Alpuxarras to give an account of his mission to Aben Aboo; and on the same day Don John of Austria left Padules and established his headquarters at Codbar de Andarax.

The 25th of May was the feast of Corpus Christi, a festival which the return of peace induced and enabled the army to celebrate with unusual pomp. From the tent which contained the high altar a long avenue of trees had been planted for the procession of the Holy Sacrament, and on either side of this green aisle the troops were drawn up, with their banners and music, to kneel as it passed, and to fire volleys of musketry in token of rejoicing. The procession, consisting of a goodly array of priests and friars, was led by the Bishop of Guadix, and was followed by all the knights and gentlemen of the army bearing votive tapers in their hands. The pall over the host was borne by Don John of Austria, the Grand Commander, Francisco de Cordoba, and the licentiate, Salazar. The solemnities were closed by a sermon preached by a Franciscan friar, who discoursed, with many tears, of the goodness of God in bringing the Moriscos to a knowledge of their evil ways. The consecrated wafer was slowly moving through the kneeling ranks when El Habaqui presented himself at the camp. Valle de Palacios and Hernando de Barradas went out to meet him, and brought him to the general's quarters when the service was ended. Don John then adjusted with him the remaining details of the pacification, and gave him a proclamation, signed by himself, in which the plan was finally announced to the public. Nine royal commissioners were next named, one for some districts, two for others, to superintend the removal of the Moriscos from their native fastnesses. The orders issued to them were that the exiles were to be permitted to choose their places of abode, provided that they were sufficiently distant from the Sierras and the seashore; that they were to be allowed every facility for selling or removing their household goods; and that a register was to be prepared of all male Moriscos between the ages of fifteen and sixty, of their dwellings, and of the arms in their possession. El Habaqui undertook to obtain ere long the submission of the people of the Serrania of Ronda, and of Marbella, the only districts still in arms; but his first care on leaving the camp was to muster and embark the Turkish and African Moors. In all his negotiations with the Government he had always urged the importance of

this matter, saying that although these strangers were not very numerous, they had great influence with the Moriscos, and would use it solely with a view to prolong the rebellion and their opportunities of pillage. It was also supposed that he felt himself personally bound for their safety, having himself been the leader of a large force from Algiers.

When the royal commissioners named to receive the submission of the rebels were setting out for their respective districts, Don Alonso de Granada-Venegas was directed by Don John of Austria to pass through the Alpuxarras and obtain an interview with Aben Aboo himself. To venture almost alone into the stronghold of the rebellion, amongst its barbarous and exasperated chiefs, whose good faith was by no means certain, was a mission sufficiently perilous. Granada, foreseeing the dangers and difficulties which awaited him, would have excused himself from undertaking it, at least until the country had become more quiet; but Don John replied that danger was no reason for neglecting duty, and that great affairs involved great risks. On the afternoon of the 28th of May, therefore, the commissioner set out on his journey, accompanied by eleven or twelve persons. They passed the first night at Alcolea, where they were honourably received by El Xoaybi, one of the bravest of the insurgent leaders. The Moriscos with whom they conversed were greatly dejected when told that they were to be removed from their homes, but appeared to resign themselves to the necessity of submission. Granada was also well received at Albacete de Uxixar, and being now in his own district, he caused the proclamation of Don John of Austria to be publicly read in the street, and affixed to a door. He then rode on towards Cadiar, where he hoped to find the rebel king, and on the way he was met by the Morisco Velasco, who had been sent with six horsemen to meet him. The village of Cadiar was thronged with people, who received the commissioner with great demonstrations of joy, and he was lodged and feasted in one of the best houses. Aben Aboo and El Habaqui soon afterwards rode into the place, attended by three hundred musketeers and fifty Turks. They alighted at the house occupied by Granada, and immediately went aside with the commissioner and the priest Torrijos to discuss the business in hand. The professions of Aben Aboo were most peaceful; his tone and bearing were studiously humble, and even abject; and he took great pains to show that he had not been to blame for a rebellion of which he had been from the first a principal leader, and for many months

the avowed chief. When it broke out, he said he had protected to the utmost of his power the Christians of his village, and he had saved the church from destruction. He had been amongst the first to submit himself to the Marquess of Mondejar; and afterwards when, in the unfortunate course of events, the chief command had been forced upon him, he had repressed all cruelty as far as he could, and had bought up all the Christian captives whose lives appeared to be in danger. From the moment His Majesty had opened the door of mercy he had laboured most earnestly to guide his followers thither. Don John of Austria might do with him as he would. He was ready to share the fate of the people of the Alpuxarras; but he ventured to suggest that he could be of material service in aiding in the embarkation of the Turks and Moors, upon whom he had been keeping a watchful eye since the beginning of the negotiations. To all these protestations and professions of the fallen monarch Granada, in the name of Don John of Austria, made a courteous reply. Don John, he said, confided in his honour, and was satisfied with his recent conduct. He and the relatives, or intimate friends, whom he might name would be exempted from that condition of the treaty by which the Moriscos of the Alpuxarras were to be exiled and disarmed. Somewhat reassured, Aben Aboo ventured to beg that none of his people might as yet be deprived of their weapons, alleging that they were now the soldiers of the Catholic King about to be employed in the duty of embarking the foreigners, their former allies. On this sudden transformation Granada thought it prudent to cast no doubt; but he remarked that, in that case, their banners had better not be displayed. Aben Aboo immediately ordered them to be covered and removed from the ranks, and the order was executed in the presence of Granada. Aben Aboo then returned to Mecina de Bombaron, whence he had come.

The Christian envoy remained two days at Cadiar, conversing with the principal Moriscos and explaining the conditions upon which they were to be relieved from the penalties of rebellion. He informed Don John of Austria that the Turks were now generally ready to embark, but that some of them were spreading reports that it was intended to assemble them in some convenient place and put them all to death; and that all were anxious to be embarked in the row-galleys, to which they were accustomed, and not in sailing ships. He recommended that such Christian captives as they still possessed should be ransomed, to give them no excuse for attempting to carry them off, and that El Habaqui

should be employed to negotiate the ransom, a duty which he was willing to undertake. Having thus examined and reported on the state of the Alpuxarras, Granada-Venegas, gladly leaving the mountains behind him, descended into the Vega of Granada, and established his quarters at Otura. Here, and at Zubia, he received the submission of the rebels, registering their names, and furnishing those of them who were destitute with provisions at the King's expense. His chief difficulty lay, not in inducing the poor rebels to sue for peace and pardon, but in persuading the Christians that the rebellion was at an end. The idle or disbanded soldiery spread themselves over the country, pillaging, burning, killing, and making prisoners, as if the banners of Aben Aboo still floated over mountain-keeps and armed multitudes. Severe examples were made of some of them, and orders to deal with them in the most stringent manner were issued to the corregidors of the various districts.

The Moriscos, on their side, were not wholly blameless of these excesses. Armed parties of them still maintained themselves amongst the mountains, or in remote villages, robbing and murdering the Christians who fell in their way. Several sharp engagements took place between these roving bands and the royal troops sent out to disperse them. Amongst the hills, near Velez de Ben Andalla, a Moor named Moxcalan kept the neighbouring garrisons in perpetual alarm. His favourite plan of attack was to come down with his followers under pretence of tendering his submission, and commit outrages or depredations according to the strength of the party opposed to him. Cacem el Muedem was the terror of the country around Almuneçar. The commander of Salobreña, Diego Ramirez, at last succeeded in hunting him into a cavern, where he took him prisoner under promise of sparing his life, a promise which the next officer, to whose care the Moor was transferred, conceived that his former daring exploits absolved him from keeping. Cape Cat was haunted by a leader known as the negro of Almeria, commanding a large body of Turks and African Moors, who were lurking upon the rocky shore in the hope of finding means of escape by sea. They had with them no less than fifty Christian captives, whom they designed to carry off. After much manœuvring, Don Garcia de Villareal, with a hundred and twenty men, came up with these marauders near some crags known as the Friars of Cape Cat. Their dispersion was not effected without a severe engagement, in which several Christians fell. Sixty-eight prisoners fell into Villareal's hands

thirty-four of them being foreigners, and amongst them an envoy of the Grand Turk, who had had great sway with Aben Aboo. Forty-three Christian captives regained their liberty, seven of the fifty having been slain by their masters because they were too feeble to carry burdens. It had been proposed by the Moriscos to put them all to death, on account of the difficulty of feeding them in those rocky solitudes. They owed their lives to the interference of the more merciful Turks, who had insisted that they should be respited for three days.

Occurrences like these were alleged by the Christians as ample justification of their own less excusable forays upon peaceful villages and defenceless farms. They were ordered, they argued, to hunt out and punish the pertinacious rebels, without injuring those who had returned to their allegiance. But as every Morisco who found himself within the range of a Christian musket repudiated rebellion and professed the warmest loyalty, how were they to discriminate between the true man and the false knave? The question was often one difficult of solution; and each casuist, having to answer it for himself, was usually guided to his decision by the amount of gain which each case afforded.

The desire of the Turks and Moors to quit the shores of Spain was increased by their reverse at Cape Cat. Of this feeling the indefatigable El Habaqui did not fail to avail himself; and ere long he succeeded in persuading the chiefs and the greater number of their followers to give up their captures and embark in the vessels provided for them. Many of the remainder escaped on board Barbary cruisers, where they were compelled to purchase their passage with half their booty, and sometimes were robbed of the whole of it before they were permitted to land. Although Don Sancho de Leyva was always sailing up and down the coast, he had not a sufficient force at his disposal to cut off or even seriously to affect the communication between the Spanish and African shores. By one means or another, most of the foreign auxiliaries of the rebellion had quitted Andalusia by the middle of June. But about that time five vessels, despatched from Algiers before the news of the pacification had been received there, arrived on the coast with reinforcements of men and munitions. They were attacked and captured by the Christian squadron, but not before they had landed two hundred men, who hastened to the hills and Aben Aboo. In spite of the ex-king's self-abasement before Granada-Venegas, his loyalty to Philip II. was suspected not to be very sincere. The Moriscos still in arms were supposed

to be acting, if not under his orders, at least with his knowledge and approval. It was said that he had repented of the conditions which he had accepted, partly out of jealousy of El Habaqui's superior credit at Court, partly because he conceived he might have obtained permission freely to profess his Mahometan creed and to bear the title of king for life. Whatever were his designs or his hopes, they were encouraged by the arrival of these strangers with tidings that at Algiers a fleet from the east was looked for every hour, bringing still more important assistance from the Sultan to the faithful in Andalusia.

El Habaqui was well aware of his chief's change of mind. But he was now so confident of his own influence with the people, that when he went to give an account to Don John of Austria of the embarkation of the Turks, he offered, in the presence of the council, either to compel Aben Aboo to fulfil his engagements or to bring him in fetters to the camp. All that he asked was a body of five hundred musketeers to co-operate with his Morisco friends. Instead of men, Don John considered it more advisable to give him eight hundred ducats, to be spent in raising the necessary force of his own people. With this sum he set out to his village of Berchul, for the purpose of removing his wife and children to Guadix before he himself entered on the contest with Aben Aboo. On his way thither, passing through the village of Legem, he found the market-place filled with armed Moriscos, drawn up as if on parade. In a haughty tone he asked their leaders why they had not repaired to the places appointed for their district, to make their submission to the King. They replied that they were waiting for orders from Aben Aboo. El Habaqui rejoined that it was now the duty of every man, for himself, to return to his natural allegiance; and that if Aben Aboo did not choose to set a good example, he would drag him to the proper place, tied to his horse's tail. This foolish boast was reported to the chief whom it insulted, and he determined to show his arrogant lieutenant that his power had not wholly passed away. He immediately sent off his most trusty adherents with a hundred and fifty of his newly-arrived Turks to Berchul, with orders to arrest El Habaqui on the night of his arrival. The noise of their approach to his house awoke the inmates, and gave the master time to escape to the rugged banks of a neighbouring stream, and so gain the Sierra. Next morning, however, as he rested in a rocky hollow, his scarlet caftan and white turban betrayed him to his distanced pursuers, who renewed the

chase, and finally captured him and carried him to Cuxcino to the presence of Aben Aboo. There the prisoner demanded the cause of his arrest. "For being a traitor," said the insulted chief, "and for making a selfish treaty solely for yourself and your "kindred." Next day the active and successful negotiator of the peace was secretly strangled, and his body buried in a dunghill. To the family of the murdered man Aben Aboo sent off a message desiring them to proceed to Guadix, and informing them that although he had found it expedient to detain El Habaqui, he would soon rejoin them. The rebel chief then renewed active operations to rekindle the expiring flame of the revolt. He despatched his brother El Galip to the mountains of Velez and Ronda, to put a stop to the submission of the rebels, and to excite them to take up arms once more. He wrote at the same time to Hernando de Barradas proposing a meeting with him for the speedy conclusion of the peace, and blaming El Habaqui for uncandid and selfish dealing in his negotiations. Barradas replied that he would be happy to meet him, but would like to know first what had become of El Habaqui. Aben Aboo answered that he had arrested him because he had discovered not only that the proposals which he had been instructed to make to the Government, and the replies of the Government to those proposals, had been maliciously garbled, but that the envoy, after playing false to both sides, had provided a vessel to carry himself and his family and ill-gotten wealth to Barbary. He had therefore detained him until peace should be firmly established through other and more trustworthy agency; but that his friends might be assured that he was safe and well, and that his captivity would be neither rigorous nor long. A letter from Aben Aboo to Granada-Venegas also conveyed the same explanation of his conduct. These letters, and the sudden stoppage of the stream of repentant rebels which had hitherto been flowing into the district-offices, filled Don John of Austria and his council with the most serious apprehension. It was therefore determined to send Valle de Palacios to Aben Aboo with replies to his communications, and with orders to observe his proceedings with the utmost vigilance.

The exact dates of these events are not recorded. But the time which elapsed between the embarkation of the Turks and the moment when the Government obtained certain intelligence of Aben Aboo's determination to remain in rebellion, seems to have been five or six weeks. For many days he contrived to

keep Don John of Austria in doubt both of his real intentions and of the fate of El Habaqui. Towards the end of July, however, all doubt on these matters was dispelled. In a captured galley was found a letter, dated the 17th of July, addressed by Aben Aboo to certain Turkish captains at Algiers, and informing them that El Habaqui, having attempted to sell his country and people to the Christians, had been put to death as a traitor. It likewise afforded proof that the Morisco was equally ready to deceive friends and foes, in the announcement of a battle in which the Christians had been signally defeated. "They have now," he wrote, "no army on foot to bring against us, but the King will "doubtless soon raise another; therefore succour must be sent "us without delay." The news of this imaginary victory was followed by a not very consistent request for ships to carry off the wives and children of those who were determined to die in their native land for their liberties.

The languor with which the new rebellion was carried on was one of the chief reasons which induced the King's general to doubt of its existence. Its first step was not auspicious. El Galip, having gone with two hundred men to raise the country, according to his brother's orders, near Velez, found Arevalo de Zuazo ready to receive him. Losing his way in the Sierra Bermeja, he was surprised near Alora and slain with most of his followers. The Moriscos of the Serrania of Ronda had mustered in considerable numbers to meet and support him; but their efforts to avenge his death did not go beyond an attack on the Christian hamlet of Alozayna, where they sacked and burned the houses without reducing the castle and church, in which the inhabitants made a stout and successful defence.

In spite of these hostile demonstrations, Don John of Austria determined that Valle de Palacios should, if possible, see Aben Aboo, and either bring him to reason, or, if that end were missed, obtain sufficient insight into Morisco feeling and resource to guide his preparations for a new campaign. The envoy left the headquarters on the 13th of July accompanied by Mendoza el Jayar, who had been secretary to El Habaqui, and by some other Moriscos who had made their peace with the Government. Apprised of his coming, Aben Aboo sent an officer and fifty musketeers to escort him from Sopron, his first night's halting-place, to Valor el Alto, where the second night was passed. Here Valle met a Morisco named Francisco de Cordoba, a cousin of Aben Umeya, and a bitter enemy of Aben Aboo. From this

man he learned the particulars of El Habaqui's death, and something of Aben Aboo's plans and prospects. Five thousand men, according to Cordoba, were still ready to fight for the Morisco cause. They were all posted within a circle of seven leagues wide, eight hundred being stationed at Pitres, and smoke-signals being agreed upon which could assemble the whole force at very short notice. They were well armed, it being estimated that twelve thousand muskets and crossbows still remained in the Alpuxarras, and that none but old and useless weapons had yet been surrendered. Some of the Turks were employed in making gunpowder; and a three months' supply of grain had been collected at Cehel. From Algiers had very lately arrived seven Turks, with fresh assurances that the long-expected Turkish fleet would soon be seen off the Andalusian shore; and the present object of Aben Aboo, therefore, was to gain time until his preparations were further advanced and his potent allies had actually landed.

Next day Valle proceeded to Yator, where Aben Aboo had signified his intention of meeting him; but on arriving there, he was directed to go on to Mecina de Bombaron. It was evidently the intention of the rebel chief to show the Christian envoy that he still had considerable forces at his disposal. As he approached the place, he was met by a body of five hundred Morisco musketeers who, after discharging their muskets, retired before him and occupied the entrances of all the streets near the house of Aben Aboo, conspicuous with its banner waving from a window. Valle met with none of the obsequious civility which had waited on Granada. On alighting at the door, his arms were taken from him, and his person was searched for concealed weapons. Aben Aboo, seated on a dais, and surrounded by women singing the *Zambra*, received him with great haughtiness. He neither rose, nor ordered the music to cease; but listened without remark to the message of Don John of Austria, who exhorted him by the mouth of his envoy to spare his country the miseries of war by returning at once to his allegiance to the King. Summoning his counsellors, he then conferred with them for some time, and replied in writing to a letter from Barradas which Valle had also delivered to him. At last turning to Valle, he said that God and men knew he had not sought to be King, but had been elected to that dignity by his people; that he had not sought, and would not seek, to hinder any man from submitting to the Government, but that he would be the last man to do so; that if he were left alone in the Alpuxarras with only a shirt to his

back, he would rather die a Moor than enjoy all the favours King Philip had to bestow; that what was certain was, that he would never place himself in the King's power, but that if driven to the last extremity he would take refuge in a cave which he had provisioned for six years, and within that time he would find some means of escaping to Barbary. To this deliberate exposition of his projects no reply was possible. Valle therefore took his leave, Francisco de Cordoba, who was evidently bent on making himself acceptable to the Government, giving him six Christian captives to guide him back to headquarters by way of the pass of Rexon.

Meanwhile Don John of Austria, foreseeing the renewal of the war, had been active in making his preparations. At Codbar de Andarax he had constructed a fort to overawe the surrounding country; he had provided it with all necessary munitions of war; and he had garrisoned it with twelve companies of foot and a troop of horse, under the command of Don Lope de Figueroa. He received the answer of Aben Aboo at Guadix, whither he had gone to raise and organize fresh troops. The Grand Commander Requesens was engaged in the same duties at Granada. The King's orders were that that leader should march into the Alpuxarras, burning and destroying without mercy, up to the western borders of the devoted district, which was to be harassed and ravaged by strong parties detached from the army of Don John at Guadix. By these severities it was hoped that the last sparks of the rebellion would be speedily extinguished.

The month of August was spent by the Christian leaders in diligent preparation. As a prospect of plunder opened, their ranks filled as quickly as they had shrunk at the dawn of peace. Not only the towns around the disturbed districts sent in their contributions of men, but long files of musketeers marched up the Vega from Seville, and well-mounted troopers came pricking across the heaths from Cordoba. To meet the coming storm, the unhappy Moriscos did little beyond removing the fruits of their harvests and the poor relics of their property into the caves of their Sierras. Many of them saw the hopelessness of the struggle, and, resolving to keep aloof from it, trusted that the submission which they had already made would protect them from the fate of the rebels. Those who were mad enough to believe in the possibility of a successful resistance, trusted in aid from Algiers, and in that phantom Turkish fleet which was always in full sail for Spain, but which had never yet risen on

the horizon of an Andalusian watch-tower. Finding that the promised succour never arrived, Aben Aboo, as the month wore on, attempted to open fresh negotiations with Don John of Austria by informing one of his officers, with whom he had some acquaintance, that he was still desirous of making his peace with the King. But the Morisco Cordoba warned his friend Valle de Palacios that these professions were made merely to gain time, and were not to be trusted. No direct notice therefore was taken of them by Don John, who, however, again put forth the King's proclamation, with an extension of the time within which the rebels might return to their allegiance.

The Grand Commander of Castille marched from Granada on the 2d of September. At Padul, where he was joined by the troops of various other towns, and where he reviewed his forces, he found himself at the head of five thousand men admirably equipped and provided. He marched without obstacle through Lanjaron, Orgiba, and Poqueyra, to Pitres. A report that a large body of rebels had assembled in the passes of the Valdeinfierno, caused him to send orders to the commander of the garrison at Guejar to march upon that valley. So long as these troops kept the main road, not a Morisco showed his face. The villages were deserted, nor was there any indication, as in former campaigns, that the inhabitants were watching his progress from the Sierras. He was therefore able to employ his whole force in the work of destruction which he had been ordered to accomplish in the Alpuxarras. Every fruit-tree, vine, habitation, and fence, everything that steel could cut and fire could burn, was carefully destroyed. At Pitres he halted ten days, part of his troops being engaged in laying waste the adjacent country, and part in turning the church into a fortress.

On the 7th of September Don John of Austria despatched from Guadix a force of three thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse, under Pedro de Padilla, Tello Gonzales de Aguilar, and four other captains, who were to command in turns, each for a day, until they joined the Grand Commander. The men carried four days' provisions in their knapsacks, and fifteen hundred sumpter-mules followed with baggage and further supplies. They entered the Alpuxarras on the east, by the pass of Loth. Next day they were joined by Lope de Figueroa with eight hundred infantry and forty cavalry from Codbar. Devastation marked their progress to Cadiar, where they halted in order to ravage the central valleys of the Alpuxarras.

On the 19th of September the Grand Commander marched upon Jubiles, and the next day, reaching Cadiar, took command of the combined forces of Granada and Guadix. He spent the rest of the month in presiding over destruction and butchery more systematic, complete, and cruel than the unhappy country had experienced at the hands of any former invader. When villages, gardens, and fields had been sufficiently laid in ruins, the soldiers followed the inhabitants to the Sierras and hunted them from the savage retreats in which they had vainly hoped to find safety. The wretched fugitives, already taught that resistance was unavailing, were now to learn that even escape was no longer possible. When they fell into the hands of their hunters the women were made slaves and the men put to death, either slain on the spot when overtaken, or hanged or shot in bands when the chase was over. The inhabitants of whole villages were found cowering in huge caverns, into which Nature has hollowed some of the higher crags of the Sierras. In the cave above Mecina de Bombaron two hundred and sixty-one persons surrendered themselves, and one hundred and twenty of the more obstinate were afterwards suffocated by the smoke of fires kept burning at the entrance. In a grotto near Berchul sixty people were thus destroyed, the wife and daughter of Aben Aboo, who were also there, escaping with great difficulty through a cleft at the further end of the cavern. From a cave near Tiar sixty-two people were taken alive; and in another near Castares thirty-seven were smoked to death.

Requesens acted sternly on the principle that the day of grace was past, and that vengeance was now the true policy of the King and the sole duty of his general. He would listen to no plea for prisoners; and however strongly it might be urged that they had not been engaged in the rebellion, or that they had even done good service to the royal cause, he ruled that all who were taken deserved the doom of rebels. By his special order, Miguel de Herrera, to whom Mondejar had confided his captives, was shot with a number of other victims; and to the Morisco Cordoba, who had furnished Valle de Palacios with important information, who had received a safe-conduct from Don John of Austria, and who had remained in the mountains in spite of an offered pardon for the purpose of assisting the royal cause, he would grant no other grace than that of commuting his sentence of death into consignment to the galleys. In the rare cases where the victims of Christian vengeance were able to appeal to the

justice of the Commander-in-Chief, the decision was always against them. Thus when Gonzales de Aguilar, with the horsemen of Ecija, was scouring the country near Finix, the inhabitants of that place sallied forth in a body to make their submission to the authorities at Almeria. Observing this movement when too late, Aguilar failed in intercepting or overtaking them. He nevertheless demanded that they should be given up to him after their allegiance had been tendered and accepted in the legal way. Garcia de Villareal, the commander of the troops at Almeria, took their part and refused to admit Aguilar's claim. The question was referred to Don John of Austria, who sent down a judge to decide it on the spot. The award was against the unhappy Moriscos, who gained nothing by their submission but labour at the oar instead of the quicker death administered by the musket.

While Requesens was ravaging the interior of the country, Don Sancho de Leyva, cruising along the shore, landed detachments of troops to burn and pillage and destroy in the neighbourhood of the sea. The whole campaign was nothing more than a military progress marked with blood and ruin. The Moriscos had given up all hope of resisting force by force, and none of the butcheries to which they were exposed could be dignified with the name of a battle. The single encounter in which swords were crossed and shots exchanged took place in the deep gorge between Tavernas and Xergal, where two hundred rebels waylaid Diego de Leyva, who was passing that way with a quantity of money, guarded by nine musketeers and fifty horsemen. Unaccustomed to be attacked, the Christians fell into a panic and ran away, leaving their leader and six of the boldest of their comrades to make a gallant but unavailing defence of the King's treasure against desperate odds. Severely wounded, Leyva was with great difficulty carried off by his followers, and he died soon after at Almeria.

Within six weeks from the commencement of operations the whole of the Alpuxarras had been overrun, a great part of it several times, while forts had been erected, and garrisons placed at Cadiar, Cuxurio, Berchul, Mecina de Bombaron, Jubiles, Pitres, and other important and central points. Within the limits of the disturbed districts there was hardly a glen or peak of the tangled mountain-chains which was beyond the sound of the Christians' drums and bugles, warning the miserable population, as they cowered in their caverns, of the presence of a vigilant, unrelenting,

and irresistible police. Three thousand women and children, besides a quantity of sheep and cattle, had been driven off to the quarters of the victorious troops at Granada, Calahorra, and Guadix; and it was computed that fifteen hundred Moriscos had been slaughtered, many of them carrying in their bosoms the papers of protection issued to the rebels who had made their submission.

In the mountains of Ronda the rebellion was suppressed with more fighting, less bloodshed, and equal success. The abortive expedition of Don Antonio de Luna had left the Moriscos there in a state of exasperation, which nothing but the want of leaders to supply the place of El Galip had prevented from breaking out into active hostilities. Prompt measures of conciliation, backed by vigorous preparations to chastise those who would not be conciliated, were demanded by the emergency. But few emergencies were sufficiently pressing to force promptitude or vigour upon Philip the Second. He was now at Seville, within a day's ride of Ronda, and he was doubtless furnished with frequent accounts of the temper of the district. It was not, however, without much hesitation that he determined to confer the command there upon the Duke of Arcos. Head of the great house of Ponce de Leon, and lineal descendant of the chivalrous Marquess of Cadiz, so famous in the Moorish wars of Ferdinand and Isabella, this nobleman was also possessed of vast territories around Ronda. His high historic lineage, his wealth, and his military capacity, commanded the confidence of the Christians, and his amiable personal character had obtained for him the favourable regard of the Moriscos. Taking up his abode at his town of Casares, the Duke spent part of August in treating with the disaffected inhabitants, who were divided into two parties, one of which desired peace, while the other was inclined for war. El Melchi, the leader of the war party, having slain the peaceably-disposed chieftain, and persuaded the people that the King's overtures were not to be trusted, succeeded in breaking off the negotiations. As usual, his designs were aided and his arguments enforced by the cupidity and bad faith of the Christians. The representatives sent by the village of Bena Habiz to tender its submission were slain on the road by a party of the royal troops. After this outrage the whole district of the Serrania burst into open rebellion, and no course remained to the Duke of Arcos but to quell it by means of the four thousand foot and the hundred and fifty horse at his disposal at Ronda. With this force he marched on the 16th of September against the strong hill-fort of

Arboto, before which place he was joined by Arevalo de Zuazo with two thousand infantry and one hundred dragoons. On the 20th he took it by storm, the Moriscos at first offering considerable resistance, but ere long retiring by difficult paths to the hills, leaving five hundred women and children to the victors. From hence he sent out strong detachments to scour the country. One of these detachments, commanded by Captain Morillo, venturing too far into the passes of the Rio Verde, a valley famous in song, which was occupied by El Melchi and the main body of the rebels, was not only driven back with loss, but pursued and cut off nearly to a man almost within sight of Istan. Two other bodies of royal troops, consisting respectively of seventy and a hundred men, were likewise attacked and roughly handled near Monda. But in most other places the Duke inflicted severe chastisement on the rebels; and he afterwards attacked El Melchi near the Rio Verde and obtained a victory in which the Morisco chief was slain. In the neighbourhood of the sea-coast he had the assistance of Alonso de Leyva and eight hundred men from the fleet. The country was soon thickly studded with his garrisons and fortified posts; and by the 5th of November the rebellion was reported to be at an end.

When the news of the reduction of the Alpuxarras reached the King, he issued an order to Don John of Austria for the immediate removal from the kingdom of Granada of all the Moriscos, whether loyal, suspected, or rebel, who could be induced or compelled to submit to that measure. The centres from which the operation was to be conducted were Granada, Guadix, and Almeria. From Granada and the adjoining country the Moriscos were to be marched to Ecija, Carmona, Estremadura, and the province of Toledo. From Guadix they were to go to La Mancha and the Castilles; and from Almeria they were to be conveyed by sea to Seville. Three thousand men, raised in various towns of Andalusia to relieve the troops garrisoning the Alpuxarras, were first to be employed in escorting the exiles to their destination. The 1st of November, being All Saints' Day, was the day named for the execution of the plan. When the congregations had assembled in the parish churches, from which persons of suspected orthodoxy and loyalty were not likely to be absent on such a festival, the doors were locked, and the Moriscos were informed of their fate. They were marched off, those at least who were able to travel on foot, in companies of various force, attended by a proportionate number of troops. Some of the

divisions from Granada amounted to fifteen hundred, and these were each guarded by two hundred infantry and twenty horsemen. Preparations for their reception had been made along the road, and the passes of the Sierra were occupied by troops to prevent escape. Orders had been issued to treat the unhappy travellers with gentleness, and to forbid the separation of families. The removal was executed with little difficulty or disturbance except in the valley of Almanzora, where in some cases the prisoners turned upon their guards and several hundred lives were lost. Of the younger and bolder men, the soldiers of the rebellion, many preferred lurking in the mountains until opportunities of escape to Barbary occurred, to submitting to exile in Spain; and these fugitives, a few years later, were amongst the fiercest and most merciless of the foes whom Don Sebastian and his Portuguese encountered on the fatal banks of the Alcazarquivir. The number of persons thus removed from their native valleys can hardly be estimated with an approach to accuracy. Fire and sword, cold, hunger, disease, and captivity, had grievously reduced the population of districts once so rich and populous. It has been computed that more than twenty-one thousand Moriscos had fallen in battle, and that on All Saints' Day 1570 there did not remain in the country more than fifty thousand souls,[1] many of whom must have succeeded in evading the gripe of the Catholic King. The fate of those for whom there was no escape, and the feelings entertained towards them by the Christians, the ecclesiastical historian, Gonçalo de Yllescas, thus narrates and unconsciously evinces. Writing in 1572, this churchman uses these words:—

"Those Moriscos who had rebelled and had been taken in arms, "were sold for slaves, so that there was not a town in Spain but "was provided with some of them. Those who had not rebelled "were removed from the kingdom of Granada, and were scattered "over the cities and towns of the realm. Of these many died of "change of climate in Castille, Toledo, and Estremadura; and of "the rest we now see many begging in our streets or earning "their bread miserably by their labour; and few of those who "once were rich, but now live in poverty and vileness as they "deserve."[2]

[1] A de Circourt: *Histoire des Mores Mudejares et des Morisques*, 3 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1846, iii. p. 137. He has taken the pains to ascertain that Marmol chronicles eighty-four actions, in forty-two of which he states the loss of the rebels in killed and wounded, amounting in all to 21,000 slain.

[2] Gonçalo de Yllescas: *Historia Pontifical y Catholica*, lib. vi. 2 vols. fol., Madrid, 1613. Vol. ii. p. 754.

The Grand Commander of Castille returned to Granada from the Alpuxarras on the 5th of November, and on the 11th Don John of Austria and the Duke of Sesa arrived there from Guadix. Don John was received with great enthusiasm by the tribunals, the municipality, the troops, and the citizens. He remained at Granada for nineteen days, busily engaged in paying off the troops and in organizing means for garrisoning and provisioning all the military posts throughout the country during winter. Aben Aboo was still at large, and it was necessary to hunt down in detail the small band of adherents who followed the fortunes of the rebel chieftain as he skulked from cave to cave. On Don John likewise fell the delicate task of distributing to the deserving officers whose services were no longer required such slender rewards as a scanty military chest could afford, and of eking out the niggard gratuities with gracious words. These duties performed, on the 30th of November he left Granada for Madrid in obedience to the order of the King. The chief command devolved on the Grand Commander until the 20th of January 1571, when he resigned it to the Duke of Arcos, who had then extinguished the last sparks of revolt in the Serrania of Ronda.

In this record of the rebellion of the Alpuxarras, nothing remains to tell but the fate of its unhappy chief, Aben Aboo. During the whole winter he wandered amongst the crags of the Sierra Nevada, with a few hundred fugitives who remained attached to his cause and fortunes. In February or March 1571 one Francisco Barredo, a pedlar of Granada, who had long trafficked in silk and jewellery with the people of the Alpuxarras, and who had continued his trade even during the war, being at Cadiar, ransomed a Morisco from the hands of some soldiers who were about to shoot him. Entering into conversation with the prisoner, he learned that Aben Aboo was then lurking between Berchul and Trevelez, and he conceived the idea of making use of this man, Al Zatahari, to effect the capture of the rebel king. With the sanction of the commander at Cadiar, he promised Al Zatahari his freedom if he would carry a letter to Abu Amer, the secretary of Aben Aboo, inviting him to meet him on important business. Before the messenger, who cheerfully undertook the errand, had reached his destination, he was captured by some of the rebel scouts and carried before El Senix, a man who had formerly been imprisoned at Granada for murder, and who cherished a secret hatred against Aben Aboo. Al Zatahari's story that he was making his escape from Cadiar did not deceive

the keen-witted ruffian, who threatened him with death if he did not at once confess his real business in the mountains. This menace speedily elicited the truth and the letter, upon which El Senix remarked that it should have been addressed to him and not to Abu Amer, who would certainly refuse to engage in the business proposed. But he nevertheless sent for the secretary, and protected the messenger from the fury with which that faithful adherent received the insidious proposal which the letter contained. When Al Zatahari was satisfied that Barredo had mistaken his man, El Senix then opened negotiations on his own behalf, and offered, for a free pardon for himself and the liberty of his wife and children, to undertake any enterprise that Barredo might desire. A meeting was arranged and took place between them, when El Senix formally undertook to deliver Aben Aboo, alive or dead, into the power of the Government, provided the required terms were guaranteed to him by a paper written in Arabic by the licentiate Castillo, whose hand he knew. The Duke of Arcos and the council closed with his proposal, and the document was forwarded to the Morisco.

Meanwhile Aben Aboo, informed of the traitor's meetings with Barredo, and anxious to discover treason, which he suspected, fell headlong into the snare which was being spread for him. Attended by a few musketeers, he went at midnight to the retreat of El Senix, and leaving his guard at the bottom of a rock, climbed with only two followers to the robber's den. Two scouts were at the entrance, and with them the attendants remained outside. El Senix was within, with six of his kinsmen. Entering alone, Aben Aboo at once opened his business by asking by whose permission El Senix had held meetings with Barredo. "By your own," said El Senix, "for they were held on your behalf." He then explained that the Government was willing to pardon them all if they would submit, and held out a paper which he said contained a promise to that effect under the hand and seal of official authority. Refusing to look at the document, Aben Aboo protested that the whole affair was villainy and treason, and angrily turned on his heel to call for his faithful Abu Amer. But the sentinels at the door had by this time slain one of his followers, and the other had fled. No one answered to his call, and he was alone with his foe and his kinsmen, some of whom came forward to prevent his retreat. In the struggle which ensued, El Senix felled him from behind with a gunstock, after which he was quickly despatched by the rest. The corpse was

then hurled over the rocks, for the purpose, as the Christian chronicler explains it, of showing the party that had followed the murdered man that the treason was consummated, and that nothing more was left to fight for. Aben Aboo's men, however, accustomed to the midnight wanderings of their master, instead of being on the watch, were visiting their friends in neighbouring caverns. When they returned to the spot, and found the dead body in the gray of the dawn, some fled, and the rest joined El Senix, hoping to share the pardon and rewards which were sure to recompense his treason. Only Abu Amer remained true to his chief's resolution to resist to the last, and some time afterwards was cut to pieces by a party of soldiers whom he encountered amongst the hills.

El Senix, having obtained a mule from the garrison at Cadiar, carried down the corpse of Aben Aboo to that place, whence, after being disembowelled and filled with salt, it was conveyed to Granada. Some degree of pomp and circumstance, hastily organized, and great public curiosity attended this last poor trophy of the war in its entrance into the capital. The cavalcade was headed by Leonardo Rotulo, representing his brother, the commander at Cadiar, who was followed by Barredo and El Senix, likewise on horseback, the murderer of the Morisco chieftain bearing the sword and firelock of his victim. Next came the corpse, mounted on a mule, and held upright by boards beneath its clothes. After a few armed relatives and retainers of El Senix, came a long file of repentant Moriscos with their baggage, the men carrying unstrung crossbows and muskets without locks. A few soldiers, both horse and foot, brought up the rear. The streets were crowded with people, and while volleys of musketry pealed below, cannon thundered from the heights of the Alhambra. The procession halted at the Palace of the Audience, where the Duke of Arcos, President Deza, the council, and the principal inhabitants of the city received Rotulo, Barredo, and the traitor El Senix with the honour which their services deserved. When he and his companions had kissed the Duke's hand, El Senix laid at his feet the gun and scimitar of Aben Aboo, saying that as he had been unable to bring home the ox alive, he had like a good herdsman brought his hide. The body was then quartered, and the head, enclosed in an iron cage, was stuck on an iron spike over the archway of the Puerta del Rastro, or the gate of the shambles. An inscription told the passers-by, "*This is the head of* "*the traitor Aben Aboo; let no man take it down under pain of*

death."[1] From this lofty position the bleaching skull frowned as late as 1599 upon the road to the Alpuxarras. The betrayers of Aben Aboo did not long enjoy their rewards. Barredo was assassinated in Africa; El Senix was impaled and quartered for a highway robbery at Guadalaxara.

Such was the end of the last Moor who bore the title of King of Spain, and dreamed of rebuilding the throne of the Spanish Caliphs. His intellectual endowments were far inferior to his moral qualities, his stubborn will, and his strength of patient endurance. His later policy and conduct, of the motives and justification of which we perhaps know too little to judge with fairness, appear so unreasonable, vacillating, and unworthy of his early career, that they suggest a suspicion that his mental faculties had been overtasked and impaired by the difficulties and anxieties of his desperate position, and by the hardships and fatigues which were wearing out his bodily frame. Many abler leaders, if exposed to a similar trial, might perhaps have likewise proved by their example that those who have been for months hunted like wild beasts become scarcely capable of acting like intelligent men. But it is impossible to read his story without some sympathy with his struggles, and some admiration of his character, courage, and devotion, of the heroism with which he confronted torture and death to shield his chief from peril, and the gallantry with which he clung to his native Sierras and fought to the last against the most desperate odds.

The bloody lesson of the Morisco rebellion taught nothing to the monarchs and ministers of Spain. The landowners of Andalusia, indeed, learned that their lands had become worthless since they were deprived of their industrious cultivators. The domains of the Crown, after the failure of an attempt to colonize them with Christians, were sold in 1597, as costing more than they yielded. On private estates, therefore, it is not to be wondered at that some of the old inhabitants were allowed to return; and that, in spite of the penalties of death and slavery with which the law menaced them, many of them resumed their old occupations amongst the vines, the olives, and the sheepfolds of the secluded Alpuxarras. In Castille, Aragon, and Navarre, the Moriscos, notwithstanding the grinding taxation and the intermittent persecution to which they were exposed, increased and multiplied, and became in the country the most industrious and successful husbandmen, and, in the towns the most skilful and prosperous

[1] Mendoza: *Guerra de Granada*, p. 328.

artisans. They excelled in medicine; and the son of the King, afterwards Philip the Third, as a boy, owed his life to the science of a Morisco leech, as his brother, Don Carlos, had done before him.[1] But the very qualities and attainments which made them valuable citizens made them also the natural prey of a corrupt administration and a persecuting Church. A conspiracy, discovered at Zaragoza in 1581, admonished the Government that there were limits to their endurance. It was then that the scheme for their expulsion from Spain is supposed first to have presented itself to the timid and irresolute mind of Philip the Second, who, however, suffered himself to be overruled by wiser counsels; but the idea was eagerly taken up by the Church. With a few honourable exceptions, the whole priesthood, from the Cardinal-Primate to the meanest Capuchin, seemed bent on making the name of Christianity hateful to those whom it affected to consider as unbelievers. Although many of the Moriscos might justly have been suspected of a secret adhesion, or at least a leaning, to their ancient faith, many were Spaniards by language and by habits, and Christians as well by conviction as by outward practice. Yet Prelates like Juan de Ribera, Patriarch of Antioch and Archbishop of Valencia, were not ashamed to forbid to persons of Moorish blood—New Christians, as they were called—the rite of absolution unless they would previously make a confession of infidelity which rendered them liable to the vengeance of the Inquisition, and to refuse them the sacrament of the eucharist, although abstinence from communion was an offence punishable by law. Other churchmen maintained the doctrine, monstrous even for theologians, that because amongst these persecuted people confession was probably a mere observance dictated by fear, the confessor who received it was not bound by the sacred seal of secrecy, in the faith of which all penitents approached his chair. The priest, the magistrate, and the tax-gatherer at last wearied out the patience of the much-enduring race. The Moriscos entered into plots with the enemies of Spain, and were at various times in communication with Henry IV. of France, and with Elizabeth and James I. of England. The zealots who urged their expulsion from the realm had at last some show of reason to allege. The Dominican Bleda, the torch and trumpet of that expulsion, as he was happily called, who had for many years lived upon the roads from Rome to Valencia or Valencia to Madrid, in order to keep the question before the Court of Spain

[1] Chap. II. p. 43.

and the Holy See, at length saw the fruits of his elaborate tracts and his indefatigable travels. The Patriarch of Antioch, foreseeing at the last moment the ruin of his archiepiscopal revenues in the loss of the industrial bone and sinew of Valencia, joined the remonstrances of the nobility, and made a feeble and disgraceful defence for the vassals whom he had spent his life in maligning and persecuting. In 1610 the great wrong was consummated, and about half a million of Moriscos were transported to the inhospitable shores of Africa, or driven across the Pyrenees to the still less friendly soil of France. In their distress, the ill-fated outcasts found no greater sympathy, or generosity, or good faith from the foreign potentates who had lured them to their destruction, than from their native oppressor. Applauded by priests and courtiers, the disastrous work of Lerma and Philip III. was sung by Lope de Vega, and became in the next reign the subject of a memorial picture by Velazquez.[1] It found a more abiding monument not only in those long tracts of wilderness, deforming regions which Moorish industry had made the fairest in Spain, but in the piracy of the Mediterranean, where the descendants of the Moriscos, foremost amongst the fierce Ishmaelites of the ocean, recorded in many a deed of blood their hatred of the Christian name.

[1] Velazquez and his Works, sm. 8vo, London, 1854, p. 101.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE WAR OF 1570 BETWEEN THE CHRISTIAN NAVAL POWERS AND THE TURKS; ITS CAUSES AND ITS PROGRESS UNTIL THE FORMATION OF THE HOLY LEAGUE.

N the last day of November 1570 Don John of Austria, summoned to Court by the King, set out from Granada to Madrid. The occasion of his recall from the almost extinct rebellion of the Moriscos was a proof that his services had justified the hopes entertained of the military genius of the son of Charles V. Philip II., Pope Pius V., and the Republic of Venice, the chief members of the Holy League lately formed by the Pope for the defence of Christendom, had agreed to entrust him with the command of the naval and military armament which they were about to send against the Turk. The conqueror of the Morisco King of the Alpuxarras and of a few mountain towns was to lead the fleets and armies of the new crusade against the Moslem tyrant of the Mediterranean.

The reign of Sultan Selim II. saw the House of Othman in its noon of power and pride. Under his father, Solyman the Magnificent, the seeds indeed of dissolution had been sown in the constitution of the Empire. In spite of the splendid achievements of that great Prince both at home and abroad, it is to him that the historian traces the prodigal expenditure, the venality of public posts and public men, the withdrawal of the sovereign from the actual business of the State, and the disastrous influence of

the harem upon public affairs, which were the chief causes of the downfall of Turkish greatness. But these seeds of death yet lurked unseen in the bosom of the body politic. Without, all was strength and beauty, the frown of menace and the flush of triumph. In extent of dominion, and in number and variety of races subject to his sceptre, the King of the Spains and the Indies, or the Emperor of China, alone could vie with the Padishah of the Faithful. But the territories which obeyed the descendant of the shepherd-chief of the Bithynian highlands had been acquired in a very different manner from those which were ruled by the

SULTAN SELIM II.

heirs of the Swiss Count of Hapsburg. Rich marriages, the genius of Columbus, and the daring of Cortes and Pizarro, had made up the principal sum of the vast fortunes of the House of Austria. Neither to well-dowered wives, nor to easy conquests in a new world, did the Ottoman diadem owe a single gem. By the scimitars of nine stout Sultans the kingdoms of Selim had been won from the marshalled hosts of civilization, or from the fierce hordes of the desert. While he himself reigned in the palace of the Cæsars by the shores of the Bosphorus, his Viceroys gave law in the halls of the Caliphs at Bagdad in the east, or collected tribute beneath the shadow of Atlas in the west. From

Aden in the south his banner, emblazoned with the crossed scimitars, was unfurled to the Indian Sea; and at Buda in the north his Pashas quaffed their sherbet in the libraries and the galleries of the poet-king Matthias. The Shah of Persia, the Chief of the Holy Roman Empire, and the proud Republics of Genoa and Venice, were reckoned amongst the vassals whose tribute swelled his annual revenue. From the headlands of Istria to the cliffs of Kent the cruisers of his seaports levied a tax on the coasts of Christendom and the commerce of the world.

The revenue of the Sultan had been for many years past estimated at eight millions of ducats, or about one million eight hundred thousand pounds sterling. There was, besides, a large fluctuating income from the gifts which all persons appointed to places of honour or profit under the Crown were in the habit of offering to the sovereign. The annual expenses of the State were supposed not to exceed six millions of ducats, and Sultan Solyman was believed to have saved, for many years, at least one-fourth of his revenues. Sixteen years before, in 1554, Rustan Pasha, one of the favourites of that monarch, boasted that his master could carry on war for eighty years upon the accumulations in his treasury. The exchequer in 1570 therefore was, or was supposed to be, overflowing with gold.[1]

From his dominions in Europe the Sultan could call to his standard eighty thousand horsemen; from those in Asia, fifty thousand; making in all one hundred and thirty thousand cavalry. He had, in daily pay and quartered or encamped within easy distance of Constantinople, twelve thousand janissaries, a body of infantry, which, some years before, a Venetian consul, writing to his Government, had described as more loyal to their sovereign, more obedient to their officers, and less addicted to enervating habits and vices, than any other troops in the world.[2] Somewhat later, an Imperial envoy of great shrewdness had confessed the apprehensions with which he looked forward to future war between Imperial troops and an army which was always well clad and well provided with tents, in which riot, drunkenness, loose women, and duelling were unknown, and which was, moreover, punctually paid.[3]

[1] Dom. Trevisano: *Relazione* (1554), and Marc Antonio Barbaro: *Relazione* (1573) —in Eug. Alberi: *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, Serie III. vol i. 8vo, Firenze, 1840, pp. 149, 153, 310, 311. The *Relazioni* hereafter cited may, in the absence of other indication, be supposed to be quoted from this volume.

[2] *Relazione* of D. Trevisano (1554), pp. 156-7, and of M. A. Barbaro (1573), pp. 304-5.

[3] A. Gislenii Busbequii *Omnia quæ extant*, Epist. iii., Oxoniæ, 1660, 12mo, pp. 115-117.

Sir Philip Sidney, writing to his brother Robert about foreign travel and the useful knowledge to be acquired by it, says: "In "the Great Turk, though we have nothing to do with him, yet "his discipline in war matters is, *propter se*, worthy to be known "and learned."[1] The land forces of the Sultan were therefore larger and perhaps quite as good as those of any single European sovereign or State.

His fleet, if not the best, was also perhaps the largest on the seas. It consisted of two hundred and fifty light galleys, and ten or twelve heavy war-ships.[2] In his arsenals of Pera and Gallipoli the timber of the Black Sea and of the Gulf of Nicomedia was wrought into vessels constructed upon the best western models. These vessels, although their strength and durability were sometimes marred by green timber and rough workmanship, were built so expeditiously and cheaply as to extort the admiration of the Venetians. Their officers were brave and intelligent, very observant of the nautical tactics and inventions of the west, and very anxious to improve their seamanship and the character of the fleet. It was in the sailors that the Sultan's navy was chiefly deficient. As they could not be obtained in sufficient numbers on the sea-coast, they were raised by a kind of conscription throughout the empire, and it was long ere the Anatolian peasant or Caramanian herdsman became an expert mariner. But the Porte lost no opportunity of enticing into its naval service the Greek subjects of Venice, or even banished Venetians; and it had been so successful in this mode of recruitment, that long ago the representative of the Republic at Constantinople[3] had advised that captains of vessels trading with the islands of the Archipelago should be made responsible for the return of their crews; that no lad under sixteen should be allowed to make the voyage to the Levant; and that, instead of the punishment of exile, some other penalty should in many cases be inflicted. With slaves for the oar the galleys of the Sultan were abundantly supplied by the chronic warfare which ever existed between the Porte and one or other of the Christian States, and

[1] *Instruction for Travellers*, by Robert, Earl of Essex, Sir Philip Sidney, and Secretary Davidson, 1663. Quoted in *A Memoir of Sir Philip Sidney*, by H. R. Fox Bourne, London (1862), 8vo, pp. 222-225. The words quoted above are in p. 223. Mr. Bourne says that the letter, though not dated, was evidently written in 1579.

[2] In the *Relazione* of Marino Cavalli (1560), p. 291, the Turkish fleet was estimated at one hundred and fifty galleys; in that of M. A. Barbaro (1573), p. 306, at three hundred galleys, including fourteen heavy vessels. Both of these writers give a careful account of the naval resources of the Sultan.

[3] D. Trevisano: *Relazione*, p. 148.

by the piratical habits of the Turkish cruisers, who observed no very nice distinctions between the flags of friend and foe.

These wide dominions and vast resources made the Turk very formidable to his western neighbours. Great as his power was, it was both enhanced by their jealousies and exaggerated by their ignorance and their fears. His relations with them during the sixteenth century afford ample evidence that the early growth of Turkey as a European State was in a great degree fostered by that mutual distrust amongst the Christian nations which now protects her decrepit age.

With the Republic of Venice the Ottoman had been on friendly terms even before he had planted his standard on the ruins of the Greek empire. Old-established commerce with the East had, at a very early date, emancipated her statesmen from the religious prejudices of mediæval Christendom. The Greek Emperors and the Syrian and Egyptian Soldans, whom the faithful children of the Latin Church hated and defied as heretics and infidels, were the hosts and allies of the merchants of Venice. "If one in story observes the colour of her actions he shall find "that she hath subsisted thus long as much by policy as armes ". . . it having been her practice ever and anon to sew a piece "of Fox tayle to the skinne of S. Mark's Lyon."[1] The calculations of commerce guided the whole foreign policy of the Republic. In the days when the limb of a martyr was as good an investment as a picture or a diamond is now, she would cheerfully pay vast prices for relics for the Ducal church of St. Mark. But Dandolo and his Senate in the thirteenth century would by no means embark in the fourth crusade until they had made with the barons an advantageous bargain, securing to Venice half the profits that might accrue from their projected attack upon the Greek and the Saracen. In no enterprise from which nothing but barren glory was to be reaped was the crimson banner spangled with golden images of St. Mark ever displayed; in no enterprise which promised more solid advantages was it ever furled out of any scruples about orthodoxy. With the powers that were, whatever their creed, Venice was always ready to treat and trade. When young Bassompierre[2] went campaigning he purposed to draw his maiden sword against the Turk, but a nearer occasion occurring, he first used it against the Pope; and what

[1] J. Howell: *Instructions for Foreign Travell*, London, 1642, 12mo, p. 109. Dove si manca la pelle di leone convien cucirvi cuoio di volpe. Ital. Proverb; *Bohn's Book of Foreign Proverbs*, p. 93.

[2] *Mémoires du Mareschal de Bassompierre*, 2 vols. 12mo, Amsterdam, 1692, i. p. 41.

the Frenchman did, as he confesses, from national levity, Venice was always ready to do upon calculation. When Mahomet II. sacked Constantinople many noble Venetians perished, and the *bailo*, or consul, was dragged from his house and slain in cold blood. Nevertheless, the Republic hastened to make peace with the conqueror, and to secure the privileges which she had acquired long before from the Palæologi. The preservation of these privileges, of which the chief were the possession of a quarter of Pera and the right of governing her own subjects there by her own laws, was always a main object of her diplomacy. Hence her relations with the Porte were closer and more constant than those of any other Christian State.

Whenever a Turkish sovereign was laid beneath the lofty dome which usually commemorated his reign and his piety, Venice always sent a solemn embassy to congratulate his successor. Sailing down the Adriatic, the senator and his attendants generally landed at Ragusa, and thence rode, on horseback, or in litters, for fifty days through the wild defiles of Epirus and along the fair valleys of Thrace to Constantinople. There, contrary to the usages of the Republic, they laid aside the black mantles of Venetian nobility, and arraying themselves in cloth of gold, repaired, with a long train of presents, to the Seraglio, to kneel, in the presence of a vast assembly of soldiers and slaves, at the foot of the Sultan, to kiss the hem of his robe, and to address to him a long oration, to which he sometimes, but not always, deigned to reply by a nod.[1] For many public humiliations of this kind the Venetian envoys indemnified themselves by watching and investigating with great shrewdness the policy and resources of the Turk, and by corrupting his ministers. The underhand shifts and contrivances of the home administration of Venice, its free use of spies and of anonymous evidence, rendered its agents very apt and dexterous in the use of all means of acquiring private information and secret influence abroad. To them is due that system of interference with the affairs of Turkey which, exercised at first timidly and in self-defence, has for several generations handed over the government of that decaying and unhappy country to a committee of insolent and jealous foreign intriguers, the ambassadors of the great powers. The Oriental custom of giving and taking gifts rendered systematic bribery easy; the

[1] To Domenico Trevisano (1554) Solyman the Magnificent once vouchsafed to speak "not one but several words," "non una ma più parole contra il suo costuma." The Vizier Rustan Pasha often mentioned these words as a most signal mark of favour. *Relazione*, p. 167.

Pashas and Viziers of the Porte became as venal as the Cardinals of Rome, and were retained for Venice or for France by supplies of Italian silks or English broadcloths, plate chiselled at Augsburg or at Milan, clocks from Paris or sables from the Baltic. When an adherent of the Republic considered that these supplies were falling short he would say to the consul: "I am the friend of the "Signiory, but it will not recognise me until it has lost me."[1]

Where persons in high office could not be bought, or had already sold themselves to another bidder, the disappointed foreign envoy endeavoured to buy their favourites or parasites, Jew or Greek adventurers, vermin who swarmed amidst the corruptions of an Oriental Court. Through their means the Venetian sometimes wormed out secrets which the Vizier intended for France, or the Spaniard possessed himself of the threads of an intrigue which the Venetian believed to be held by no hand but his own. The unhappy Sultans, finding no safety in the multitude of their counsellors, had long ago devised the expedient of diminishing their number by discussing important matters with only one or two of their ministers while they rode on the track of the wild boar, or while the heron mounted before the falcon. From the crowd of knaves pressing to be bought it was not always easy to distinguish the one worth buying; and an inexperienced or over-zealous envoy would sometimes pay for information which had been already sold, or was worthless at any price. For example, a member of the Divan one day laid before his colleagues a project for surprising the city of Venice, a plan so foolish as to be at once dismissed with general contempt. The scheme was not, however, altogether fruitless, for another counsellor, possibly its real author, had the address to obtain from the Venetian minister a considerable sum for his services in preventing its adoption.[2]

Venice had now enjoyed peace with Turkey for about thirty years. She had not unsheathed the sword against the Sultan since 1538, the year which saw the end of the abortive League against Solyman the Magnificent. In that League, the Republic, the Emperor Charles V., Ferdinand King of the Romans, and Pope Paul III., were confederates. Their fleets, under Doria and Capello, having found Barbarossa with an inferior Turkish fleet in the harbour of Prevesa, offered him battle under circumstances which compelled him to accept the challenge. Yet during the

[1] Bernardo Navagero, 1553: *Relazione*, p. 93.
[2] Lazaro Soranzo: *L'Ottomano*, 4to, Ferrara, 1598.

preliminary manœuvring the singular tactics of Doria not only prevented all serious collision, but enabled the skilful Turk to pick off a few Spanish and Venetian galleys as he eluded the defeat and capture which had seemed to await him. The Venetians, not unnaturally, suspected their Imperial ally of bad faith, and they even accused Doria of a treasonable understanding with Barbarossa. By these doubts and jealousies further combined action being rendered impossible, each member of the League made terms for himself; the Austrian Princes with a facility which threw fresh doubts on their previous sincerity, and the Republic not without the sacrifice of some important possessions in the Levant.

During the thirty years which followed, the preservation of a good understanding with Turkey had been one of the chief aims of the diplomacy of Venice. Her representatives at Constantinople, one after another, enforced upon their Government, with every variety of argument and illustration, the necessity of avoiding a rupture with their powerful neighbour. Venice, they said, drew from Turkey a large annual supply of food; the Turk boasted that she could not exist without his harvests, and although vigorous encouragement of home production might in two years render her independent of him, in the meantime his corn was a necessity of life.[1] They descanted on his vast and growing resources and his unassailable position, and on the exposed state of many of their own settlements in the Archipelago and the Levant. They warned the Doge and Senate that the naval superiority of Venice over the Turk was not what it once was; and that her reputation had not yet recovered the effects of the humiliation which she and her Christian allies had suffered before Prevesa. All causes of offence ought therefore to be carefully avoided; and they insisted that connivance at the escape of Christian slaves from their Turkish masters, with which the agents of Venice were not unjustly charged, was a practice which, however natural, was so dangerous that it ought to be discontinued. In her negotiations with the Christian Princes, the Republic, they said, ought to be able to point to her credit and influence at the Porte, while in her dealings with the Porte she ought to let it be understood that she was on the most cordial terms with the chief western powers. Some there were who were in favour of taking a higher tone, and of now and then letting the Seraglio hear the roar of St. Mark's lion. But even in advocating the policy of an occasional menace,

[1] B. Navagero, 1553: *Relazione*, p. 83.

these persons confessed that the loud word was in no case to be followed by a blow. Remonstrating in 1560 against the instructions usually given to Venetian envoys, to assure the Porte of the unalterable friendship of the Republic, Cavalli declared his own habit to be always to make these assurances dependent upon the strict observance of treaties. "The Turks," he said, "understand "neither kindness nor courtesy, and, judging of others by themselves, they think that what is not done cannot be done. "Clearly, we must not go to war with them; but they should "not be allowed to suppose that we cannot go to war."[1]

The relations between the Republic, proud of her ancient fame yet conscious of declining power, and the Ottoman, riding on the flood-tide of prosperity, demanded on the Venetian side the most delicate and dexterous handling. To humour the arrogant barbarian, avoiding exasperating opposition on the one hand and tame submission on the other, was well compared, by one of the ablest hands in the game, "to play with a ball of glass, "which must be kept in the air by slight and skilful touches, and "would be broken either by a fall or a violent blow."[2]

With the Emperors the Turk had been in a state of chronic warfare ever since the conquest of the Hungarian Provinces. The holy Roman Cæsar, to whom nearly all the States of Europe, even the Republics, accorded a certain precedence and supremacy, suffered peculiar indignities at the hands of the haughty infidel. Assuming to be Emperors of the East by the right of conquest, the Sultans would not recognise their western brother by any higher title than King of Vienna. Having contended, on the whole with advantage, against an Emperor who wielded the resources of Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, they were disposed to regard the younger branch of the House of Hapsburg with the contempt which not unnaturally attached to a neighbour whom they had deprived of vast territories, and from whom they had long exacted an annual tribute. Solyman the Magnificent had respected Charles V. for his power and for his military capacity; but he despised Ferdinand I. as a Prince of inferior weight, and as personally unwarlike and unlucky.[3] The Imperial ambassadors were therefore treated at Constantinople with far less consideration than was accorded to the representatives of Venice. The letters

[1] M. Cavalli, 1560: *Relazione*, pp. 286-7. His words are—"Bisogna certissamente non farla (guerra), ma non però che credono che non si possa fare."

[2] Marc Ant. Barbaro, 1573: *Relazione*, p. 341.

[3] B. Navagero: *Relazione*, p. 82. See also *Rel.* of M. A. Barbaro, 155-8. Alberi: *Relaz. Ven.*, Serie III. vol. iii. p. 158.

of Busbequius made Europe familiar with the hardships which he endured during his embassies in Turkey. All foreign ministers were in the sixteenth century subjected at Constantinople to a kind of imprisonment, which, however, was infinitely more irksome when their place of durance was provided by the Sultan. Busbequius, happily for himself, being an ardent student of natural history, found ample opportunities of pursuing that science in a ruinous house full of lizards, serpents, and scorpions, where weasels dropped from the ceiling on his dinner-table, and where he was apt to find a snake coiled round his hat. In this menagerie, with windows boarded up to prevent them overlooking their Turkish neighbours, the members of the embassy lived under the care of a chious, with whom they were at perpetual war.[1] Thus drearily lodged, the Imperial ambassador had to grope his way to a knowledge of the secrets and influence in the councils of the past by the process of bribery and corruption which Venice employed, but by the hands of agents far less skilful and experienced than those who served the Republic. The service, disagreeable as it was, was also fraught with considerable personal danger. Towards the end of the century the envoy of Rudolph II., being detected in the purchase of political intelligence from the Sultan's mother, was seized and put to death in a fortress, while the persons belonging to his mission were sent to the galleys and the dungeons of the Black tower. Nor could the Emperors exact reparation for these indignities. They were usually glad of peace with the Turk at almost any price. Vienna looked towards Constantinople with fear and trembling. Busbequius records his opinion, which seems to have been the public opinion of Europe in his time, that the Turk was a special scourge of God, whose progress it was hardly possible to check by ordinary means. He claims some credit for his master Ferdinand I. and his people, because they did not actually retire before their formidable foe. "In the presence of so great a danger," he says, "many nations, forsaking their native soil, have sought for other "homes."[2] To hazard a rupture and a battle he regarded as madness, and he held that watchfulness and patience were the sole means of safety for Germany. Lazaro Sociedi, a soldier of the Imperial armies, in a plan which he propounded for resisting the Turk by reviving the old Teutonic order, also insisted upon the incontrovertible superiority of the infidel armies in strength,

[1] A. Gislenii Busbequii *Omnia quæ extant*, Oxoniæ, 1660, 12mo, Epist. iii. pp. 99-100.

[2] Busbequii *Omnia quæ extant*, Epist. iv. p. 261.

military skill, discipline, and general resources, and the consequent necessity of long and diligent preparation on a great scale and an approved system, before war could be reasonably risked. Meanwhile, while this preparation is being made, "we must," he says, "accept peace on any terms, nor awaken the sleeping dog, to "our certain destruction."[1]

The chief ally of the Turk in Christendom was a monarch who called himself the Most Christian King and the eldest son of the Church. For many years the Kings of France had enjoyed much influence and favour in the Levant, and their consuls exercised a kind of protectorate over Christian commerce, that of Venice only being excepted. In the wars between Charles V. and Solyman the French ports were always open to the Turkish cruisers, and it was to Marseilles that the naval officers of the Sultan looked for provisions and munitions, for shelter and refitment. The French and Turkish flags had often been associated at sea. In 1548 Henry II. employed the pirate Dragut to seize the person of Philip II., then Prince of Spain, as he sailed between Barcelona and Genoa, a scheme which was frustrated by the vigilance of Andrea Doria, the Imperial admiral. In 1553-4 a combined Turkish and French fleet endeavoured to wrest Corsica from the Republic of Genoa, for the purpose of annexing it to France. Mutual hatred of the House of Austria was the bond of union between Paris and Constantinople. When Catherine de Medicis, governing for her son, was told that alliance with the Turk was unbecoming the Most Christian Crown, she replied that it was a legacy which the King had inherited from his ancestors, and that it was besides a means of keeping in check, at little expense, the maritime power of Spain. The navy of France during the sixteenth century was inconsiderable; her coasts were therefore much exposed to Turkish aggression without power of reprisals. The Turk treated the French envoys who were frequently sent to him with his usual insolence, but he took care to render such aid to their master as would ensure a continuance of his friendship. "Physicians," said a Venetian observer, "give their patients food not to make them fat, but to keep them "alive; so the Turk assists the French, in the hope of seeing "them neither fat nor lean, neither victorious nor vanquished."[2]

Selim II. had wielded these great resources of the Turkish empire since 1567, when he ascended the throne. He is an

[1] Lazaro Sociedi, *Come si possa resistere á Turchi*, Ferrara, 1600, sm. 8vo, pp. 4-6.
[2] Marino Cavalli, 1560: *Relazione*, p. 285.

extreme example of the demoralizing effect of the possession of despotic power upon minds of ordinary mould. As a simple janissary, he might possibly have passed through life unstained by any especial disgrace; as Sultan, he was one of the vilest occupants of an Oriental throne. One of the outrages recorded of him is that, having conceived a passion for the beautiful wife of an ex-beglierbei of Anatolia, he caused a pretended invitation to be sent to her from his own wives, an invitation which the husband gladly permitted her to accept. The result was that the lady passed twelve days alone with Selim, and was then sent back to her husband. The poor man set off to Constantinople to complain to the Sultan, but was waylaid by the emissaries of Selim and compelled to return, on which he poisoned himself for grief and shame.[1] Previous to his accession he had been the nominal governor of a Province of Asia Minor, the real business of his life being gluttony, drunkenness, and every other form, natural and unnatural, of sensual indulgence, sometimes varied by the sports of the field. In character, as well as in person, he even then presented, in the estimation of the Turks, a very unfavourable contrast to his unfortunate brothers Mustafa and Bajazet. Although averse to exertion, he had commanded his father's troops against Bajazet on the plains of Koniah. But even his success there lent no lustre to his unpopular name. The old soldiers attributed the victory, not to Selim, but to his tutor Mustafa Pasha, who, observing his hopeful pupil about to ride away from the field, seized his rein and led him back to see the battle won;[2] and they openly preferred Bajazet vanquished and fugitive to Selim victorious. From his father Solyman,[3] whom the Christians surnamed the Magnificent, and the Turks the Legislator, Selim inherited none of the qualities which had entitled that great Prince to either of these designations. Holding himself aloof from the real business of government, he rarely presided over his council, and never approached the green curtain, from behind which wiser Sultans had been wont to watch their judges dispensing justice to their people. Hardly able to read or write, he was as incapable of understanding as of directing the complicated affairs of his vast empire. Next to his women and boys, his favourite companions were a few Jewish parasites, some of whom invented dishes to please his palate, while others

[1] *Relazione* of Marc Ant. Domini, 1562. Alberi: *Relazioni Veneti*, Serie III. vol. iii. p. 180.
[2] *Relazione anonima*, 1579, p. 445.
[3] Hammer: *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*. Paris, 1836, 8vo, tom. vi. p. 238.

amused him with the news which their commercial relations with their widely-spread people enabled them to supply from all parts of the world.[1] Yet in the conduct of his affairs, his ministers were never sure that their master might not suddenly interfere,

MAHOMET SOKOLLI.

by giving some absurd and extravagant order, which it was dangerous to dispute and impossible to obey. In these cases it was necessary to affect compliance, humouring him like a spoiled child, until the fancy had passed into oblivion. Even Mahomet

[1] Andrea Badoaro: *Relazione*, 1573, p. 361.

Sokolli, the trusted counsellor of Solyman, to whose prudent management of the army at Szigeth Selim owed his peaceable accession to the Crown, used to say that he would on no account openly oppose any of the Sultan's wishes, and that if he were to order him instantly to fit out two thousand galleys, he would by no means tell him that the thing could not be done.[1] The trembling servants of Selim could not forget how, in a fit of drunken fury, he shot dead with an arrow one of his most favourite minions.[2]

In person he was said to have resembled in early life his Russian mother, the famous Roxalana, whose imperious temper he had inherited without her vigorous understanding. His disorderly life had, however, long ago effaced all traces of her transmitted beauty. Excess, both in eating and drinking (for he was said to remain sometimes for whole days and nights at table, and to drink a bottle of spirits every morning by way of aiding his digestion), had bloated his cheek and dulled his eye.[3] He was, however, not a little proud of his crimson complexion, and dyed his hands and face to a blood colour. To the western stranger, who was led through the wide courts of the Seraglio, between long ranks of janissaries, terrible and silent as death, to the barbaric pomp of his presence-chamber, or who beheld him riding at noon to mosque, glittering with gems, amongst his gilded and jewelled cavaliers, the little fiery-faced infidel with his beard dyed jet, his blackened eyelids, and his huge turban, must have appeared the very personification of the fierce and wicked heathen tyrant of chivalrous romance.

If his brief reign belong to the splendid period of Turkish history; if it produced some of the chief monuments of Mahometan legislation, and added several Arabian Provinces and the royal isle of Cyprus to the dominions of the Crown; if the Selimye mosque, whose airy domes and delicate spires so nobly crown the city of Adrian, equals or perhaps excels the temples left to Constantinople by Solyman and Justinian, the glory of these achievements is due not to the indolent monarch who soiled the throne with the foulest vices, but to the unexhausted impulse of a better time, and to that able band of renegades and soldiers of fortune trained in the school of Solyman—quick-witted Greeks and Italians, bold Albanians, patient Bosnians and Croats—who bartered their genius and valour for the gold of the slothful Turk.

[1] Constantino Garzoni: *Relazione*, 1573, pp. 405-6.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 402. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 401-2.

With the sceptre of his father Selim inherited a war with the Emperor Maximilian. This war had been undertaken by Solyman in the hope of conquering Germany, by Maximilian in the hope of recovering his Hungarian dominions. No substantial advantage having been gained on either side, both the Christian Emperor and the Turk were glad to seize the occasion of Solyman's death to make peace, each belligerent maintaining the ground held by him before the war. An outbreak among the Arab

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN II.

tribes on the eastern frontiers, a war with Persia, and a revolt in Yemen, engaged the attention and the arms of Selim for the first years of his reign. It was not until 1569-70 that he was at leisure again to employ his powers against a Christian foe.

Selim was generally supposed to be unwarlike and personally timid. Of this, indeed, he had given various proofs when informed that his brother was coming to attack him. But he nevertheless seemed to consider that it would become him as an Ottoman Prince to distinguish his reign by some feat of arms and some

addition to the territory of the empire; and even before his father's death he had fixed upon the island of Cyprus as the scene of his future conquests. He was fond of talking of the island with Cypriot renegades or exiles, asking about its position, fortresses, and ports, the strength of the Venetian garrison, the places most favourable for disembarking an invading army, the manner in which Venice would be able to send effective aid in case of a siege, the length of time such aid would take in arriving, and other questions bearing on the design attributed to him. It was therefore suspected by some of those about him that although by his father's policy he was not entrusted with any part of the business of the State, yet on his accession he would revive the warlike name of his grandfather, Selim I.[1]

In his father's time Selim had been suspected of bearing no good-will to Venice. But on his accession to the Crown he at once confirmed the peace which had so long existed between Solyman and the Republic, and he appeared entirely to acquiesce in the friendly policy which had always been maintained towards her by the Grand Vizier, Mahomet Sokolli. Venetian agents at Constantinople reported that the navy of the Sultan was receiving additions, and that it was less powerful than it had been some years before. The traders of Venice, on the contrary, were unusually active, and were extending their relations with the seaports and marts of Turkey.[2] The general aspect of public affairs in the Levant tended to encourage commercial confidence and to lull the Republic into complete security. When the bad harvest of 1569, almost universal in Italy and Dalmatia, and the destruction, in September of that year, of part of the arsenal of Venice by the explosion of a powder magazine, were followed by a warning from the minister at Constantinople to arm for a war with Turkey, the catastrophe at the arsenal was hardly a greater surprise than the news from the Levant.

The rich and beautiful island of Cyprus, lying almost within sight of the shores of Syria, had long been coveted by the Sultans. Before his accession to the throne Selim had taken into his especial favour a Portuguese adventurer of Jewish origin, who had married at Constantinople a rich Jewess, and had returned to the faith of his fathers. On his marriage and conversion the Portuguese exchanged his European surname of Miguez for that of Nassy. To this man, who had supplied him with wine of Cyprus

[1] *Relazione* of Marc Ant. Domini, 1562. Alberi: *Relazioni Veneti*, Serie III. vol. iii. p. 182.

[2] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, 8vo, Vinetia, 1645, p. 9.

and sequins of Venice, the Turkish Prince, in a moment of drunken fondness, had promised the sovereignty of the fair isle which provided the vintage and the gold. Intoxicated like his master with the prospect, Nassy hung up in his house the arms of the royal island with the inscription,—"Joseph, King of Cyprus." On the death of Solyman he took care that Selim should not forget his promise. A foretaste of his high fortune was soon given to him in the Duchy of Naxos and the Cyclades, a principality which was violently taken for that purpose from a Greek of the Fanar, who held it under the protectorate of Venice. When peace was established in Hungary and Arabia he again pressed his claims upon Cyprus, and lost no opportunity of stirring up strife between Venice and the Porte.

He was supported by the Grand Mufti, Ebou Sououd, and by the Viziers Piali Pasha, a Hungarian renegade, and Lala Mustafa Pasha, formerly tutor of Selim, both of whom had commanded at the famous siege of Malta in 1565, and who were burning for an occasion of effacing by some brilliant feat of arms the stigma of their repulse by La Valette and his gallant knights of St. John. They asserted, with some truth, that Venice was suffering severely from the late bad harvest; that withholding or cutting off the supplies of corn which she drew from the East would reduce her to the depths of famine; and, with gross exaggeration, that the recent fire in the arsenal had destroyed the greatest part of her naval armament and munitions. They likewise argued that the Christian powers had always regarded Venice with distrust, and that they were now so deeply engaged in foreign wars or civil discords—England and France being torn with religious factions, Spain occupied in quelling risings in Granada and the Netherlands, Poland at war with Russia, Italy agitated by the feuds of the Pope and the Princes of Savoy, Florence, Mantua, and Ferrara, —that a league amongst them for her protection was impossible; and that now was the time to snatch from her the prize, her possession of which was a reproach and a menace to Turkey. The enterprise, they said, was so easy that the risk bore an insignificant proportion to the gain.

The Grand Vizier, Mahomet Sokolli, who had commanded the army of Hungary after the death of Solyman, and of whom he had been the most trusted counsellor, held a different opinion. The sworn enemy of Nassy, whose promotion and whose projects he steadily opposed, he was extremely averse to war for the sake of gratifying the ambition of a minion whose favour with the

Sultan he considered a disgrace to the Crown. It was still, however, an axiom of Turkish policy that to preserve the empire was to extend it; and the janissary and his captain looked upon war on one or other of the frontiers as a necessary condition of national prosperity. The Grand Vizier therefore did not directly advocate peace; but as he combated the proposed expedition by suggesting another much more hazardous and far less promising, it is probable that to gain time was his immediate object, and to preserve peace his ultimate end. He maintained the propriety and the policy of observing the treaty with Venice. Admitting the jealousy with which she was regarded by the Christian powers, he held it to be no less certain that they would, for their own sakes, combine to protect her from so serious a blow as the loss of Cyprus, while their united armaments would exceed the forces that the Sultan could at present command. The commerce of Venice rendered her so dependent on the good-will of the Porte that, in spite of whatever offence she might have given, she was most sincerely anxious to retain it; and, being the Sultan's nearest neighbour, she was also his natural ally in the Mediterranean. The House of Austria was, on the contrary, his natural enemy. Let them therefore attack that house in its most vulnerable part by assisting the Moriscos of Granada. The cause was the holy cause of the Prophet; the rich Provinces of Granada and Valencia would easily defray the expense of the war; and the powers of Christendom, although they would deem it necessary to unite for the defence of Venice, would leave the mighty monarch of Spain to fight his own battles.

The arguments of Nassy and his party prevailed, being seconded not only by the inclinations of Selim, but by a maritime achievement of the knights of Malta. Three galleys of St. John had waylaid three Turkish treasure-ships on their voyage from Alexandria to Constantinople, and captured two of them; an insult which touched the Sultan the more keenly because the Maltese cruisers had watched for their prey in one of the harbours of Cyprus. Barbaro, the Venetian ambassador, was informed that the ports of Venice could no longer be suffered to protect pirates, and he was put under arrest in his house at Pera. The question whether it was lawful to break the treaty with the Republic was submitted to the Grand Mufti, and was resolved by him, in terms frequently used by Christian doctors in like emergencies, by the assurance that the true believer was never bound to keep faith with infidels.

The winter of 1569-70 was spent in vigorous preparation for war. The Grand Vizier, Mahomet Sokolli, the good and faithful servant of an unworthy master, was unwearied in fitting out an expedition, the object of which he disapproved, and the glory of which he was not to share. To the last he appears to have indulged a hope of being able to change its destination, and to preserve peace with Venice. While the dockyards and arsenals rang day and night with the sound of tools, the capital was thronged by volunteers, far beyond the numbers wanted, for enlistment in the fleet and army of the Sultan. Although it was not concealed that further conquests from the Christians were to be made, the precise point of attack was kept secret as long as possible. It was given out that the forces were to be sent against Spain; and the Morisco envoys, who came to represent to the Commander of the Faithful the perilous condition of the rebels in the Alpuxarras, were comforted with promises which were in truth intended to mislead the Venetians.

Venice, however, was not so easily hoodwinked. Her shrewd envoy Barbaro, although a prisoner, contrived to keep his eye on the warlike preparations, to penetrate the counsels of the Divan, and to send notices of both to his Government, who nevertheless received his communications with considerable incredulity.

In March the armament was almost ready to sail. The Pashas, who advocated the war policy, were for striking an unexpected blow and seizing Cyprus by a surprise. Mahomet the Vizier, however, having more of the instincts of civilization, overruled this course, and obtained the Sultan's leave to despatch an envoy to Venice formally to demand the surrender of the island. Cubat Ciaus set out for this purpose in April 1570. While they were waiting for his return with the reply of the Republic, the indefatigable Barbaro made a last effort, and succeeded in bringing over to the Venetian interest no less a personage than the Grand Mufti,[1] who had lately pronounced the rupture with Venice just and holy. After due deliberation, this shameless priest repaired to the Sultan, and told him that he had indeed encouraged the attack upon Cyprus, but it was because he was ignorant of the rising of the Moriscos in Spain; that as Commander of the Faithful, it was His Majesty's first duty to assist these unhappy people; and he impudently added that if he

[1] M. A. Barbaro: *Relazione*, 1573, p. 325, where this piece of bribery is narrated with some humour. "Aspettandosi *Cubat-Ciaus*," says Barbaro, "feci io con destri ed "opportuni mezzi buoni uffici con esso *mufti*," etc.

neglected this duty all good Moslems, his subjects, might compel him to fulfil it. Whatever effect this surprising advice may have had upon the fiery-faced Selim was entirely dissipated on the

PIETRO LOREDANO, DOGE OF VENICE FROM OCTOBER 1568 TO MAY 1570.

return of the envoy from Venice. In the hall of the Great Council Cubat had had an audience of the Doge and Senate, and had called upon them to relinquish Cyprus, as a part of the territories which belonged of right to the lord of Egypt and Jerusalem. From the aged Doge, Pietro Loredano, he had received a brief

and dignified refusal, and a letter for his master, in which that refusal was repeated and some of the pompous Oriental titles of Selim were retrenched. Contrary to all usage, the Sultan sent for his emissary in order to hear from his own lips the insolence of the Republic. His red face burned yet more fiercely; he ordered the immediate departure of the expedition; and he himself talked of moving down to the Syrian coast to superintend its operations and share its triumphs.

When it was plain that war was inevitable, Venice naturally turned for aid with great anxiety to the Christian powers. The experience of the last hundred and twenty years had taught her that she was unable to sustain, single-handed, a struggle with the Great Turk. Thrice she had tried her strength with him, since the crescent had supplanted the cross on the dome of St. Sophia. In these wars, or by her dexterous diplomacy, she had gained Cyprus, Zante, and Cephalonia. But she had lost Negropont, her best towns in the Morea and Albania, and nearly all the islands of the Archipelago. Her losses were far greater than her gains. The Ottoman, on the other hand, had aggrandized his house with conquests, compared with which the considerable territories wrested from him were of small account. Selim I. had added to his empire the splendid Provinces of Syria and Egypt, and Solyman II. had driven back the outpost of Christendom from Rhodes, and had extended his power far along the African shore. Her recent history therefore warned Venice that a war with the Porte was full of peril; and that if she had been worsted by Mahomet II. it was probable that she would fare no better in a struggle with his more powerful descendant.

But while she was constrained by necessity to seek the aid of her Christian neighbours against the Turk, her past relations both with the Turk and the Christians rendered it doubtful whether efficient aid would be accorded.

The Venetian minister whose duty it was, in the winter of 1569-70, to endeavour to avert the hostility of a Sultan resolved upon war was indeed engaged in a task hopeless of accomplishment. But the position of those Venetian envoys, who were seeking for aid at other courts, was hardly less discouraging. The proud Republic was hated by Kings as a Republic, by the maritime powers as a rival, and by fanatics as the ally of the infidel. It was true that most of the Mediterranean States had, at one time or another, been on friendly terms with the Turk; that his flag had often been united with that of the Most Chris-

tian King; that the King of France owed Corsica to the aid of a Turkish fleet; and that a vicar of Christ had even invited the soldiers of Mahomet to invade Italy.[1] It was also true that Venice had been engaged in long and bloody conflicts with Turkey. Still her neighbours, who hoped to profit by her losses, had some ground for the charge against her that she was neither Turk nor Christian, but something between both. She had often been at peace with the Sultan when they had been at war. To her neutrality might be attributed some of the most signal triumphs of the Turk. She had even aided him in driving the unhappy Greek fugitives from the rocky islets in which they had fixed their home. Her shores had been respected when Calabria and the march of Ancona had been ravaged by Turkish cruisers. The banner of St. John went down at Rhodes, while Venetian war-galleys lay idle in the harbours of Cyprus and Candia. The knights of Malta stood at bay against the whole power of Soliman, unaided by a gun from the arsenal or a ducat from the treasury of Venice. While the Christian faith was sustaining these shocks, the ambassadors of Venice were assuring the Sultan of her friendship.

It was in vain that the Venetian envoys pleaded the difficulties which beset the Republic, dangers and difficulties which had been increasing every year since the fall of Constantinople. The Turk was her nearest and most powerful neighbour, and the long and intricate frontier of their dominions exposed her to constant disputes, insults, and attacks. Her commerce, so important to all Europe, was in many of its principal seats at his mercy. Her position therefore demanded the exercise of the greatest prudence and forbearance, and the maintenance towards the Turk of a cautious and pacific policy, which sometimes, perhaps, might be unfavourably regarded, and was always liable to misconstruction by those Christian powers who looked on from a secure distance.

Such were the arguments urged by the Venetian ministers at the various courts of Christendom from Cracow to Lisbon. The aid even of Persia was invoked at Teheran. But the success of the representatives of the Republic by no means equalled their zeal and eloquence. Their appeals were for the most part addressed to unwilling ears, and elicited little beyond words, sometimes fair words, and sometimes words tinged with irony. The Princes who were most capable of rendering efficient aid were

[1] Alexander VI., alarmed by the approach of Charles VIII., invited Bajazet II. to do this.

also those who stood aloof with the most marked coldness. The Shah, from whom indeed but little had been expected, while bountifully dispensing through his ministers empty compliments and barren promises, eluded the personal importunities of the ambassador, who had to retrace his toilsome steps without gaining access to the royal presence.[1] Sigismund, King of Poland, was too much exhausted by recent war to enter the lists against Turkey. The Emperor Maximilian had but lately concluded a peace with the Sultan, and he naturally preferred the friendship of a powerful neighbour and the safety of his own territories to the interests of another neighbour against whose encroachments on his Sclavonian frontier he was always exercising extreme vigilance. The Italian powers were somewhat better disposed. Pope Pius V., although Venice was less obedient to pontifical authority than any other Catholic State, though she allowed no churchman to hold a civil office under her rule, and although she held in a curb of iron his favourite Inquisition, placed at her disposal two galleys, and offered to fit out twelve for her service. The Duke of Savoy also offered some ships, and the Dukes of Florence and Urbino some troops. Charles IX., King of France, was too distant to afford any military aid, and he had no navy; he was unwilling to disturb the ties of friendship with the Porte which he had inherited, and he was, besides, at war with half his subjects,—the worse than heathen heretics. The King of Spain, whose dominions embraced so much of the Mediterranean shore, and who wielded so large a share of the naval power of Europe, was the natural protector of Christendom, and the natural enemy of the Turk. But the jealousy with which he regarded Venice was almost as strong as his fear and hatred of the infidel, and he received her overtures with marked coldness and reserve. Don Sebastian, the young King of Portugal, was friendly, but declined lending active aid, pleading the plague which had lately wasted his realm, and the drain of that constant warfare which he was waging with the infidel in the eastern seas. Elizabeth of England, although on good terms with the Republic, could not be expected to take any prominent part in any league between the Catholic States of the South, headed by the Pope, who had pronounced her excommunicate, had deposed her from the throne, and was plotting to take her life. Venice was therefore compelled to begin the war without the cordial alliance or efficient co-operation of any one of the first-rate powers.

[1] Paruta: *Hist. della Guerra di Cipro*, large 8vo, Vinetia, 1645, p. 25.

But in this her hour of need she found help where she had been but little accustomed to find or to seek it—in the chair of St. Peter. Of all the States which adhered to Roman dogma, Venice was perhaps the least submissive to pontifical authority or influence. Of all Pontiffs, Pius V. was perhaps the most disposed to magnify his office. Yet Turkish ambition had brought these uncongenial powers into close and intimate relations. In the dangers of the Republic the Pope saw a means of realizing his fondest hope; and, master of two worn-out galleys, he conceived the plan of placing himself at the head of a maritime league, and a new crusade against the infidel.

While negotiating with the Turk for the preservation of peace, and with the Christians for support in war, the Republic was also arming and preparing herself for the conflict. The fire at the arsenal had, happily, not crippled her maritime resources, and a considerable fleet was soon ready for sea. The exchequer was replenished by some additional taxation, by loans which the richer citizens were induced to advance by the admission of every lender of twenty thousand ducats to the coveted dignity of Procurator of St. Mark's and by the sale of some public posts, and of the right of sitting in the Great Council before the legal age.[1] There was no lack of volunteers either from the city itself or from the provinces on the mainland. The garrisons of the Dalmatian coast and the Greek islands were strengthened and victualled, and large reinforcements both of men and munitions were despatched to Cyprus.

In the midst of these preparations, and only a few days after the dismissal of the Turkish envoy, the Doge Pietro Loredano died. He was already oppressed with the weight of eighty-five years when he crept up the giant's stairs to receive the horned cap of the Ducal dignity. That cap now passed to the head of Luigi Mocenigo, a man of greater bodily vigour and intellectual capacity. His eloquence was so remarkable that when ambassador, or orator, as ambassadors were then frequently called, to the Emperor Charles V., that monarch gracefully told him that he esteemed himself more fortunate than Philip of Macedon in his opportunities of listening to an orator greater than Demosthenes.

The events of the war in 1570 do not concern this history, except in so far as they affected the political and military combinations of the year following. They shall therefore be but briefly narrated.

[1] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, Vinetia, 1654, p. 35.

Hostilities were commenced by the Turks in a few unimportant attacks by sea and land on the Venetian towns of Dalmatia. The isle of Tino was next ravaged, but the assailants were repulsed from the fortress by the valour of Geronimo Paruta. The main armament of the Sultan, after cruising in various directions through the Archipelago, assembled at Rhodes in June. Some time was spent in collecting men and supplies from the adjacent coasts of Asia Minor; and the sun of July had embrowned the pastures of Mount Olympus ere the shepherds who kept their flocks near the ancient haunts of Venus and the Muses descried the Ottoman fleet of upwards of three hundred sail bearing down upon Cyprus.[1] Piali Pasha commanded the fleet, Mustafa Pasha the troops. Landing without hindrance at Limasol, the army soon overran the flat country, and halted beneath the walls of Nicosia, the capital, and almost the central point of the island. Here Mustafa found himself at the head of fifty thousand regular infantry, two thousand five hundred cavalry, and irregular troops who swelled his total numbers to one hundred thousand men. The place had been strengthened with great care by the Venetians. Its once vast area had been reduced by the destruction of many of its three hundred churches, amongst which was the great temple of St. Dominic, rich with the monuments of the crusading Kings. It was well supplied with artillery and ammunition; and it was garrisoned by ten thousand fighting men. The civil governor, Nicolas Dandolo, was, however, unworthy of his post, of the great occasion, and of his great name. Having rashly dismissed a considerable number of the militia forces of the island just before the Turks landed, he had great difficulty in recalling them to their standards; and his neglect to victual the place when there was yet time produced the double evil of great scarcity in the city and great plenty in the camp of the invader. His military associates, brave but inexperienced, had little more capacity than himself; and the chief of his artillery hardly knew the sound or use of a cannon. But in spite of incompetent leaders the garrison of Nicosia repulsed several assaults, and held out until the 9th of September, when the place was taken partly by surprise and partly by storm, and all within its walls were butchered.

The whole island immediately submitted to the Turks, except

[1] There is some discrepancy between the numbers as stated by different historians. J. de Hammer (*Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. vi. p. 399), following Turkish authorities, states it at three hundred and sixty; Contarini (*Historia della Guerra contra Turchi*, 4to, Venetia, 1645, fol. 9) at three hundred and forty; Paruta calls it more than three hundred.

the last stronghold of the Venetians, the small city and seaport of Famagosta. Thither Mustafa immediately marched his victorious army, hoping for a more speedy and easy victory. But in Marc Antonio Bragadino, the civil governor, and Astor Baglione, the military chief, he found foemen of sterner stuff than the defenders of Nicosia. In the hands of these gallant men, a garrison numbering seven thousand, and fortifications of no great strength, cut off from all succour from without, were sufficient to bar the progress of the Sultan's mighty host. In vain Turkish horsemen rode in view of the walls, bearing on the points of their lances the heads of the principal citizens and soldiers of Nicosia; in vain the fleet of Piali Pasha cruised off the harbour; in vain Mustafa Pasha opened his trenches and armed his batteries on

land, and sent into the city continual warnings of the hopelessness of relief. The stout hearts, skilful dispositions, and bold sallies of the besieged kept one leader at bay, while the approach of the autumnal gales and the dangers of a havenless shore compelled the other to steer for a safer anchorage. The siege was turned into a blockade, and active operations were postponed until the spring.

Cosimo, Duke of Florence, went to Rome in February 1568 to receive the Grand-Ducal Crown bestowed on him by Pius V., and during that visit he is said to have pointed out to the Pope that the only way in which Christendom could make head against the Turk was by a League between the Pope, Venice, and the King of Spain; and he is also said to have been mainly instrumental in bringing about that alliance. When its forces began to be raised, the Grand Duke, between Pisa and Leghorn, caused

to be fitted out twelve galleys, a royal galleon, a small "*galeoncello*," and a frigate, and equipped them with everything needful for naval warfare. Of these vessels the Pope paid only six galleys, the rest being sent to the aid of the League at the expense of the Grand Duke himself. While these galleys were being built and fitted out the Grand Duke took great interest in the work, and resided at Pisa, and often visited Leghorn, and by exposure to cold contracted a disorder which confined him to bed for forty days, and which is supposed to have been the beginning of the disorder which carried him off on 21st April 1574.[1]

The command of the naval armament of Venice was conferred upon Girolamo Zanne, a citizen of great wealth, who had held various public posts with credit, which he was not destined to increase at sea. Under him Francesco Duodo had eleven heavy ships of war, while Pietro Trono had charge of the frigates and lighter vessels. Marco Quirini, a gallant and skilful officer, was ordered to repair to the Adriatic with twenty galleys from Candia. The Dalmatian port of Zara was the point at which Zanne was directed to collect his forces.

The twelve galleys of the Pope were the only addition to the armament furnished by the Italian Princes. The vessels themselves were lent by the Republic, and were fitted out and armed at the Pope's expense, eight of them at Ancona, and four at Venice. They were commanded by Marc Antonio Colonna, Duke of Pagliano. This squadron was not the only aid for which Venice was indebted to the Pontiff; for Pius, by means of a special mission, had so far thawed the temper of the King of Spain that his Viceroys were allowed to supply provisions to the Venetian authorities, and his Sicilian fleet of forty-nine galleys received orders to act in concert with the fleets of the Church and the Republic.

In spite of this promised support, the naval operations of Venice were carried on in a spirit of languor and procrastination which, at this distance of time, are inexplicable. The Doge and Senate, after their scornful reply to the insolent demand of Selim, can hardly have believed in the possibility of peace, or have doubted that the infuriated Sultan would throw his whole available force upon Cyprus. Yet some such lingering belief or doubt appears the sole key to their policy. While the different divisions of the Turkish fleet, each heavily burdened with men, horses, and

[1] B. Baldini: *Vita di Cosimo Primo Gr. D. di Toscano*, Firenze, 1578, fol., pp. 76, 77, 78.

stores, were threading their way through the Archipelago, any one of them might have been attacked at great advantage even by an inferior force if boldly led, and the destruction of any one of them might have marred the whole expedition. Nevertheless, Zanne with his seventy galleys lay first at Zara and afterwards at Corfu, either wholly inactive, or engaged in paltry enterprises against Albanian strongholds, in which little credit was to be gained and some disgrace was actually incurred. Celsi with forty-eight galleys, and four thousand troops under Sforza Pallavicino, were sent against Margariti; but they effected nothing except a fruitless landing and an ignominious retreat.[1] Misfortune, as so often happens, came in the train of mismanagement. The scurvy broke out in the fleet and amongst the troops with such violence that no less than twenty thousand men met a useless and inglorious death. Amongst these were a large proportion of two thousand infantry, a fine body of men, whose complete equipment and martial bearing had excited great popular enthusiasm when they were paraded, but a few weeks before, in St. Mark's Place.[2] The only events in favour of Venice worthy of note during this disastrous summer were the defence of Tino, the capture of Sopoto in Albania by Veniero, and the destruction of Maina in the Morea by Quirini. The sole but insufficient excuse for the lingering of the Venetian fleet in the Adriatic was the delay of the Papal and Sicilian squadrons in joining it. It was at last compelled to sail without them. At the end of July, about the time when Mustafa had securely landed his army in Cyprus, and had opened his works before Nicosia, Zanne steered for the Levant, not to attempt the relief of the devoted island, but to enjoy change of air in the secure haven of Candia.

The Papal admiral, Marc Antonio Colonna, Duke of Pagliano, and head of the great Roman House of Colonna, played so considerable a part in the political and military affairs of this war, that to him may be ascribed no small share of the Christian success. From his youth he had followed the profession of arms, both by land and sea. He took an active part on the Spanish side in the war of 1557 with Paul IV.; and he led three galleys of his own in the expedition to Africa, in which Peñon de Velez was won for the Spanish Crown. As hereditary Grand Constable of Naples, he was one of the great Italian vassals of the King of Spain, who had rewarded his services with the Golden Fleece, and with whom he enjoyed considerable credit. At Venice,

[1] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, lib. i. pp. 42-44. [2] *Ibid.* p. 17.

where he also enjoyed rights of nobility, he was likewise very popular.

Four of the twelve galleys which the Republic had promised to lend to the Pope not being forthcoming even in July, Colonna repaired to Venice to expedite the affair. He had had cause to complain that the vessels already sent to Ancona were very old and nearly worn out; and he was now offered the mere refuse of the arsenal. But he was so ready to make allowance on the part of the Pope for the pressure of a great emergency, and so liberal

MARC ANTONIO COLONNA, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE PAPAL FLEET AT LEPANTO.

in agreeing to defray certain expenses over and above the bargain, that the Venetians on their side determined to be generous, and supplied him with a quantity of victuals and arms not required by the contract. Having by his temper and tact acquired the confidence and good-will of the statesmen of the Republic, he very soon had the satisfaction of seeing his squadron complete at Ancona. He was now in his thirty-fifth year; tall, and dignified, somewhat bald, with large fine eyes and a fresh complexion; very courteous in manner, of a cool temper, and ready and eloquent in speech; brave and loyal; skilful in his profession and in the ways of the world; and thoroughly in earnest in the work on which he had entered.

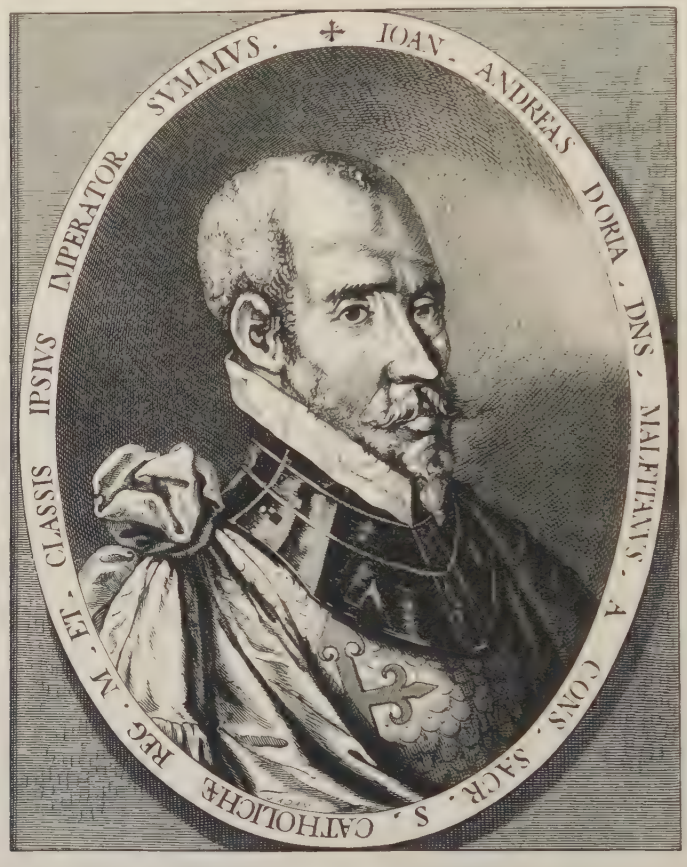
The commander of the Sicilian fleet, Giovanni Andrea (or more commonly called Gianandrea) Doria, the nephew and heir of the great Andrea, was one of the chiefs of the nobles of Genoa, and probably the principal private shipowner of his time. Twelve galleys, his private property, but in the pay of the King of Spain, formed part of the Sicilian fleet. He had been all his life engaged in the seafaring profession, and he was now in his thirty-first year. In person he was eminently disagreeable, being lean and ungraceful in figure, with a high sharp head, swarthy complexion, sunken eyes, and a swollen pendulous nether lip, which may account for the rare occurrence of his portraits amongst either the pictures or engravings of his time. But in this ugly body was lodged a keen and penetrating intellect, a firm will, and great knowledge of mankind. A bold and skilful seaman, Doria knew also how to steer his course both at the Court of Spain and in the public councils and private cabals of Genoa, and wielded great influence both at Madrid and at home.

But Philip II. could hardly have found in his whole service, naval or military, a man less suited for duties which involved active and friendly co-operation with a Venetian admiral and a Venetian armament. For centuries, the very name of Doria had been enough to arouse the resentment of Venice. Although Genoa was, in all but name, a dependency of the Spanish Crown, there was no Genoese eye but kindled at the recollection of those bloody victories which the proud Republic had, in old days, won from Venice, in the Adriatic, the Levant, or the Euxine; and in almost every one of these encounters it was a Doria whose flag had led the battle-line of St. George, or whose sword had guided the stormers into the Venetian stronghold. If Venice had forgotten these old stories, she had certainly not forgotten how Andrea Doria, the Imperial admiral, little more than thirty years before, by his crafty tactics, plucked victory from the banner of St. Mark, saved the fleet of Barbarossa, and exposed Venice to the fury of Solyman. In the mind of every Venetian sailor, with the name of Doria was linked the ill-omened name of Prevesa.

Whatever the grudge or distrust with which Doria was regarded by the Republic or her officers, he repaid their ill-will in full; and it was impossible for any Spaniard to take a more entirely Spanish view of the alliance of the Pope, Spain, and Venice, than was taken by the powerful Genoese.

The three powers had agreed that their combined fleet was to be commanded by the Papal admiral. Venice specially in-

structed Zanne to treat Doria with all deference, and to yield him the second place. But while Philip II. wrote to Colonna that Doria was to obey him and follow the Papal standard, he added the significant words: "I charge and entreat you that you "avail yourself during the expedition in all things of the advice "of Gianandrea," words which, addressed to one of the King's



GIOVANNI ANDREA DORIA, COMMANDER OF THE SQUADRON OF SICILY AT LEPANTO.

own vassals, went far towards investing Doria with co-ordinate authority.

The Papal and Spanish squadrons were to meet at Otranto. Colonna anchored there on the 7th of August. Doria, who had been employed in revictualling and reinforcing the Goletta and some of the African possessions of the Spanish Crown, did not sail from Messina till the 14th, nor appear at Otranto until the

21st. Nor did he then report his arrival, as he ought to have done, to his superior officer, but waited until Colonna visited him on board his galley. Of this slight the Roman leader took no notice, but loaded Doria with courtesies, until he had shamed or coaxed him into better manners. From the first the Genoese made no secret of his dislike to the service on which he was about to be employed, and was never weary of dilating on the insufficient preparations of Venice, and the invincible power of the Turk. On the 23d the united squadrons sailed for Candia, and on the last day of August entered the Gulf of Suda, sailing in between the red Venetian galleys drawn up in two lines to receive them with all demonstrations of joy and honour.

Colonna found himself at the head of twelve Papal, forty-nine Spanish, and one hundred and fifty-four Venetian vessels—in all two hundred and five sail. He held his first council on the 1st of September. Zanne, who had recent accounts of the desperate condition of Cyprus, urged that they should immediately sail thither, and either make a descent on the island to relieve Nicosia, or attack the Turkish fleet while stripped of the troops employed on the siege. Colonna warmly supported the proposal. Doria as resolutely opposed it, on the ground that the Venetians were weakened by their late losses by the scurvy, that the Turks were strong, and that the destruction, or serious damage, or even the repulse of the allied fleet, would be a heavy disaster for all Christendom. He professed his willingness to fight, if the Venetians could show that they were prepared; but he hoped they would decide quickly. To the consultation he himself contributed no fresh proposition; nothing, in fact, beyond the announcement that he must return to Sicily by the end of the month. The Spanish officers were somewhat divided in opinion. Don Juan de Cardona sided with Doria; but Don Alvaro Bazan, Marquess of Santa Cruz, espoused the cause of Zanne, and declared for immediately sailing for Cyprus.

The discussion lasted several days, and tasked to the utmost the conciliatory skill of Colonna. The arguments of Doria were very weak, but his determination was evidently very strong. Zanne and the Venetians therefore concluded that his real motive for counselling inaction was unwillingness to risk his own twelve galleys in a battle. They accordingly privately told Colonna that they were ready to deposit two hundred thousand Venetian sequins in security for those vessels, and to bind themselves to defray the cost of repairs; and they entreated him to press this

offer on Doria's acceptance. The Papal admiral refused to convey to a colleague a proposal which he would himself have resented in his own case as an insult; but he used all his influence to effect a compromise. Doria at last consented to sail, on certain conditions. His duty to his sovereign, he said, required him to be satisfied that the armament of the allies was in decent fighting condition, and he therefore demanded that a review of the whole fleet should be held at Sitia. He was to be furnished with biscuit for the voyage; he was to be excused from doing rear-guard duty; and he was to be allowed to sail with his squadron in a separate body, and on the left or seaward wing of the fleet. These demands were conceded, with the exception of the last, the Spanish contingent being placed on the right or shoreward wing; and, after a loss of ten days, the allies anchored in the waters of Sitia.

The review took place on the 11th September. Colonna and Zanne took care that their vessels should be anchored at a considerable distance from each other, that the jealous and suspicious Spaniards should have no cause to complain that men were passed from galley to galley to swell the apparent complement of each. The royal galleys showed, each of them, a force of one hundred soldiers; those of the Pope a somewhat larger number; but the Venetian only eighty. Doria at once renewed his objections against the voyage to Cyprus, especially urging the want of force in the Venetian contingent. Zanne replied that according to the practice of the Republic his oarsmen were all Christians, and would be armed in case of a battle, and that therefore his fighting power was greater than at first sight it appeared, and that he and his officers were well content to meet the enemy. But the Genoese remaining unconvinced, the Commander-in-Chief requested him to state his views in writing. The result was a long paper, dated the 16th September, in which Doria brought forward imputations more offensive than any which had escaped him in the heat of debate. No confidence, he asserted, was to be placed in the declared Venetian force, because during the review, deliberate deception had been practised by passing men from galley to galley or bringing them from the shore to swell the muster. He would not be responsible for the issue of an expedition against a formidable enemy with a force so insufficient; and in his opinion the voyage to Cyprus would be of no use except in case of one or other of two improbable events, either that they should be able to intimidate the Turk

by offering him battle, or that they should fall in with him at sea and surprise him when enfeebled or unprepared. He had nothing to advise but that the Venetians should immediately increase their strength by three thousand men, and he repeated his warning that his squadron must be in Sicily by the end of the month. To this document Colonna made a reply, also in writing, at once temperate and spirited. War, he argued, involved danger and damage; the risk was, after all, not so great, seeing that the fighting portion of the Turkish fleet was estimated at only one hundred and sixty-five galleys. Their orders were to co-operate with and assist the Venetians. The Venetians were eager for battle; and if they were ready to risk their large fleet manned as it was, it was not for the honour of the King that his admiral should refuse to risk his smaller and better-manned squadron; and, above all, the return to Europe of so large a Christian force without striking a blow would be a triumph to the Turk and a disgrace to Christendom.

These two papers seem to have been circulated amongst the officers who sat in the council, and a council was again summoned. Doria's opinion was overborne, and the fleet sailed on the 17th September for Cyprus. During the voyage Doria affected to assume an equality with his Commander-in-Chief by lighting at night three great lanthorns at the stern of his ship,—a grave infringement of discipline, which Colonna, determined not to quarrel, passed over in silence. On the 21st they were off the isle of Castelrosso, on the shore of Asia Minor. Here they were overtaken by a south-eastern gale, which drove the Papal and Venetian leaders into Camacco and other harbours, while Doria kept the sea, in order, as he said, to avoid the greater danger of an overcrowded haven, or, as the Venetians said, to take his chance of being blown homewards. On the night of the 21st Zanne received intelligence of the fall of Nicosia. It had succumbed to the overwhelming force of Mustafa on the 9th, not too late for relief had the allies, on their junction in Candia, instead of debating and reviewing, steered at once for Cyprus.

Thus far it seems fair to hold Doria responsible for the fate of the island. But this responsibility Zanne, for some unaccountable reason, now took upon his own shoulders. Instead of availing himself of the decision already taken, on which he and his allies were now acting, and leading the way alongside of the Turkish fleet, he desired that another council might be called, and announced to his colleagues, assembled in the Papal flagship

on the 22d, that the loss of the capital appeared to him to demand a change of plan. It was hopeless, he said, to recover Nicosia. Famagosta could be relieved and revictualled at any time, and he hoped therefore that his colleagues would join him in some enterprise against the territories of the Turk. It was proposed to attack Negropont, various places in the Morea, and various islands of the Archipelago. Doria thought all these points too near Constantinople and too far from Italy to be successfully attacked so late in the autumn. But he suggested Durazzo and Vallona in Dalmatia, and was willing to join in any enterprise against them. Zanne at once assented; Colonna considered himself bound to follow the wishes of the Venetian leader; and the fleet steered for the west.

They sailed on the evening of the 22d September. Dispersed by stormy weather, the three leaders met on the 25th in the harbour of Tristamo, in the island of Scarpanto. Here Doria, after a conference with his chief officers, sent one of them to beg the Commander-in-Chief to mediate between him and the Venetians, and obtain leave for him to return home. Although justly indignant, Colonna answered that he and Zanne desired to have Doria's aid in any enterprise that might be resolved upon, and that at least they hoped for his company as far as Zante, where, if he were still unwilling to stay, he might have leave to withdraw. Not content with this reasonable reply, Doria went on board Colonna's flagship to urge his request, and was by him taken on board the flagship of the Venetian admiral. Several officers were present at the meeting of the three chiefs. Their conference was long and somewhat stormy, and closed with a scene which forcibly illustrated the unpleasant relations between the Spanish leader and his colleagues. Neither Doria nor Zanne could succeed in convincing the other that his own views were just, and each endeavoured to enlist the aid of Colonna. Colonna supported the Venetian, and at last said to Doria: "If I order you "to remain, will you remain?" Doria made answer: "If it "would not do harm to His Majesty's service, if I had a right to "do as I pleased, if it were not a mere trifle whether I accom- "panied those who are quite able to go alone, and if you had the "powers of Don John of Austria, then I would obey." Colonna rejoined that he possessed for present purposes all the power of the admiral of Spain, and that in Don John's absence he had equal right to command. "You know, sir," he added, "that you "have orders to follow my flag." Doria sought to engage him in

argument as to the nature and extent of his powers, and the dispute grew warm. At last Colonna said: "You have seen my "orders from the King; if you have contrary orders, show them." Doria made an evasive reply, not choosing to produce the secret authority under which he was doubtless acting. "I know His "Majesty's orders," he said, "and I know that I am sole com- "mander of the royal fleet, as my lieutenants Cardona and Santa "Cruz will tell you." "I am quite content," returned Colonna, "to command your Excellency, and the others through you; but "if you wish to call for other evidence, send for the Marquess of "Torremaggiore, and let him say what were the orders he re- "ceived from the Viceroy of Naples." Torremaggiore was a captain of infantry serving on board the Spanish squadron. Don Carlos Davalos, another captain of the same troops, thinking himself slighted by this appeal to an absent brother-officer of the same rank, here rudely interposed, saying: "I too command the "royal troops, and I have had no orders to obey any one but "Signor Gianandrea." Nettled by this insolence from a sub- ordinate and a cousin, Colonna told him that he had commanded better men than he. "Never," cried Davalos, springing to his feet. Doria here placed himself between the two angry relatives, and, turning on Davalos, said: "If you obey me, be silent and "begone." The young man bowed to his chief and withdrew; Colonna, who seemed to have already regretted his warmth, calling after him in a friendly tone: "I wonder, Don Carlos, you "can speak with so little respect to an elder brother." But the incident had filled up the measure of the Papal admiral's en- durance. When Doria resumed the argument by which he hoped to extract from Colonna and Zanne permission to depart, Colonna cut the matter short by declaring, in the presence of the assembled officers, that from that day forth he would meddle no more in the concerns of the King's squadron, and that its chief might go or stay as he pleased. Zanne, who had no power to refuse, said nothing. Colonna's last act of authority over the Spanish armament was a note addressed that afternoon to Doria, in which he requested him to place Davalos in arrest for his improper language, until the King's pleasure should be known.

Doria took his leave of the Venetian flagship with a profusion of salutations and courtesies, apparently pleased with his success in gaining his point. Amongst his own officers he was heard to say: "Marc Antonio thought to do himself honour in Cyprus at "my expense, but he was mistaken." Next day, the 27th

September, he sailed for Candia, where, in spite of his impatience to return home, he remained for five days, taking in a cargo of choice wines ere he steered for Messina.

The Roman and Venetian admirals sailed in company to Candia, touching at Sitia and Canea. Thence Colonna returned to Italy, while Zanne proceeded to Cyprus and reinforced Famagosta with fifteen hundred men.

The close of this ignoble and fruitless expedition was disastrous to all concerned. Doria lost four galleys in a storm before he reached Sicily. Zanne lost thirteen of his vessels on the voyage from Cyprus to Corfu. Recalled from his command, he was subjected to a State prosecution, in the midst of which, two years afterwards, he died. Of the Papal squadron, in its passage to Corfu, two galleys went to the bottom. Shortly afterwards, at Cattaro, the flagship was struck with lightning, took fire, and blew up; the crew, however, being saved, and Colonna carrying off his papers and flag. On his way to Ragusa he was again wrecked, and narrowly escaped capture by a troop of Turkish horse. Leaving his shattered force at Ancona, he hastened to Rome, where, in spite of all disasters and disappointments, he was received with the joy which usually awaits a conqueror.

At Venice the inglorious return of the combined fleet from a cruise from which so much had been expected caused universal discontent and dismay. Angry with her own admiral, the Republic was still more angry with the Spanish leader. A new alliance with the Pope and the House of Austria had led to the old result, humiliation for the banner of St. Mark and a fresh betrayal of the common cause by the hands of another Doria. The new treachery at Castelrosso was worse than the old treason at Prevesa, for the escape of Barbarossa's fleet, important as it was, was less grave than the prolonged peril and possible loss of Cyprus. Men began to think and to say that it would be better to trust to the mercy of the Turk than the help of the Catholic King.

At Rome also Doria was generally condemned. Colonna, in sending to the King of Spain the papers which had passed at Sitia between the Spanish leader and himself, had the courage to write that he differed with His Majesty's admiral on two points, inasmuch as he had held, and continued to hold, that it was impossible for the King to have issued contradictory instructions, and that it was of no less importance to his service to maintain the reputation than to take care of the galleys of the royal fleet. The Pope was loud in his condemnation of Doria's disobedience,

of which he complained both in writing to Philip II. and by verbal instructions conveyed through Pompeo Colonna, the lieutenant of Marc Antonio, who was sent to Madrid during the winter. Doria despatched Marcello Doria to the Vatican to offer explanations, but Pius refused to hear or even to see him. Few even of the representatives or partisans of Spain at the pontifical court ventured to defend Doria. Cardinal Pacheco himself said that the King would never be well served at sea so long as his fleet was commanded by a shipowner; for how could the owner of galleys, upon which his bread depended, be expected to destroy the Turkish navy?

Spanish contemporary writers, unable to defend, seek to suppress or slur over those acts of Doria which the Italians denounce. By them the unsatisfactory issue of the cruise of the fleet is imputed, with convenient vagueness, to conflicting counsels instead of the true cause, the determination of Doria neither to obey his chief nor to yield to the opinion of his colleagues. Later Spanish historians have been more candid in admitting the fact; but they excuse Doria, as he would have excused himself, by pleading the orders of the King. If Philip II. did not in set terms instruct Doria to thwart, as far as possible, the policy, and procrastinate the action of his colleagues, and to take care that his fleet should do Venice no good and the Turk no harm, he certainly evinced no disapproval of these results. Doria was neither removed from his command, nor rebuked, nor treated with the least coldness or disfavour; and Davalos not only escaped without reprimand, but received promotion in the following year.[1]

At the close of the disastrous year 1570, it was well for Venice that her quarrel with the Porte, and the progress of the struggle between them, had engaged the serious attention of a neighbouring Prince, more sagacious, or at least more helpful in his views and schemes, than the eloquent Doge and the counsellors who surrounded the Ducal chair. That friend in need was the Pope, whom we have already seen interesting himself in the affairs of the Republic, and obtaining for her from Philip II. assistance which had not been conceded to her own importunities. As author of the Christian League, the chief doings of which belong to this history, the life and character of this Pontiff here deserve examination.

[1] The cruise of the combined fleets in 1570 is very fully related by Guglielmotti (pp. 56, 100), with citations from original documents, several of which will be found in the *Appendices* to Sereno.

As promoter of the alliance which, in 1571, became famous as the Holy League, and by his own personal character, Pius V. is one of the most memorable of the Popes of the sixteenth century. Had he attained the tiara fifty years earlier, it is possible that he might have greatly changed the aspect of the subsequent history of the struggle between Rome and the Reformation. The Reformation owed its popular character as much

perhaps to the Popes who at first despised, neglected, and misunderstood it, and at last, when it was too late, learned to fear and vainly endeavoured to crush it, as to the holy enthusiasm, the enlightened patriotism, and the selfish policy, which combined to steer and protect its course. The polite and scholarly Leo, busy with his architects and his librarians, his huntsmen and his falconers, regarded the movement with the contempt with which he might have glanced at a street brawl from a window of the

Quirinal. In the early struggles of Luther the ascetic Pius would have at once recognised not only wrongs to be redressed, but a kindred spirit to be enlisted; and, fighting under the banner of the reforming Pontiff against ecclesiastical abuses, the stout Saxon monk might have spent in the service of the Church those energies which the blind policy of Rome drove at last to that nobler battlefield where the Church was vanquished and thought set free.

Michael Ghislieri, or Pius V., was now in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and had filled the pontifical throne for about five years. Born of an ancient but decayed family, at Bosco in the Milanese, he assisted his father, a corn-dealer, in that calling, and followed the mules that carried the grain of Lombardy across the Ligurian Alps to the marts of the Mediterranean. While thus employed, he attracted the notice of some Dominican monks, who engaged him at the age of fourteen to serve in their sacristy. From this humble beginning he rose to the habit of St. Dominic in the convent at Voghera, to great scholastic distinction in the seminary of Vigevano, to professorial chairs in the universities of Bologna and Pavia, and to the dignity of Prior of various Dominican houses in Lombardy. In these positions his force of character made itself strongly felt by all who came within the sphere of its influence. When he was Prior of Alva, war and famine were desolating Northern Italy, and his convent was one day beset by three hundred hungry soldiers demanding bread and threatening pillage. The Prior came to the gate and told them that he knew their necessities, and that if they would be peaceable and orderly, they should be furnished with both food and shelter. The offer was accepted; and the Prior obtained so complete a control over his military guests, that they conformed themselves to his will, protected the house from the insults of other bands, and, after some weeks' stay, departed, leaving behind them an offering in acknowledgment of the hospitality of St. Dominic. Alonso de Avalos, Marquess of Vasto, chose him for his confessor; and the Inquisition, enlisting him under its banner, appointed him Inquisitor of Como. In this office the nobleness and chivalry of the man gave a certain dignity to his debasing calling. Friar Michael was ever ready for the post of difficulty and danger, to track out heresy in the hostile valleys of the Grisons, to test the orthodoxy of the high-born Prelate in his own episcopal halls, or to maintain the prerogatives of the Holy Office against municipal power or popular indignation. His courage and conduct in difficult and

dangerous duties attracted the notice of the Court of Rome. The friendship of Cardinal Caraffa ensured his elevation to the purple, when that fierce Inquisitor himself attained the Papal throne. He was also made Supreme Inquisitor and invested with some extraordinary powers, which have never since been conferred. In the next reign, in spite of the disgrace of the Caraffas, he maintained his credit. As Cardinal, he not only refused to use his influence for the promotion of his relatives, but in the presence of the whole college he uttered a manly protest against the proposal of Pius IV. to confer the purple upon two young Princes of the Houses of Gonzaga and Medici in violation of a recent canon of the Council of Trent. Transported with rage at this rebuke, which was administered at the pontifical table, the Pope bade him be silent, calling him a low and ignorant friar; but some of the cardinals long remembered that, amongst many noble and princely churchmen, a poor friar alone had had the courage to defend the honour of the college and the Church. On the death of Pius IV. Ghislieri was placed in the Chair of St. Peter.

There he continued to fulfil, with energy which appeared to increase with increased cares and decaying health, the functions of an Inquisitor. To search out and reform abuses in the Church, and to check the career of Lutheran heresy and Turkish conquest, were the aims of his policy and his life.[1] Ecclesiastics of a kindred spirit were sure of his protection and support. Over the ill-fated Archbishop Carranza of Toledo, one of the few Prelates who sought to adhere to the reforms of the Council of Trent, and on that account was branded by ingenious malice with suspicion of heresy, he at once threw his shield; and had he lived he would have cut short the cruel persecution which the Spanish Primate endured from the hate of corrupt rivals and the timidity of his feeble sovereign. In Pius V. the Protestants of the north soon recognised their most dangerous foe and the soul of the political combinations against them. He sent three thousand troops to France to fight against the Huguenots; nor was it unreasonable that it should have been over the banner emblazoned with his keys that the Huguenot horsemen at Moncontour descried the

[1] Reflexions on a bull of Pius V. condemning one Baius constituted one of the faults in the *Augustinus* of Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, which aroused the Jesuits against his once celebrated propositions, and produced the condemnation of them by Innocent X. Hallam characterises Pius V. as "a man too zealous by character to regard prudence," and recommends the history of Jansenism as told in the *Bibliotheque Universelle*, xiv. pp. 139-398 (probably by Le Clerc?). Hallam: *Hist. of the Literature of Europe*, London, 1860, 4 vols., iv. pp. 29-30.

phantom warriors in the air, brandishing bloody swords and presaging victory to the Catholic arms. He pursued these objects with a self-devotion which commands the highest admiration, and with a ferocity of zeal at which humanity shudders.

As sovereign Pontiff, Pius V., like other Popes of strong character, desired to reassert the political powers of the keys; and, as an Italian Prince, he chafed against the great predominance of Spain, which paralysed the national life of all the Italian States except Venice. It seems to have been under the influence of these feelings that he conferred upon Cosimo I. Duke of Florence, the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany, sending him at the same time a crown bearing an inscription which said that the gift was bestowed on account of Cosimo's love and zeal for the Catholic religion and of his remarkable care for justice. The crown was designed and the legend was written by the Pope's own hand.[1] The Duke's zeal for religion had been evinced by the creation of an order of knighthood, that of St. Stephen, to fight the Turk by sea; his care for justice, by his alacrity in surrendering victims claimed by the Inquisition. This Grand-Ducal title gave a great deal of trouble to both Pope and Duke. The other Italian Dukes, especially those of Savoy and Ferrara, protested against the Medici being placed in rank before their own old and princely houses; the King of Spain was displeased that his vassal of Florence should be aggrandized without permission having been obtained at Madrid; the Emperor alleged that the creation was an infringement of the rights of the Holy Roman Empire; and the recognition of the title, at first generally refused by the other Courts and Princes, was for several years a bone of contention between the Courts of Rome and Florence and the rest of Europe.

In Pius V. we may perhaps find one of the best specimens which history affords of that terrible creature, a perfect priest, a man seriously believing himself invested with mysterious power from above, resigned, in all singleness of heart, to follow the behests of his religion wherever they may lead, and ready actually to do that which most of its votaries are content merely to say ought to be done. Seldom has a better nature been marred by the evil touch of fanaticism. Brave, just, and gentle, he might as

[1] G. Catena: *Vita di Pio V.*, p. 132. The inscription was PIVS V . PONT . MAX. OB EXIMIAM DILECTIONEM AC CATHOLICÆ RELIGIONIS ZELVM PRÆCIPVVM . Q . IVSTITIÆ STVDIVM DONAVIT. A woodcut of the crown, which consisted of a golden circlet with the above inscription, from which rose twelve rays and two Florentine lilies, will be found in Aldo Mannucci: *Vita di Cosimo de' Medici primo G. D. di Toscana*, Bologna, 1586, sm. fol. p. 156.

a layman have led a life wholly blameless and beneficent. Even as a churchman he remained unspotted from the world of corruption wherein he dwelt and, as Pope, for six years bore chief rule. His dealings with the property and patronage of the Roman See contrasted strangely with the shameless nepotism of other Pontiffs and of his immediate predecessor. On a sister's grandson, once a tailor's runaway apprentice, he, no doubt, bestowed a red hat; but the provision made for the youth was modest indeed compared with the splendid endowments which generally fell to Papal nephews.[1] In the service of God and the Church, of course, Pius shrank from no atrocity and no absurdity. He praised and rewarded the massacres of Alba; he was an active member of the Ridolfi conspiracy against the life of Queen Elizabeth; and he was ready, as he wrote to Philip II.,[2] to give his last shirt and last chalice to compass her assassination. He forbade medical aid to be given to those of his sick soldiers who had neglected their religious duties, although on their bodily vigour in some measure depended their efficient slaughter of Huguenots. But his career affords no evidence that he ever stooped to that which he himself believed to be base. In the service of his religion he did much wrong; but he was at all times ready to die for that which his conscience, such as his religion had made it, told him was right. While other Popes, superior to him in intellectual ability and political skill, were absorbed in the aggrandizement of nephews, or at best of the papacy, Pius V. conceived a nobler policy, and, looking beyond the Italian peninsula and the Roman Church, laboured for what he believed to be the interests of Christianity and civilization.

When it was seen that war was imminent between Venice and the Turk, the Pope determined to seize the opportunity, so long desired, of forming a Christian League against the infidel. The Venetians were assured of all the aid that he could give, as soon as they asked for it. He had no navy; but he offered to fit out and man and maintain twelve galleys, if they would furnish him with the vessels. He promised to second their appeals for assistance to the courts of Europe; and in his own name he invited all the Catholic powers to join a confederation, with himself at its head. For the reasons already given to Venice, all of these sovereigns declined except the King of Spain. From him Pius

[1] *Relatione de Roma in tempo di Pio IV. e Pio V. di* Paolo Tiepolo in *Li Tesori della Corte di Roma*, Bruxelles, 1672, 12mo, p. 52.

[2] Gachard: *Corr. de Philippe II.*, ii. p. 185, No. 1038.

obtained a hesitating and reluctant consent to send plenipotentiaries to confer at Rome with those of Venice and the Holy See. The interests of Venice were entrusted to her ordinary ambassador, Michele Suriano, with whom was afterwards conjoined Giovanni Soranzo. Philip II. was represented by his ambassador Don Juan de Zuñiga, Cardinal Granvelle, and Cardinal Pacheco, Archbishop of Burgos.[1] To treat with these statesmen Pius V. named no less than seven Cardinals—Alessandrino[2] his own nephew, Morone,[3] Aldobrandini,[4] Rusticucci,[5] Cesi,[6] Santacroce,[7] and Grassi,[8] the place of the last, who died during the negotiations, being supplied by Cardinal Chiesa.[9]

These personages assembled at Rome in June 1570. On the 1st of July the Pope received them in solemn audience, and addressed to them a speech, in which he urged them to arrange as speedily as possible the terms of a Christian alliance against the enemy who was menacing all Christendom. After a dutiful reply, the ministers retired to hold their first conference at the house of Cardinal Alessandrino.

The Spaniards, from the outset, began to suggest difficulties

[1] Francisco Pacheco y Toledo, son of the Marquess of Cerralvo, was born at Ciudad Rodrigo. He went to Italy with his uncle, Cardinal Pedro Pacheco, and was employed by the Duke of Alba in the negotiations for peace after the war between Philippe II. and Paul IV. in 1556. In 1560 he was made a Cardinal by Pius IV., and in 1567 he was appointed to the See of Burgos, of which he was the first Archbishop. He died at Burgos in 1579.

[2] Michele Bonelli, son of Gardina Ghislieri, sister of Pius V., born at Bosco near Tortona in the Milanese in 1541. He began life as apprentice to a tailor, but, like his uncle, he soon entered the Dominican order, and was made Bishop of Alba, and Cardinal in 1566, assuming his uncle's old Cardinal's title of Alessandrino from the district of Alessandria, in which Bosco lies. He was chief minister to Pius V., and his nuncio to various courts, and he died in April 1598.

[3] Giovanni Morone, Milanese, born 1509, made Bishop of Modena by Clement VII., a Cardinal by Paul III. in 1548, President of the Council of Trent by Pius IV. in 1563, and much employed in foreign missions. He died in 1580.

[4] Giovanni Aldobrandini, a Florentine, made Bishop of Imola in 1569, and Cardinal in 1570 by Pius V. He died in September 1573.

[5] Hieronimo Rusticucci, born 1537 at Fano, long private secretary to Pius V. when a Cardinal, and afterwards made by him Cardinal and Bishop of Sinigaglia. He died 14th June 1604.

[6] Pietro Donato Cesi, a Roman, born 1522, made Governor of Ravenna by Paul III., Vice-Legate of Bologna by Pius IV., Cardinal by Pius V. in 1570, and died 1586.

[7] Prospero Santacroce, a Roman, born 1523, was a jurist of considerable learning, sent as nuncio by Paul III. to Ferdinand, King of the Romans, and to Spain and Portugal by Pius IV., who made him a Cardinal in 1565. He died in 1589.

[8] Carlo Grassi, a Bolognese, born 1519, chamberlain to Julius III., who made him Bishop of Corneto. By Pius V. he was made Governor of Rome, and Cardinal in 1570. He died 23d March 1571.

[9] Giovanni Paolo Chiesa, born at Tortona 1521, a learned jurist, and long a practising lawyer. Sent by the municipality of Milan to plead its cause against the Archbishop Carlo Borromeo before Pius V., he attracted the Pope's notice, and was made Apostolic Prothonotary, and, in 1568, Cardinal. He died 9th January 1575.

and interpose delay. Granvelle, who was their spokesman, asked for some petition or proposal on the part of the Republic, as the power most interested in the war, that he and his colleagues might consider it, and lay it before the King. Suriano replied that Venice did not appear there as a suppliant, and that he had nothing to ask beyond that which had already been asked by the Pope. Appealing to the seven Cardinals, he inquired why they might not adopt the chief points of the League of 1537, formed against the late Sultan, between Charles V., Pius III., and the Republic, and leaving the details to be adjusted afterwards, announce, as the ministers of that day announced at the end of their first day's sitting, the formation of the alliance? They were agreed on the main point, resistance to the Turk, and they ought not to waste in useless debate the time which was required for preparing and organizing that resistance. Cardinal Pacheco, on the part of Spain, seemed favourably inclined to Suriano's proposal, but Granvelle overruled him. The year 1570, he argued, was not 1537; times had changed, and the facts of the two cases were different; they had not met to-day as their predecessors had met, with a clear understanding as to certain vital matters. Besides, there was no need for haste. The naval forces of the Pope, the Republic, and the King, were already strong enough to maintain an attitude of defence; and before next year's campaign there was ample time to consider whether and when, and on what conditions, it would be advisable to assume the offensive. Suriano observed that whatever they might do, the Turk would assuredly not defer his offensive operations till next year; even now his fleet was approaching Cyprus, and perhaps his troops were already before its capital. Was it reasonable to stand by and do nothing when possessions of the Republic were attacked, and when, on account of the magnitude of the Sultan's armaments now concentrated at Cyprus, his own territories lay at the mercy of any invader?

The question thus raised was referred to the Pope, who sent down to the conference, at its next meeting on the 3d of July, the heads of a treaty sketched by himself. Had the Spaniards been as anxious as were Pius and the Venetians to bring the affair to a conclusion, a treaty might have been made in a few days. But Philip II. thought he had done quite enough in promising Venice the co-operation of his Italian fleet; and he now, as ever, chiefly desired to avoid a conclusion, and, as he called it, to gain time; or, as the Venetians said, to waste a year.

So zealous was Granvelle in pursuing this great object, that all concerned said he had a personal ill-will to the scheme of a league. If one of his questions was answered or set aside, he had two more ready to ask. Through the summer, through the autumn, and through the winter, the conferences dragged their slow length along, and the spring of 1571 found the Roman and Venetian plenipotentiaries still languidly seated round their table, affecting to remove the objections, solve the doubts, and weigh the scruples of the most hesitating and scrupulous of cardinals. Was the League to be perpetual or temporary? If temporary, of what duration? for ten years or for twelve? Was it to be against the Turk alone, or against the Turk and the Moors, or against all infidels whatsoever? If not against all infidels, might the Shah of Persia join it? Might it not be offensive against the Moors, defensive against the Turk? Could it be concluded without the participation of the Emperor, of each of the Catholic powers, named one after another? Might the Republic of Ragusa stand neuter? What were to be the forces contributed by each confederation? How were the common expenses, the conquests, the booty, to be apportioned? Supposing one of the confederates to quit the League and make a separate peace with the common enemy, ought that treaty to provide that the seceder should be punished by Papal excommunication? These were a few of the questions which were proposed by Granvelle, and discussed at great length, and over and over again. The points upon which the Spaniards insisted most strongly, and against which the Venetians stood out most inflexibly, were, that the League should be offensive against the Moors of Barbary, and only defensive against the Turk, and that seceders should be excommunicated. More than once Suriano and Soranzo signified their intention of withdrawing from the conferences if these points were not given up. The Pope supported them in their opposition; he insisted upon attacking the Turk, and he did not insist on striking the seceder from the alliance with his spiritual thunderbolts; and so the negotiation continued to creep on, to the vexation of Pius, the despair of Venice, and the satisfaction of the jealous procrastinating King.

The unrevenged fall of Nicosia, and the wretched result of the cruise of the allied fleet, deeply affected Pius V. He saw that his favourite scheme of a Holy League, more important than it had ever been to the welfare of menaced Christendom, must either be accomplished in the next spring or altogether abandoned.

He saw that Venice, unless earnestly and effectually supported by the Christian powers, must and would make what terms she could with the victorious Turk. The favourable disposition towards the Republic attributed to the Grand Vizier gave her the hope of obtaining a peace at least as tolerable as she was likely to gain by the force of her arms, even with the aid of lukewarm allies. The Vizier might have his way, and grant peace, or the janissaries of Mustafa might succeed in crushing Bragadino and his gallant band at Famagosta; but in either case the end of the war seemed inevitable. The Republic would then have little interest in renewing a struggle in which she might again be left to fight single-handed, and she would probably not be altogether displeased to see the King of Spain alone bearing the brunt of the fleets and armies of the Turk. In the winter of 1570-71, therefore, the Pope instructed his ministers to urge once more upon the sovereigns of Europe, with all the weight of his pontifical authority, the necessity of forming a Christian League.

He himself used all his personal influence to quicken the proceedings of the conference which had been sitting from time to time since July, endeavouring to frame the conditions of the proposed confederation. The points discussed have been already indicated. Those who argued with so much keenness the merest preliminary questions were not likely to pass lightly over the chief practical details. The division of the expenses of the League was a point long debated; and it was with great difficulty that the representatives of the Republic were induced to consent to undertake one-third of the whole, instead of one-fourth as they originally proposed. The right of naming the Captain-General of the League was also keenly contested between the Republic and the King. The Venetians claimed it in virtue of their great influence in the Levant, especially with the Greek population, and of the personal influence and naval skill and experience of their commanders. The Spanish commissioners urged the dignity of their master, the princely rank of the commander whom he had appointed, and the King's munificence in engaging to defray half the cost of the expeditions. The Papal representatives made no claim for the Papal admiral, warned by the experience of last year, that the leader of the smallest contingent could hardly wield with efficient authority the chief command. To the Pope himself, therefore, the question was referred for final decision. He accordingly at first nominated Don John of Austria to the command of the fleets of the League, and the Duke of Savoy to

the command of its land forces; but, as it appeared possible that the ancient pretensions of the House of Savoy to the Crown of Cyprus might occasion differences and difficulties, he finally declared Don John supreme on both elements. The second place was not awarded without some discussion. The Spaniards claimed the right of appointing to it for Don John, a claim which the Venetians strongly resisted, fearing that Giovanni Andrea Doria would be selected for the post. Don Luis de Requesens was then proposed by the Spaniards; but the Pope now preferred his own claim to nominate, and was finally permitted to appoint Marc Antonio Colonna, his own admiral, to the second command.

After eight months of intermittent labour, the conferences were closed and the treaty of the Holy League was declared to be finished. Even the copious Granvelle had come to an end of his objections and his questions. The 7th of March, being the feast of St. Thomas Aquinas, and the great Dominican convent of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, were chosen by the Dominican Pope as the time and place of its publication. After a splendid mass in the noble church, which was filled with all that was illustrious in Rome, Pius withdrew with the commissioners of the treaty to another apartment, where the paper was to be solemnly read, and then signed and sealed. The cardinal-datary had read the preamble, and had gone into the first article as far as the date 1571, when, to the astonishment of the whole society, he was interrupted by Granvelle. "It is impossible," said the Spanish plenipotentiary, "to do in this current year all that is provided in "the treaty. It is now the 7th of March, and by the third article "we are bound to have our fleets at Messina by the end of this "month. We must either alter 1571 into 1572, or by a new "article meet the circumstances of the present year." Various brief remarks having been made, Granvelle was asked what were the new provisions which he proposed to insert. He thereupon drew forth and read a paper containing the draft of a fresh article. It was mainly to this effect, that it being impossible to comply, in this year, with the conditions prescribed in the third article, and yet most necessary to act against the Turk with the utmost vigour, the King, on his part, would engage to have from seventy to eighty galleys ready at Messina, at latest by the end of May, while the Venetians, on theirs, would fit out the greatest number of galleys that their resources permitted, in order to raise the entire number to two hundred and fifty; and that, in the settlement of the accounts, whatever sum should be found owing by the

King to the Venetians, should be payable either in money or in other values, as persons, victuals, or munitions. Here three points were raised: two upon which the past debates had largely turned —time, and the amount of contingent; and a third—the liquidation of debt, not touched on in the treaty, and capable, in jealous and dexterous hands, of furnishing material for weeks of further discussion. The Pope, one of the most testy of saints, had now lost all patience. He turned fiercely upon Granvelle, and ordered him to leave his presence. The rest of the company looked at each other in silent confusion. The Venetians asserted the ability and intention of their Government to fulfil the treaty as it stood, and they protested against the proposed addition. The Spaniards, on the contrary, were sure their King's forces could not be ready, and that offensive operations against the Turk were during this year impossible. The Venetians maintained that it was already agreed that the Turk should be attacked. Both insisted that the treaty should be signed, but the Spaniards would sign it only with the new article, and the Venetians would sign it only without it. Some of the plenipotentiaries rose from their seats and took each other aside, or left the room for private conference and came back: but neither party would give way. The Venetians said they could not sanction the admission of new matters of so much importance without special orders from home. The treaty remained unsigned, and the meeting broke up in the belief that eight months' labour had been thrown away. The Pontiff had come forth in the morning rejoicing, to put the last touch to this great work of his reign, the Holy League. As he drove home to the Vatican, the people in the streets observed that his fierce little eyes were red with weeping.

In the spring of 1571 he sent Marc Antonio Colonna to Venice to inform the Doge and Senate that if they would cordially co-operate with him in this pious scheme, he would concede certain boons regarding ecclesiastical rights and revenues for which the Republic had long been suing in vain at the footstool of St. Peter. Colonna was heard in the Senate in favour of the proposals of the Pontiff, which were finally accepted, though not without the opposition of a respectable minority, of which the leaders advocated negotiation with the Turk, and bade the assembly beware lest Spanish perfidy, sloth, and ambition, should bring upon the Republic disasters as great as those which followed the last abortive confederation against Solyman.[1] The Venetian ambassador

[1] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, pp. 91-104.

at Rome was therefore instructed to treat with the representatives of the assenting powers for the formation of a League.

Don Luis de Torres, a Spanish Prelate of the pontifical chamber, and an acute negotiator, was despatched to Spain, on the part of Pius, to offer assurances of similar liberality to Philip II., to imbue his mind with the desires and feelings of the Pope, and to gain over his ministers to the Papal policy. Torres found the King much better disposed than formerly to that policy, and more keenly alive to the great danger and heavy cost to which he would himself be exposed were Venice compelled, for want of allies, to make an ignominious peace with the Turk. Philip therefore issued instructions which opened the ports and marts of both the Sicilies to the Venetian dealers in corn ; and he referred the final adjustment, on his behalf, of a Christian League, to his ambassador at the Papal Court and two Spanish Cardinals.[1] Torres then went to Portugal on a similar mission, but with a less satisfactory result.

Pius had foreseen with perfect accuracy the policy of Venice as regarded peace or war with Turkey. The Doge and Senate put little faith in Christian Princes, and they knew that the Grand Vizier, Mahomet Sokolli, earnestly desired peace. That minister had not grown less averse to the war, undertaken upon the advice of his rivals, because it had been hitherto crowned with success. As the favourite of the Sultan, he had no desire to see fresh laurels upon the brows of the conqueror of Nicosia, and as a faithful servant of the Ottoman House he still less desired to hazard acquisitions already gained on the chances of war with a formidable league of the Christian powers. He had considerable confidence in the envoy of Venice, Antonio Barbaro, who, according to the diplomatic system of the Porte, was detained a prisoner while the Republic was at war with the Sultan. With Barbaro he entered into correspondence about the merchants of the two countries detained in the dominions of each respectively ; and, in expressing his wish that a special emissary should be sent to treat for the exchange of these persons, he hinted that if the envoy were also empowered to sue for peace, reasonable terms might perhaps be obtained. Barbaro's communication to the Senate was brought from Constantinople by two confidential servants of the Grand Vizier's household.

[1] The despatch of Monsignor Don Luis de Torres to Cardinal Alessandrino, dated Seville, 16th May 1571, and giving an account of his mission, will be found in the *Lettere di Principe*, 3 vols. 4to, Venetia, 1851, iii. pp. 244-247.

Upon this hint Jacopo Ragazzoni was despatched from Venice on the 11th of March; on the 26th he landed at Ragusa, where a Turkish guide met him, and from whence, taking horse, he arrived on the 26th of April at Constantinople. He was compelled to enter the city in the gray of the morning, and he and his people were kept close prisoners in the lodging provided for them; but they were otherwise treated with kindness and consideration. By the Grand Vizier he was received with great affability. Mahomet made no secret of his dislike to the war, and he expressed his regret that the Doge and Senate had not taken his advice and surrendered Cyprus upon the first summons, and still more that they should have written a letter to the Sultan with a curtailment of his usual titles, an indignity which he said His Majesty would never forgive. He seemed to expect that Ragazzoni would at once enter upon the negotiations for the exchange of prisoners and for peace without reference to the incarcerated minister; and it was only upon the envoy's positive refusal to treat without free personal communication with Barbaro, to whom alone he was accredited, that Mahomet consented that they should see each other. Ragazzoni was accordingly put under the charge of Ibrahim Bey, an Italian renegade of noble blood noted for his enmity to the Christian name, who assisted the Grand Vizier in the conduct of foreign affairs, and who now conducted the stranger to Barbaro's quarters at Pera. As they crossed the Golden Horn the Turk pointed out the long array of galleys preparing for sea, saying that they were about to proceed against Venice. "They "will be well met," replied the Venetian. From the 7th of May to the 10th of June the two Christians, the Vizier, and Ibrahim were closely engaged in negotiations. The business which gave rise to them, the exchange of prisoners and the treatment of trade during war, was disposed of with little difficulty or delay, excepting what was interposed, as the Venetians believed, by some meddling Jews who possessed influence in the Seraglio and were no friends to the Grand Vizier. It was agreed that the persons and property of all subjects of each nation trading in the territories of the other should be mutually set at liberty, and thenceforth be respected; that these traders should be allowed to return home or continue their business abroad at their own choice; and that the Turks who desired to quit Venice should be conveyed with their goods to Zara. But towards peace no advance was made. The Pasha demanded the unconditional surrender of Cyprus; Barbaro and Ragazzoni required its restitution.

Mahomet at first replied that even if the Sultan did restore it, it would be of little value to the Republic, the island having lost no less than eighty thousand of its people. His ultimate concession was that the garrison of Famagosta and the Christian inhabitants should be free to go whither they pleased with their arms and effects. The Venetians hinted that their Government might perhaps be disposed to cede Cyprus for a large portion of territory on the coast of Dalmatia; but to this proposal the Turk would not listen, saying the thing was impossible. In vain they assured him and Ibrahim of magnificent presents from the Republic if peace were obtained without the loss of Cyprus, and bade them observe that, in prolonging the war, the Sultan would have to encounter the combined fleets of Christendom. "Peace is better for "you," replied Mahomet, "than war. You cannot cope with the "Sultan, who will take from you not Cyprus alone, but other de- "pendencies. As for your Christian League, we know full well how "little love the Christian Princes bear you. Put no trust in them. "If you would but hold by the Sultan's robe you might do what "you please in Europe, and enjoy perpetual peace." With these warnings sounding in his ears, warnings which were approved by many of his most deeply-rooted convictions, Ragazzoni commenced on the 18th of June his homeward journey.

Before he reached Ragusa the Christian League had been proclaimed both at Rome and Venice. His task, which was a delicate one, had been performed to the satisfaction of the Senate. Six weeks being the usual time required for the conveyance of a letter from Constantinople to Venice, it had not been possible for him or Barbaro to receive replies to the despatches in which they narrated from time to time the progress of their negotiations. They received, indeed, letters informing them that Marc Antonio Colonna was at Venice on the part of the Pope, and that there, and at other courts, the Pontiff was using every exertion to procure the formation of the League. But for other political news they were dependent upon such precarious sources as Barbaro, acute and experienced, but a prisoner, could command. From these they learned that the Grand Vizier was under some apprehensions as to the policy of the Emperor Maximilian, and suspected that certain Imperial troops, moved towards the frontiers of Transylvania on the death of the Prince of that country, might be intended to march upon Hungary. Some months later, on reviewing the negotiations, Ragazzoni was of opinion that Mahomet had prolonged them until he had assured himself that

danger was to be feared neither on the side of Germany, in which he judged rightly, nor from a Christian League, in which he was mistaken, and until certain naval squadrons which he had despatched from the Bosphorus had reached their appointed stations off Cyprus, Candia, and the Ionian Islands.[1]

The unwearied efforts of Pius were at length crowned with success. The Holy League was publicly inaugurated at the Vatican on the 25th of May 1571. On that day he held a consistory in which the treaty was read by the datary of the church. Laying his hand upon his bosom, the Pontiff then swore to observe it, and his example was followed by the Cardinal-Bishop of Burgos, and Don Juan de Zuñiga, representatives of the King of Spain,[2] and Michele Suriano and Giovanni Soranzo, the ambassadors of Venice. Next day high mass and a splendid procession celebrated the completion of the Holy League, and its terms and conditions were formally promulgated to the world.

In substance these were the provisions of this famous treaty :—

The League was to be perpetual, not only against the Turks, but against Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli.

The forces of the League were to consist of two hundred galleys, one hundred vessels of war, fifty thousand infantry—Spanish, Italian, and German—four thousand five hundred light cavalry, and a fitting proportion of artillery and munitions.

These forces were to be ready every year in March, or at latest in April, to proceed to the Levant, or on any other expedition, according as might have been agreed upon by the representatives of the confederates, who were to meet every autumn in Rome to decide upon the enterprises of the year following.

In years in which no common enterprise should be undertaken, each of the confederates was to be at liberty to undertake any expedition against the Turks on his own account. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, were to be considered to be especially under the observation of the King of Spain, and the Gulf of Venice under that of the Republic; and in the event of either the King or the Republic undertaking an expedition, each of these powers was to have the right of calling upon the other to assist in it

[1] The interesting *Relazione* of his mission, written by Jacopo Ragazzoni, will be found in Eug. Alberi: *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, Serie III. vol. ii., 8vo, Firenze, 1844, p. 79.

[2] Cardinal Granvelle was absent at Naples, whither he had gone to replace the deceased Viceroy, Pedro Afan de Ribera, Duke of Alcalá.

with fifty galleys, provided the power, so called upon, was not at the time menaced by the Turk.

The confederates were bound reciprocally to defend each other's States from the attacks of the Turk, excepting the Pope, whose towns and territories were nevertheless to be defended by the forces both of the King and the Republic.

The expenses of the war were to be divided into six equal shares, of which the King was to defray three, the Republic two, and the Pope one. Of any surplus expenses, the King was to pay two-thirds and the Venetians one-third. The Venetians undertook to furnish twelve galleys to the Pope, who was to arm and maintain them, and provide a contingent of three thousand infantry.

Each confederate was to supply in larger proportion those materials of war which most abounded in his States, the excess of these to be taken as an equivalent for a smaller proportional contribution of others.

Each confederate was to be allowed to supply himself with corn, duty free, for the purposes of the League, at any port belonging to any of the other confederates.

In the conduct and administration of the war, each of the three Commanders-in-Chief was to have a voice, the execution of their plans being left to the Captain-General of the League. Don John of Austria was named Captain-General, and in his absence Marc Antonio Colonna, the Papal leader.

The Captain-General of the League was to use no personal banner, but only that of the League.

The Emperor Maximilian and the Kings of France and Portugal were to have it in their power to join the League, under conditions to be agreed upon; and the Pope was to use his influence with these sovereigns to obtain their co-operation.

The territory of Ragusa was not to be molested by the forces of the League, unless for some reason to be approved of by the Pope.

Any territories that might be acquired by the League were to be divided between the confederates according to the rules laid down in the League of 1537, excepting those in Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli, which should belong to the King of Spain. Other spoil was to be divided in the same proportions as the expenses of the League.

The Pope or his successor was to be the arbiter of any differences which might arise between the confederates.

No confederate was to make a truce, peace, or alliance with

the Turk without giving notice to all the rest, and obtaining their consent.[1]

It soon appeared that Venice and Spain differed widely as to the scope and objects of the League. The Republic conceived these objects to be, first, the recovery of Cyprus, and secondly, the infliction of some signal blow upon the naval power of the Sultan, and the setting of some limit to the extension of his territories. Within the rough gauntlet of the infidel foe, Venice well knew that there was a hand which, perhaps at no great distance of time, it would be her policy to grasp in friendship.

The King of Spain, on the other hand, held in the west of the Mediterranean the position which the Sultan held in the Levant. The permanent humiliation of the one monarch was the natural end and aim of the other. Without some hope of approaching this end, Philip II. would not have entered into a close alliance with the Doge and Senate whom he viewed with hatred and distrust. Granvelle therefore insisted that the League, instead of restricting itself to any specific object, should be a perpetual confederation against the enemies of the Christian name, and should be prepared to act at any moment, not only against the Sultan, but against the Shah of Persia in the east, or against the western Moors, who still looked with jealous and vindictive eyes to the snowy mountain-tops behind their beloved Granada. He even proposed that the contracting parties should bind themselves to the observance of the treaty, under the penalty of ecclesiastical censures; a proposal which the Venetians rejected with so much haughty displeasure, as to make it evident that persistence in it might put an abrupt end to the conferences. It is difficult to believe that so astute a negotiator as Granvelle can have made such propositions in good faith; that he who had seen so many precise and definite engagements broken could have seriously contemplated the permanent connexion of three independent powers for so vague a purpose; or that he did not know full well that, where the bond of common interest fails, treaties cease to bind.

The Republic entered the League with manifest reluctance. The treaty was not publicly promulgated at Venice until the 2d of July. On that day Don Diego de Guzman de Silva, the ambassador of the Catholic King, being a churchman, said mass

[1] This summary of the treaty has been taken from the account of it preserved by Marc Antonio Arroyo: *Relacion del Progresso de la S^ta^ Liga*, 4to, Milan, 1576, fol. 20-23.

at St. Mark's before the Doge and Senate. A grand procession of all the dignitaries of Church and State afterwards passed, like a stream of crimson and gold, around the beautiful piazza, which was richly tapestried from roof to pavement; and a herald proclaimed to the multitude "the perpetual league and confederacy, "made by the grace of God and the Virgin, and the means of "His Holiness the Pope, against the Turk." Whatever may have been the forebodings of some of the noble senators, the announcement was highly pleasing to the populace, who swelled with their shouts the roar of the cannon.[1] The Jews, from east and west, whose yellow turbans and red hats largely variegated the crowd, made haste to convey the ominous news to those who were sure to turn it to profit, their kinsmen in the Seraglio of the Sultan and the marts of the Levant.

The League was accepted by the Doge and Senate not so much on account of the advantages which it offered as because of the impossibility of concluding peace on reasonable terms with Sultan Selim. The hatred entertained towards Venice by that drunken despot had not been softened by the success of his arms. Eager for the renewal of active hostilities, he had not only overruled the pacific policy of his Grand Vizier, but he had removed Piali Pasha from the command of the fleet before Cyprus, because that leader had not attacked, in the past autumn, the harmless allied armament under Colonna. He would listen to no terms of peace but the surrender of Cyprus without compensation or condition. In early summer a great fleet, swelled by contingents from Tripoli, Alexandria, and Algiers, and amounting to two hundred and fifty sail, blockaded the devoted island, and sent out squadrons to carry fire and sword into the Venetian possessions in Candia, Cephalonia, and Zante. The agent of the Republic at Constantinople wrote to the Doge and Senate that no course was left but war, no possible issue but victory or destruction.

From the Courts of the King of Poland and the Emperor, the envoys sent no encouraging tidings. Sigismund's resources were already exhausted by war, and Maximilian was too busy in procuring the election of his son Rudolph as King of the Romans to turn his thoughts to the recovery of his Hungarian dominions from the Turk.

Charles IX. of France assured the Republic that he had done all in his power to dissuade his ally the Sultan from his aggressive

[1] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, p. 105.

policy towards her. He regretted that his domestic troubles and want of ships prevented him from rendering her any active assistance ; but he promised that he would join a confederacy against the Turk whenever he saw the Emperor and the other Christian powers combining, not for their private advantage, but for the honour and safety of Christendom.[1] The French monarch beheld the League with more uneasiness and jealousy than any of the other Princes who abstained from joining it. During the previous winter it had been the fashion for French statesmen at home and French ministers abroad to deride the scheme of the Pope, and to say that Spain and Venice were disputing about the command of an armament which never would be assembled.[2] Now that Pius had been successful in forming a League, ambassadors were sent from Paris to Rome and Constantinople, in hopes either of embroiling the confederates with each other, or of inducing the Sultan to dissolve their union by granting a reasonable peace. The ambassador to Selim was ordered to pass through Venice ; and his visit there, being calculated to excite suspicion at Madrid, was by no means well received by the Republic. It produced, however, no immediate result, beyond a popular jest about the King of France sending a soldier to the Pope and a bishop to the Sultan, as if he were going to fight the one or convert the other.[3]

[1] *Négociations de la France dans le Levant.* Edited by E. Charrière, 3 vols. 4to, Paris, 1848-53, iii. p. 198. [2] *Ibid.* iii. p. 143.

[3] Ferrante Caracciolo, Conte de Biccari : *I Commentarii della Guerra fatta coi Turchi da D. Giovanni d' Austria*, 4to, Fiorenza, 1581, p. 57.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE WAR OF THE HOLY LEAGUE; FROM MAY TO THE END OF AUGUST 1571.

POPE PIUS V. despatched his nephew, Cardinal Alessandrino, on a special mission to Spain and Portugal, when the conditions of the Holy League had been fully discussed at Rome, and the treaty itself appeared ripe for publication. The objects of this embassy were to urge Philip II. to use all diligence in preparing for the coming struggle with the Turk, and to make one more effort to obtain the co-operation of the young Don Sebastian. Travelling by land, and with all possible expedition, Alessandrino cut short as far as he could the ceremonious receptions which awaited him on the road. At Barcelona he was met by the Papal Nuncio, and on the part of the King by Don Hernando de Borja, brother of the Duke of Gandia; at Requena, the frontier of Castille, he found the Count of Olivares in attendance to present the royal compliments, and Don Luis de Cordoba those of Don John of Austria; and at Guadalajara similar greetings were offered by the Cardinal-Bishop Espinosa of Siguenza, and the learned Diego de Covarrubias, Bishop of Segovia. He arrived on the 14th of May at the Royal Dominican Convent of

Our Lady of Atocha, without the walls of Madrid, whence, to do due honour to the Cardinal-Legate, who was also a brother of their order, the friars came forth with cross and canopy, and singing the *Te Deum*. The next day the Prince of Eboli bade him welcome in the name of the King; and he was also visited by Don John of Austria, and by the young Archdukes Rudolph, Ernest, Wenceslaus, and Albert, who were receiving their education at the Court of Spain. Two days later he made his public entry into the capital. He was met at the convent by Don John of Austria, who took him in his coach to the town-gate, near the hospital of Anton-Martin, where, at a sumptuous altar erected for the purpose, the Cardinal halted to perform his devotions, and to witness a magnificent procession in honour of the day, the Feast of the Ascension. Don John meanwhile proceeded to the palace, where he mounted his horse and joined the King, who was setting forth, with his hundred noble archers and German and Spanish guards, to meet the Legate. On being informed of the approach of Philip, Alessandrino mounted a fine mule, with crimson housings, the gift of the town, and moved onwards with his train. Near the gate the King and Cardinal, both bare-headed, exchanged long and ceremonious greetings. They then entered the town together, Philip placing the Legate on his right hand. They were preceded by a long array of Grandees, the Constable and the Admiral of Castille, the Dukes of Infantado, Medina-celi, Osuna, and many others. Behind these rode Don John of Austria, alone, some thirty paces in front of the King. But it was noticed by the spectators that the young Prince, by accident or design, soon suffered the King and Cardinal to overtake him, and that during the rest of the way he rode at his brother's left hand, and joined freely in the conversation of his companions. Among the splendid figures of the long pageant which preceded and followed this principal group—great officers of State, ambassadors, grandees, prelates, soldiers, and priests and friars of all degrees and orders—the standard of the Church towered conspicuous. It was carried before the Cardinal by a prothonotary in purple, supported by four men in the livery of Alessandrino bearing tall blue lances, two of which were surmounted by the Papal arms, and two by hammers of steel, symbolical of the designs of the Pontiff against heretic and infidel. The procession filed through the Plaza-Mayor with its many tiers of balconies filled with gazing crowds, through the old gate of Guadalajara and along the street of Almudena to the church of S.ta Maria,

where the King took his leave of the Legate, and rode off with his guards to the palace. Accompanied by Don John of Austria, the Cardinal entered the church and was conducted with the usual honours of pall and censer to the high altar, from whence he pronounced his benediction. A prothonotary then proclaimed in a loud voice that the most illustrious Cardinal Alessandrino, nephew of the most Holy Father, had come to Spain as Legate of His Holiness, and that he conceded to the people there present two hundred years of pardon. The ceremony being thus concluded, the Legate mounted the coach of Don John, and was attended by him to the residence prepared for him in the house of Don Pedro de Mendoza. An illumination of the town at night completed the festival.

The letter from the Sovereign Pontiff to the King of Spain, of which Alessandrino was the bearer, evinced the great anxiety felt by Pius for the cause which he had espoused. The success of the Christian League, he said, was the matter which lay nearest to his heart, and which most nearly concerned the power and glory of the King. But for the infirmities of age, he would have repaired to Spain to plead the cause in person.[1] The nephew seconded the uncle with great earnestness and address. He begged that Don John of Austria might be sent forthwith to Italy, with full power over the Viceroys and military commanders, and with authority to act as occasion required without applying for fresh instructions from Madrid. He entreated the King to exert his influence with the Emperor and with the King of France to bring them, if possible, into the Confederation; and he recommended to the favourable notice of the King the Papal admiral Marc Antonio Colonna, offering such proofs of his devotion to His Majesty's service as might neutralize any impression disadvantageous to that commander, which might have been left on Philip's mind by the reports of Doria or Santa Cruz. In pressing these points, Alessandrino was fulfilling not only the orders of the Pope, but the wishes of the Republic of Venice, whose envoys at Rome were constantly reminding Pius that it was by his advice that the Senate had abandoned all negotiations for peace, and that it was to him that Venice looked for protection from the dangers which threatened her, not only from the power of the Sultan, but from the jealousy of Spain and the procrastinating policy of Philip.

On his own behalf, Philip promised almost everything which

[1] P. Paruta: *Historia della Guerra di Cipro*, lib. ii. fol., Vinetia, 1645, p. 127.

the Legate asked. While he was willing to use his influence with his brother-in-law Henry III., he confessed that he had no hope that the House of Valois would ever allow its flag to serve under the orders of the House of Austria. To his cousin Maximilian he promised to send a special ambassador to ask for his co-operation, but he feared that want of men and money would

ALVARO BAZAN, MARQUESS OF SANTA CRUZ.

prevent him from lending any aid. Some questions of ecclesiastical rights, pending between the Crown of Spain and the Holy See, were settled with little difficulty and delay.

From Madrid Alessandrino went to Lisbon. Sebastian was so well disposed towards the object of his mission, that when the Cardinal, by the Pope's desire, proposed to him to marry Margaret of Valois, he said he would take her without a dowry if the King

of France would join the League. But the opposition of the Queen-Dowager Catherine and her party rendered the enthusiasm of the young monarch ineffectual. Nor was Alessandrino more successful in France, whither he was despatched less for the purpose of persuading Henry to join the League than in hopes of breaking off the match, then pending, between the Princess Margaret and the Huguenot King of Navarre.

To the Emperor the Pope likewise sent a special ambassador

CATHERINE DE MEDICIS, QUEEN-DOWAGER OF FRANCE.

Cardinal Commendon. Maximilian was the last Christian Emperor who appeared in the field against the Turk, having commanded in person in the campaign in which Solyman the Magnificent died before Szigeth. Pius exhorted him not to let slip the present occasion of ridding himself of the shameful tribute which he paid to the Porte, and of recovering Hungary. On the other hand, the Pasha of Buda assured him of the friendship of Selim, and collected troops upon the Imperial frontiers. Against the Pope Maximilian still nourished a deep resentment for con-

ferring, without his sanction and in spite of his protest, the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany upon Francesco de Medicis. His toleration of Protestantism and his amicable relations with the Protestant Princes likewise kept him aloof from any close union with Rome. From his ministers, therefore, Pius and the Venetians received nothing but expressions of sympathy and regret; and the tribute, which the Imperial cabinet called a present, was duly remitted to Constantinople.

In Poland Commendon met with no better success. But in Italy the Papal agents obtained promises of considerable assistance. The Grand Duke evinced his gratitude for his new title

FRANCESCO DE MEDICIS, PRINCE OF TUSCANY.

by offering four thousand infantry and eight hundred horse. The Duke of Savoy agreed to furnish half that number of each arm; the Duke of Ferrara promised a thousand foot and three hundred cavalry; the Dukes of Parma and Mantua each offered a contingent less by one hundred horse; the Duke of Urbino was willing to lend a thousand infantry; and the same number was offered by the Republics of Genoa and Lucca, with the addition of one hundred and fifty cavalry from each city. These troops amounted in all to twelve thousand foot, and two thousand one hundred horse.

Philip II. had at last made up his mind to lend his vigorous co-operation to the League. Orders were sent to the seaports

and military stations to make active preparations. The Marquess of Santa Cruz was commanded to repair with the naval squadron of Naples to Carthagena, to embark the troops which could be spared from the southern Provinces; and the German and Italian regiments not required for service in the Milanese were ordered to march, for embarkation at Spezia.

The Pope himself was the first member of the League whose forces appeared at Messina, the appointed place of meeting. Marc Antonio Colonna was placed in command of twelve galleys hired from the Duke of Tuscany, and in these sixteen hundred foot, under the orders of Honorato Gaetano, were embarked at Civita Vecchia in June. The squadron sailed on the 19th of that month. At Procida it was augmented by three galleys of the Order of St. John, which would have formed part of the Venetian fleet; but the Senate having thought fit to infringe the privileges of the Order by putting a knight to death for coining, the Grand Master of Malta sent his contingent to sail under the command of the Papal admiral. Colonna remained for some weeks at Naples, where his troops had several bloody affrays with their allies the Spaniards. Colonna reached Messina on the 21st of July.

On Wednesday, the 6th of June, Don John of Austria set out from Madrid on his way to Italy. His household, which consisted of twenty-one persons,[1] had been, in part, sent forward eight days before under the orders of the Count of Priego, the chief chamberlain, and was, in part, to follow in a few days. Don John himself was attended by his master of the horse Don Luis de Cordoba, one of the gentlemen of his chamber Don Juan de Guzman, his secretary Juan de Soto,[2] and eleven other followers. They rode

[1] The following are their names and offices as furnished by Vanderhammen: *D. Juan de Austria*, p. 154:—

D. Hernando Carrillo, Count of Priego	(*Mayor-domo Mayor*), Great Chamberlain.
D. Rodrigo de Mendoça, Señor of Lodosa in Navarre	(*Mayor-domo Particular*), Private Chamberlain.
D. Ruy Diaz de Mendoça, Señor of Moron	(*Mayor-domo*), Chamberlain.
D. Juan de Guzman	(*Gentilhombres de la Camara*), Gentlemen of the Chamber.
D. Pedro Zapata	
Jorge de Lima	(*Ayudas de Camara*), Grooms of the Chamber.
Juan de Toro	
D. Rodrigo de Benavides	(*Sumiller de Corps*), Steward.
D. Luis de Cordoba	(*Cavallerizo Mayor*), Master of the Horse
D. Luis Carrillo (eldest son of Count of Priego)	(*Capitan de la Guarda*), Captain of the Guard,
Gonçalo de Vallejo	(*Aposentador and Guardajoyas Mayor*), Quarter-master and principal Keeper of the Jewels.
Juan de Soto	(*Secretario*), Secretary.
Two "Don Juanillos"	(*Mozos de passatiempo*), Jesters.
A "*Comprador*"	Purveyor.
A "*Cocinero*"	Cook.
Three "*Correos*"	Couriers or Messengers.
Two servants of D. Juan de Guzman, and one of Juan de Soto.	

[2] Of Juan de Soto, of whom we shall hear more, Antonio Perez says he was appointed as his secretary in the war of Granada by Ruy Gomez de Silva. He had been secretario del reyno de Napoles, and was a man "cierto para tal ministerio, particularmente para "secretario de las cosas y provisiones de Guerra, de mucho servicio y experiencia." *Memorial, Obras:* Paris, 1654, sm. 8vo, pp. 294-5.

post, and mounting their horses in the afternoon, arrived that night at Guadalajara. The stately palace of the Duke of Infantado, often the resting-place of royalty, long famous for its library and portrait-gallery, and still the finest specimen of domestic Gothic architecture in Spain, was ready to receive them. The chief of the Mendozas was assisted in doing the honours of his castle to Don John by his brother-in-law, the Duke of Medina del Rioseco. The travellers were entertained with great magnificence, and remained there until the afternoon of Friday, the 8th of June, when, after dinner, they proceeded on their journey. All that night they rode over the naked plains of Old Castille, and halted to rest at dawn at Arcos, a small town on the frontier of Aragon. During the next day's journey, they were met at Calatayud by a courier from Rome. Amongst his despatches there was the following autograph letter from Pope Pius to Don John :—

"POPE PIUS V.

"To our well-beloved son in Christ, health and the apostolic "benediction. Almighty God, the author of all good, has been "pleased that, with his divine favour, the League should be "concluded, which our right dear son in Christ the Catholic King "of the Spains your brother, and the Illustrious Republic of the "Venetians some months ago began to negotiate against the "most cruel tyrant, the lord of the Turks; which having come "to so good an issue, it appeared to us right to congratulate "your nobleness on the occasion, as by these letters we do, being "assured that our message will be welcome and agreeable to you, "on account both of your piety towards God, and of your desire "for the increase of the Christian world. Greatly do we rejoice "to behold you thus prosperously navigating this our sea, that "together with the fleets of the other members of the League you "may make a beginning of the destruction of the common enemy; "and therefore do we entreat and warn you in Christ our Lord, "that, imitating the virtue of the captains-general, your pre-"decessors, you use your discretion diligently both to provide all "things requisite to the success of the expedition and to avoid "delay, which, in affairs of war, is so important and so praise-"worthy. We would further urge this upon you with many "reasons, did we not know that the business carries with it its "reward in the common benefit of the Christian world, and your "particular honour, and that you need no further exhortation from "our zealous and fatherly love, being assured that your nobleness

" will never be found wanting either to the one or to the other. " Given at Rome on the 24th of May 1571."[1]

The same courier also brought letters for Don John of Austria from Marc Antonio Colonna, the Papal admiral; Cardinal Granvelle, the acting Viceroy of Naples; the Count Landriano, the Deputy-Viceroy of Sicily; Don Juan de Zuñiga and Don Antonio de Mendoza, the ambassadors of Spain at Rome and Genoa; all informing him of the state of affairs and preparations. From Calatayud, by way of Almunia, he proceeded to Zaragoza. He reached the ancient capital of Aragon two hours after nightfall on Saturday, the 9th of June. His coming having been expected, he found the streets illuminated, and those which led to the archiepiscopal palace thronged with spectators, on the pavements below and in the massive balconies above. At the palace he was sumptuously lodged and entertained by his uncle, Don Maximilian of Austria, a bastard son of his grandfather, Philip I., who had long worn the mitre of Zaragoza, and filled the viceregal throne of Aragon. The day following, Sunday, was devoted to rest and to the reception of the magistrates and principal personages of the city, who flocked to pay their respects to the General of the League. At eleven o'clock on Monday morning he rode out a league and a half to meet his nephews, the young Archdukes Rudolph and Ernest, now on their way home to Vienna, who had followed him from Madrid, and who were to be his companions during a part of his journey. Leaving them with the Archbishop, he proceeded in the afternoon as far as Ossera, and, pushing on all next day, early on Wednesday morning he climbed the rugged hill of Monserrat, and alighted at the gate of the great convent of the Benedictines, perched on its white precipices beside the torrent of Llobregat. To the celebrated image of Our Lady, discovered in the ninth century in a cave of the mountain, Don John entertained a peculiar devotion; and, during his visit here when a truant lad, ten years before, he had made acquaintance with some of the fathers, and with some of the yet more ascetic recluses, who dwelt in the grottoes which honeycomb the peaks of the singular and solitary hill.[2] He now spent two days with the Benedictines in visiting the hermitages and in performing his devotions at the Virgin's shrine, around which the builders were

[1] Vanderhammen: *D. Juan de Austria*, f. 154.

[2] " El virginal retrato milagroso
del alto Monserrate lustre i gloria."
El Monserrate de Cristoval de Virues, Madrid, 1587, sm. 8vo, canto i. p. 1.

still at work rearing a magnificent church, the gift of Philip II. On Friday he resumed his journey, and, by way of Martorell and Molino del Rey, he arrived at Barcelona on Saturday, the 16th of June. His chamberlain, Priego, having waited for him at Monserrat, and preceded him to Barcelona, due preparations for his reception had been made in the Catalonian capital. About five in the evening he was met near the gate by the Viceroy, Don Hernando de Toledo, Prior of Leon, the authorities of the town, and the nobility, amongst whom he found his old companion-in-arms, who was to be his lieutenant in his new post, the Grand Commander Luis de Requesens. Amidst the roar of artillery from sea and land, he passed along the streets decked with hangings in which the mercantile magnates of Barcelona, "the rich," vied with each other in splendour, and beneath windows filled with the fairest faces of a city not unjustly proud of the grandeur of its palaces[1] and the beauty of its women.

The next day Don John entered upon the preliminary duties of his new command. As soon as he had heard mass, he summoned the Grand Commander Requesens and his own secretary, Juan de Soto, to a conference. The result of their consultation was the despatch of orders to Don Alvaro de Bazan, Marquess of Santa Cruz, to come from Cartagena with his galleys, and to Don Gil de Andrade, commanding the squadron in harbour, to complete his supplies of biscuit as speedily as possible, and of a notice to Don Sancho de Leyva, who was stationed with another squadron at Mallorca, to hold himself in immediate readiness to sail. Two or three days were devoted to drawing up despatches to the King, and replies to the letters received at Calatayud from the Pope and other dignitaries in Italy. On the 25th Don John varied these sedentary pursuits by riding out with a train of forty horsemen to Molino del Rey to meet the young Archdukes, at whose public entry into Barcelona, solemnized with the usual honours of royalty, he likewise assisted. The next day the Mallorcan squadron of Leyva appeared off the coast. It entered the harbour after dark with its vessels illuminated, and firing long peals of cannon and musketry, which were duly answered by the batteries of the city and the arsenal. The Princes beheld this fine spectacle from the palace of the Viceroy. On the following morning Leyva, Andrade, and the other naval officers at Barcelona, waited upon Don John of Austria and kissed

[1] "Esta ciudad encierra tantos castillos, quantas casas tiene." Fr. Franc. Diego: *Historia de los condes de Barcelona*, fol., Barcelona, 1603, lib. i. cap. 4.

his hands. He received them with his usual courtesy, and after conversing with them for some time went to mass, and afterwards held a council, at which the launching and arming of two new galleys, then on the stocks, were ordered. He then visited and inspected the royal vessel, commanded by Juan Vasquez Coronada, knight of Malta, in which he had before sailed, and which was again to be his flagship, and returned to dinner. Next day, being the 1st of July, he invited the Archdukes to a collation on board the flagship. They embarked at the arsenal under the usual salutes, and after examining the vessel sat down with their host to a table prepared for the three, after which an entertainment was spread for the Grand Commander Requesens and the other officers and gentlemen in attendance. The launching and arming of the new galleys, in which mass was solemnly performed as a preliminary rite, and the embarkation of the household, horses, and baggage of the Princes, and of the infantry regiments of Don Lope de Figueroa and Don Miguel de Monçada, occupied the first half of July. During this time Don John of Austria received from Madrid his own commission and those of his chief officers, with minute instructions for his guidance, including a paper in which was set forth the exact form in which the Princes and principal nobles, and naval and military and political authorities of Christendom were to be addressed verbally or in writing, from the Emperor to the Prince of Massa, from the "very illustrious Signiory" of Venice to the "Magnificent Municipal Council" of Trapani.[1] On the 11th of the month Don Sancho de Leyva put to sea with eleven galleys, to run down the coast towards Gibraltar and clear it of corsairs. On the 18th Don John distributed sailing orders to his own fleet of forty-seven galleys; on the 20th he sailed; and on the 26th he steered prosperously into the harbour of Genoa.[2]

Landing on the stately quays of the proud city, Don John and his companions were received with all honour by the Doge

[1] Vanderhammen devotes four pages to an enumeration of the various styles and modes of address, fol. 156 to 158.

[2] Ossorio (*Joannis Austriaci Vita*, MS.) asserts that Don John was looked for in Italy with much apprehension and suspicion, as if the designs of the King of Spain were directed rather against the Independent States of that country, than against the Turk. Vanderhammen (fol. 149) says that the Genoese authorities regarded with great distrust the assembling of the Spanish fleet at Barcelona and the march of the Genoese troops upon Spezia, and that they not only strengthened their militia and armed some of the population, but even determined that Don John should not be admitted into the city with more than a small number of personal attendants. He does not say, however, that the latter determination was adhered to. The story, improbable in itself, is not confirmed by other writers.

and Signiory, and conducted to that famous palace of the Dorias, which, with its massive front and broad terraces shaded with orange-tree alleys, still forms so fine a feature in that unrivalled amphitheatre of hill, city, and sea. Here the great admiral, Andrea Doria, had several times entertained with princely magnificence his master and friend Charles V.; and here, reposing from fatigue by sea or land, the tasteful Lord of Naples and Granada was wont to declare that he never was so splendidly lodged as in the halls of the Dorias.[1] Here on the terrace, forming the centre of a graceful fountain, stood, and still stands, the statue of the great seaman portrayed in the character of Neptune. On the slope of the hill-garden behind towered a colossal Jupiter, resting one foot on the head of a wolf-hound, to mark the site of the grave of a favourite dog given to his Admiral by Charles V. The naval triumphs of Andrea and the noble architecture of his house had received worthy illustration and adornments from the fine pencil of Pierino del Vaga and other famous artists; and Don John, on his way to meet the fleets of Selim, was fired with emulation by beholding the vivid representations of the actions of his father and his gallant comrades against the armies, the strongholds, and the navies of Solyman.

In these storied halls, on the 29th of July, Doria gave a splendid entertainment in honour of his illustrious guests. Fifty-two ladies of the great houses, all dressed in crimson and white satin, sparkling with jewels worthy of the wealth of the proud city, sat down to the banquet. A masked ball followed, in which the master of the ceremonies was Cesare Negri, a famous dancing-master of Milan, who has recorded, in a curious work which he afterwards wrote on his art, the satisfaction with which the young Archdukes and the Commander-in-Chief of the Holy League contemplated his remarkable feats of dancing.[2] Savorgnano, a Venetian, who was present at the festival, noted in his diary his impressions of the princely strangers. A few days before, on seeing Don John of Austria land, he had described him as "a "youth of an active and well-developed frame, with light hair and "a countenance very pleasing and comely." At the ball he remarked that "the Archdukes danced passably well, but that "everybody was surprised and delighted by the spirit and grace "of the dancing of Don John."[3]

[1] Lorenzo Capelloni: *Vita del principe Andrea Doria*, 4to, Vinetia, 1569, pp. 51, 71.

[2] *Nuove Inventioni di ballare, opera vaghissima di* Cesare Negri, *Milanese, professor di ballare*, Milano, 1640, 4to, p. 7.

[3] *MS. Diary* of Savorgnano (one of the train of Ant. Tiepolo, then on his way to

At Genoa the young Archdukes took leave of their uncle and proceeded by way of Milan to Vienna. Don John received visits of compliment from the envoys of various Italian Princes and cities. Antonio Tiepolo, ambassador from Venice to Spain, had hurried to Genoa to meet him, and had been waiting a month for his arrival, having been charged by the Doge and Senate on no account to miss him, and "to take every opportunity of encouraging and stimulating him to set forth on his expedition and do his work well for the common good of Christendom." The Venetian wrote home that he had been comforted by the reply of Don John, who assured him that he had very full powers from the King, and was himself most anxious to find the enemy; "and the event," added Tiepolo in a later paper, "has proved that I was right."[1] The Grand Duke of Tuscany sent his congratulations by his son Francesco de Medicis, the husband of the Archduchess Johanna, an emissary who was not very courteously received by the Genoese on account of an old hereditary feud between the Republic and the Princes of Florence.[2] The Duke of Parma was represented by his son Alexander, the early friend and companion of Don John, who was now to accompany him in the expedition. Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino, who had contributed to the protection of Christendom the strong fortress of Sinigaglia on the Adriatic, and a large contingent to the defence of Malta in 1565, likewise sent his heir Francesco Maria to share the honours and dangers of the campaign.[3]

At Genoa Don John detached Santa Cruz with the Neapolitan galleys from his fleet and sent him on to Naples. Doria and Don Juan de Cardona he ordered to Spezia to take on board some Italian and German troops. Accompanied by the Princes of Parma and Urbino, he himself embarked on the night of the 31st of July, and sailed at daybreak next day. They touched at Spezia on the 2d of August; at Port Ercole, where Don John strengthened the Spanish garrison with a few troops; and at Civita Vecchia; and on the 9th they cast anchor at Naples.

Spain as ambassador), preserved in the library of St. Mark at Venice. He says that the "agilità et gratia" of Don John could not be credited by any who had not seen him, and that "ognuno restò stupido et sodisfatissimo della dispostezza et gratia di sua "Altezza." I have to thank my friend Mr. Rawdon Brown for communicating this extract.

[1] Ant. Tiepolo: *Relazione*, 1572; Alberi, Serie 1. vol v. p. 198.

[2] F. de Herrera: *Relacion de la Guerra de Cipro y sucessos de la batalla naval de Lepanto*, sm. 8vo, Sevilla, 1572, cap. xv., a little book difficult of reference because its pages are not numbered.

[3] Dennistoun's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, 3 vols. 8vo, London, 1851, vol. iii. p. 105.

From Genoa and Spezia Don John had despatched various gentlemen of his household to pay his respects to the various Italian Princes. Don Miguel de Monçada was sent to Venice, the Count of Priego to the Pope, with the thanks of the young admiral for the command which he considered that he owed in a great measure to the kindness of His Holiness. Pius replied that he hoped to find him worthy of being the son of Charles V. and the brother of Philip II., and he encouraged him to risk a battle against any odds by promising him victory and the sovereignty of the first State that he should wrest from the Turk. Don Rodrigo de Mendoza was sent to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Mendoza was also charged with a letter for Don Garcia de Toledo, whose resignation of the generalship of the sea had placed Don John at the head of the navy of Spain. Don Garcia, who had known Don John from his boyhood, had grown gray in Mediterranean service. He had been with Charles V. in the triumph at Tunis and the disaster at Algiers; he had been with Andrea Doria at Prevesa; he had himself taken Peñon de Velez, and he had relieved the gallant La Valette when the Order of St. John was on the point of being driven from Malta as it had been driven from Rhodes. The veteran was now at the baths of Poggio in Tuscany for his infirmities, and was lamenting his hard fate in being thus kept away from the great actions expected from the League. "By the life of St. Peter," thus he concluded a letter to Requesens, "I swear that if I had but a "little better health I would ship myself as a soldier or a sailor "under Don John as gladly as I would under the King himself."[1] To this old friend Don John now earnestly applied for the benefit of his experience. "I would you were with me here," he wrote; "but as this may not be, I will set great store by such prudent "counsel as you may see fit to give a youth who is about under-"taking such an enterprise as I have now in hand."[2]

A brilliant and enthusiastic reception awaited Don John in the gay capital of the south. On landing he was met by Cardinal Granvelle, who was governing the kingdom until a successor should be appointed to the Duke of Alcalá, who had died there as Viceroy in April. The day, the 10th of August, was the feast of St. Lawrence, a high festival in Spain and her dependencies. Don John was attired in a gala dress of gold and crimson tissue, with

[1] D. Garcia de Toledo to D. Luis de Requesens; Poggio, Aug. 1, 1571. *Doc. Ined.*, iii. 10.

[2] D. John of Austria to D. Garcia de Toledo; Genoa, July 28, 1571. *Doc. Ined.*, xxviii. 160.

a white velvet mantle trimmed with gold, a white plume, and a crimson scarf. He occupied the place of honour in the Cardinal's coach, and was followed along the crowded quays between the port and the palace by a long and splendid train of nobles and volunteers.

Three days later, on the 14th of August, he went in state to the conventual church of S^ta^ Clara to receive the General's staff and the standard of the League, the gift of the Pope, which Granvelle had been charged by His Holiness to deliver to him with all possible pomp and solemnity. The Franciscan friars of S^ta^ Clara met him at their great portal chanting the *Te Deum*, and led him, with the young heirs of the Houses of Farnese and Della Rovere on either hand, to the steps of the high altar. Mass having been said by Granvelle, arrayed in his most sumptuous robes, Don John mounted the steps, and kneeling in front of the

MEDAL STRUCK IN HONOUR OF THE PRESENTATION OF THE HOLY BANNER OF THE LEAGUE.

altar, received from the hands of the Cardinal the gifts of the father of the Christian world. The banner of the Holy League was of blue damask; in its centre was elaborately wrought the image of our crucified Redeemer; beneath that sacred effigy were linked together the scutcheon of the Pope, displaying three blood-red bars on a silver field, the lion shield of the Republic of St. Mark, and the shield of many quarterings of the chief of the House of Austria, while, lower still, the design ended in the arms of Don John himself. "Take, fortunate Prince," said Granvelle in his sonorous voice, "take these emblems of the Word made "flesh, these symbols of the true faith, and may they give thee a "glorious victory over our impious enemy, and by thy hand may "his pride be laid low!" "Amen," said the young Commander; and the choir and the multitude replied Amen!

A week was spent in discussing plans and in superintending the embarkation of troops and supplies, which latter duty the Marquess of Santa Cruz was left behind to complete. On the 20th of August Don John took leave of the Cardinal and put to sea with thirty-five galleys, and on the evening of the 23d the combined artillery of Messina and of Venice and the Holy See awoke the echoes of Scylla and Charybdis in honour of the long-looked-for flag of the Commander-in-Chief of the Holy League. Though long looked for, his coming was at last somewhat sudden and unexpected, and Colonna and Veniero had barely time to go out of the harbour to meet him.[1]

Here we may review the operations and the fortunes of the war which Venice had been sustaining single-handed through the spring and summer in Cyprus and the Levant. When the Doge and Senate saw that a reasonable peace with the Porte was unattainable, they strained every nerve to prepare for a struggle in which they hoped indeed for the co-operation of the Catholic King, but which old experience told them they might be left to maintain alone. It was necessary, therefore, to task to the utmost the energies of the famous arsenal of Venice, which a year or two later distinguished itself by laying the keel of a war vessel and completing it within a day for the delectation of Henry III. of France.[2] Twenty-five new galleys were ordered to be equipped, and resort was had to new and unusual expedients to obtain men. Banished citizens were invited to return and to earn their pardon by serving as oarsmen, seamen, or soldiers; volunteers from the mainland were attracted to the service by the assurance of exemption from all direct imposts for four years; the cities were called upon to furnish two thousand oarsmen; and mercenaries were engaged, wherever they could be found, on both sides of the Adriatic. The fortifications of Port St. Nicholas, the main approach to the lagunes from the sea, were greatly strengthened, and the entrance provided with a strong chain and three large guard-ships. Reinforcements were sent both from Candia and from Venice to Famagosta, the forlorn hope of the Republic in Cyprus. The fortresses of Candia, the Morea and Dalmatia, received new works, fresh men, and supplies. The

[1] Guglielmotti, p. 174.

[2] In March 1740 (25th or 26th), when the Elect Prince of Saxony visited the arsenal, this feat was improved on. "There were two cannon founded in his presence," says Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who was of the party, "and a galley built and "launched in an hour's time." Letter to Mr. Wortley Montagu, 29th March 1740; *Works*, London, 1860, 2 vols. 8vo. i. p. 58.

Turkish Albanians were stimulated to indulge their natural disposition to rebel; and they readily engaged to drive the troops of the Sultan from his strongholds in the Adriatic. To provide for these extraordinary expenses, loans were contracted; the dignity of Procurator of St. Mark was offered to every lender of 20,000 ducats; and much national property was sold. The law which forbade the galleys of the State to be commanded by officers who were not also noble Venetians was relaxed, and, for the first time, nobles of the mainland were declared eligible as captains. The chief officers of the forces, to whose incapacity were attributed the disasters of the last year's campaign, were replaced by men who were supposed to have earned a reputation for skill and daring. Sebastian Veniero, governor of Candia, was appointed Commander-in-Chief, and the dashing Marco Quirini and Augustin Barbarigo were chosen commissaries (*proveditori*) of St. Mark.

Veniero had grown old in the service, military and political, of his country. His shaggy hair and beard were snow-white, but his eye was not dim nor his natural force abated. In the previous year he had been Proveditore-General or Governor of Corfu, and had organized a body of light horse for the defence of the island. The taking of Sopoto, on the Albanian coast, which he planned and executed, was one of the few incidents which chequered the gloomy catalogue of the last year's failures and disasters. During the winter of 1570-71 he was moved to the government of Candia, and there, on the 2d of February, he heard of his appointment to the command of the fleet of Venice. Sailing from Candia on the 18th of March with eight galleys, he was at Zante on the 27th, and between that island and Cephalonia he had the good fortune to capture a Turkish *fusta* of fourteen rowing-benches. On the 18th of April he received from the hands of Augustin Barbarigo, and hoisted, the flag of Captain-General.

The account of his fleet, given by Veniero in the report which he presented to his Government on laying down his command in December 1572,[1] goes far to justify the complaints made in the past year by Doria and the Spaniards. It is very probable that the preparations of Venice in 1571 were rather better than they had been in 1570; and it was very improbable that Veniero, plain-spoken and testy as he was, would have written, a year after the event, in a tone of excessive severity of the armament

[1] Appendix III.

which he had led to victory at Lepanto. At Corfu he found only twenty-eight galleys, "all," he says "badly manned and

SEBASTIANVS·VENERIVS·VENET·DVX·

"badly provided." More were expected from Venice; and while waiting for them, he employed himself in visiting and reinforcing Sopoto. He then sailed down the coast to Durazzo, where he cannonaded the Turks with little effect. On his return to Sopoto

he learned that the Governor had sent his troops against the Turkish fort of Castello Gradenici, whence they had come back after a bloody repulse, "every man trying to throw the blame "on his fellow."

Early in May Veniero found himself at the head of ninety-four galleys. The news from Cyprus was alarming. Bragadino and Baglione wrote from Famagosta that they were in urgent need of assistance, as the time was at hand when the Turk would resume active operations. But it being believed that only one hundred galleys were to come from Constantinople, it was hoped that the siege would not be very rigorously pushed until the fleet had made a second voyage to Cyprus. Veniero therefore called his officers together and proposed to employ his whole force in relieving Famagosta. But they were all very hostile to his plan, alleging that it was an enterprise beyond their strength, and he accordingly contented himself with sending thirty galleys to Candia in obedience to orders from home. But for this decision, he said in his report, "Famagosta might still have stood, and the "Turks would not have ravaged Candia, Zante, Cephalonia, "Corfu, and Albania, to our shame and dismay."

Many of the galleys which had come from Venice, not only the old but even some of the new ones, were found to be in very bad condition. He was obliged to repair them at Corfu, and while this work was in progress he took twenty-two of the best and cruised to the south-east. Landing on various points of the enemy's shore in search of supplies, he found that all the male inhabitants had fled to the mountains to escape the risk of being seized to row in the Turkish galleys. At Zante he received the news of the conclusion of the League, which was hailed by public rejoicing. Having returned to Corfu he was troubled by hearing on the 26th of June that the Turks were threatening Candia. He despatched Barbarigo with five galleys towards Messina to obtain intelligence of the confederates, and sail to Venice for more vessels. Thirteen were granted to him, all in a very bad state. Not only was his squadron badly found, but it was so under-manned that he was glad to lay up three of the worst galleys and use their men to strengthen the rest.

The choice of an Italian port in which to wait for the allies seems to have been left by the Government to Veniero. He discussed the question with his officers. They were all in favour of Brindisi, but he himself decided on Messina. The last tidings which reached him from the south were not assuring. The

Turkish fleet was at Zante, and the Turks had burnt the town and were ravaging the island. It must have been with great reluctance and misgiving that the Venetian Captain-General left the Ionian waters at such a time. He sent out three vessels to observe and report on the enemy, and another to Candia, to warn the squadron which was to join him from that island at Messina to keep as close as possible to the African shore. Being ready for sea on the 10th of July, on that day he ordered his last detachment of troops to be sent on board. But it seemed that the authorities of Corfu had no mind, when threatened with a visit from the Turk, to part with efficient soldiers. "At the hour "of shutting the gates," wrote Veniero in his report, "there was "sent to me a parcel of the most wretched fellows that ever were "seen, such as I should have been ashamed to have had on board "my galleys. They were short of the required number; thirty "were sick and could scarcely stand, and I could do nothing but "send them back." On the 11th he put to sea, and on the 23d of July he led his squadron of fifty-five sail into the harbour of Messina, the Papal admiral meeting him outside, and convoying him in with all the customary salutes and honours.

At Constantinople, as at Venice, equal activity prevailed among the hard hands in the arsenal and the wise heads of the Council of State. The fall of Nicosia had fired the ignoble heart of Selim with somewhat of the military ardour of his ancestors. He had ordered the expedition against Cyprus contrary to the advice of Mahomet Sokolli, and it had succeeded beyond the expectation of many of its promoters. Success had induced him to vary his impure orgies and his drunken sleep by bestowing some attention upon the business of his empire. Since he had succeeded to the sceptre of Solyman, long lines of slaves, laden with the presents of sovereigns or of his own representatives, had passed, on their way to the treasury, before the window of his chamber almost every day; but on none of these had his dull eye ever rested with so much pleasure as on the offerings of Mustafa, the rich hangings and jewels of patrician houses, and the church plate of the crusaders, from the capital of the Kings of Jerusalem. He believed that the ancient prophecies, cherished in the race of Othman, were about to be fulfilled; that the Turk was to rule all the islands of the great sea; that Venice and her armaments were to disappear from its waters; that the spiritual Father of the West was to share the fate of the Emperor of the East; and that St. Peter's was to be as St. Sophia. Arrogant with good fortune,

he was impatient at the delay in the fulfilment of these dreams, and in spite of the brilliant services of Piali, he dismissed that Pasha from his command, because he had not, during the autumn, beaten the fleet of the Allies and carried his flag up to the gates of Venice.

To the reader of the rare and meagre tract or sheet which, during the spring and summer of 1571, told Paris or Madrid what was doing in the Mediterranean, and to the student of history now, the main point of interest, in the multifarious and confused transactions of the war, was and is the siege of Famagosta, the sole spot in Cyprus where the banner of St. Mark still floated, and where a gallant band of Christians, far from their homes and countrymen, stood at bay against the whole resources of the mighty enemy of their race and name. The town was situated at the north-eastern end of the island, in the bosom of a bay, bounded on its longer and northern side by Cape Saint Andrea, and on the west by Cape Greca. Its small harbour, well protected towards the sea by reefs and shoals, and, from enemies, by a chain stretched beneath the guns of a fort, afforded refuge to small craft, but, from want of space and depth, could contain only a few large vessels. The town was about two miles in circuit, and nearly of a square form. Its defences consisted of an earthen rampart, faced on both sides with strong tufa masonry, and a ditch, dug in the solid rock, or counterscarped with masonry. Along the top of the rampart was a stout parapet four feet high, with towers placed at short intervals, but rendered of little use by their small size. For about a mile around the place, the ground was low and level, rising towards the north into gentle hills, where were some villages and stone-quarries. On the other side, to the south-west, a plain three miles long extended to the sea, across the neck of the promontory which was terminated by Cape Greca. On this plain and on the promontory rose, in happier times, the white villas of the Cypriot nobles, amongst orange gardens and groves of cedar, refreshed by many springs of the purest water. These groves and gardens had been levelled by the defenders of Famagosta on the approach of the Turk; and their site was now covered by the camp of Mustafa.

The garrison of Famagosta consisted, in the autumn, of seven thousand men, commanded by Astor Baglione, General-in-Chief of the army of Cyprus, and Marc Antonio Bragadino, captain of the town. Their successful resistance to the conquerors of Nicosia had raised the spirit both of the soldiers and their leaders. The

winter was spent in making all the preparations for an obstinate defence that skill and industry could devise and accomplish. The works were strengthened, and the mouths to be fed were diminished, by the removal of eight thousand non-combatants, who either dispersed themselves among the villages of the island, or took shipping for Candia. Considerable reinforcements found their way into the place. Luigi Martinengo brought sixteen hundred men and a large quantity of supplies from Candia; and Marco Quirini, one of the most gallant seamen of the Republic, who commanded the convoy, cheered the hearts of the besieged by attacking the Turkish squadron before their walls, and sinking three of its galleys and capturing a store-ship. Eight hundred men, under Onorio Scotto, and proportionate munitions, were sent direct from Venice; and the captain of the squadron who brought them was the bearer of the most laudatory and encouraging letters addressed by the Senate to its "most dear and most faithful city "of Famagosta," and to its noble captain, Baglione, who was exhorted to continue to do honour to his name, linked for so many generations with the military glories of Venice.

Early in April Mustafa again appeared in his deserted encampment, and the plain and shore of Costanza were once more covered with the green tents of the janissaries. Squadron after squadron arrived with fresh troops from Constantinople, and clouds of smaller craft brought swarms of volunteers from the neighbouring coasts of Caramania and Syria. By means of country-people who went to Famagosta to ransom prisoners, Mustafa caused it to be reported in the place that his force was so overwhelming that if each man would but fling his shoe into the ditch, a mound would be raised by which the wall might be stormed. It was believed that his army consisted of upwards of a hundred thousand men. He opened his trenches about the middle of April, and for six weeks pushed them forward with incredible labour through the solid rock. They were made spacious enough to contain large bodies of men, and so deep that the cavalry could move through them with perfect safety, the points of their lances being hardly visible to the besieged. His operations were, however, disturbed by bold and frequent sallies from the town. The brothers Rondacchi, at the head of the Stradiote horsemen, especially distinguished themselves by their daring exploits. On one occasion they ventured six leagues into the country, and surprised and captured a party of Turkish cavalry, with the loss of only a single man, who was, however, one of the gallant

Rondacchi. Notwithstanding these interruptions, the batteries of the Turk were finished and mounted with cannon towards the end of May. The first bombardment destroyed the parapet of the town wall; but its effects had been anticipated, and the Venetians had a provision of sandbags at hand to repair the damage. As the foe pressed nearer upon the place, the chief officers left their quarters in the town, and took up their abode in casements under the ramparts, where their several commands lay. The Turks, having advanced their trenches almost to the counterscarp, now effected their entrance into the fosse, where, however, they suffered severe losses by the various pyrotechnic devices of the defenders. Hand grenades were especially effectual in keeping them at a distance. When they began to mine, they were carefully watched, and skilfully countermined, and on some occasions the besieged supplied themselves with gunpowder, which began to fail them but too early, from the heaps that had been placed ready for their destruction. The chief mine, however, under the demilune tower, near the arsenal, baffled all the art of the Venetian engineers. Its position was well known, and for some days the guard mounted on the works above it never knew whether it would survive to be relieved. No soldier, however, flinched from the hazardous duty; and a whole company, which had but just entered the fatal ground, was blown up when the mine exploded. An assault immediately followed. For five hours the Turks endeavoured to force their way over the ruins, but were driven back with great slaughter. At various times, for several weeks, other breaches were made, and the janissaries strove in vain to pass into the place over the bodies of the Christians. Strong in inexhaustible numbers, Mustafa ordered assaults, real or feigned, at all hours of the day and night, in hopes of wearing out the little garrison. When he found his storming parties driven back at all points, he kindled great fires at the gates, and endeavoured to scatter the defenders by the noxious fumes of a wood, grown in the island, called *Tezza*.

Baglione, on his side, was no less active and ingenious in devising means of retaliation. With well-planned sallies, he galled the Turks in their trenches, or tempted them into destructive ambuscades. One day, in examining a breach which had been closed up by the besieged, they discovered a narrow opening which appeared to have been forgotten. One after another an adventurous band crept noiselessly in, and groped their way along a winding passage apparently unguarded. As soon as all were under cover, a stealthy

hand cut an unseen rope ; a heavy temporary portcullis closed the path behind them ; and the successful trappers speedily dismissed them to the paradise of their Prophet. In a sally, which he led in person, Baglione re-captured with his own hand a Venetian standard from Nicosia, which was flaunting at the head of a band of infidels. From long neighbourhood, the besieged and besiegers grew familiar with each other's persons, and, when they could find a common language, exchanged jests and gibes. The Christians taunted the Turks with hiding themselves in the trenches ; and the Turks advised the Christians to surrender, as the fleet of their famous League had been driven to take refuge at Venice. The poor Famagostans might be excused for giving some credence to the story. Not a sail displaying the cross was to be descried beyond the line of Turkish or African cruisers that kept sullen watch between the shore and the horizon. Half the garrison had fallen in fight, or had succumbed to fatigue ; powder, always scarce, had begun to fail altogether ; the magazines of all kinds needed replenishment ; the hardy little steeds that had carried the Stradiote horsemen so gallantly in their winter forays were now required to feed them ; the flesh of asses and dogs was in request ; and from the meagre boards even of the officers wine and oil had long since disappeared. Towards the end of July, the inhabitants at last entreated Baglione and Bragadino to save the city from the horrors of a sack, which could be averted only by a timely capitulation. After many consultations, these chiefs reluctantly consented to treat. Mustafa joyfully accorded the conditions proposed :—to all, safety and protection to life, liberty, and property ; to the soldiers, their arms, five pieces of cannon, the horses of the three principal officers, and a free passage to Candia in Turkish ships ; and to the inhabitants, permission to remain in the island, or leave it, at pleasure.

The capitulation was made on the 1st of August ; and forty vessels were immediately ordered to be in readiness to convey the Christian troops to Candia. The sick and wounded were, many of them, embarked, under the protection of those who were still fit for service. The Famagostans and the Turks began to enter into peaceful relations, and the besieged were even supplied with provisions by their former foes. The pallid faces and worn figures of the starved garrison and townsmen moved the pity and respect of the Turks ; and the Christians, in their turn, as they wandered into the enemy's lines, looked with wonder and pride at the vast multitudes which the nature of the ground had hitherto concealed

from them, and which appeared to whiten the whole island with their turbans. A few acts of violence having been committed in the town by some of the Turkish soldiery, a complaint was laid before Mustafa, who immediately issued an order forbidding such outrages, and expressed in courteous terms his desire to see the Venetian commanders. Baglione, Bragadino, and their principal officers therefore proceeded on the 5th of August to the Turkish camp on horseback, and attended by a guard of forty arquebusiers. As captain of the town, Bragadino rode foremost beneath a red umbrella and wearing the purple robe of a Venetian senator, which the pencil of Titian has made familiar to the world. At the door of the Pasha's tent they were required to depose their arms, but within they were received with a soldierly greeting, and conversed with him for a while in the most friendly manner. In the course of their talk the Turk asked what security they could give for the safe return of the vessels in which their troops were to be conveyed to Candia. "The capitulation," said Bragadino, "requires no security to be found, and we have, besides, none to "give." The Pasha pointed to Antonio Querini, a youth of a noble presence, son of a famous captain of Nicosia, and suggested that he might be left as a hostage. Bragadino declining to accede, high words ensued. Mustafa burst into an uncontrollable rage, accused the Venetians, with the most insulting epithets and gestures, of having killed some of their Turkish prisoners of war; and he finally ordered them to be seized, bound, and dragged from the tent.

A further order, in a few moments, caused Baglione and the unfortunate officers and soldiers to be cut to pieces before the eyes of the tyrant and of the still more unfortunate Bragadino. Reserved for further tortures, he was only deprived of his nose and ears. The mass of the Christian garrison were put to the chain and the oar; and of the remaining officers, some were hanged or beheaded, and the rest sent as prisoners to Constantinople. On Friday, 17th August, being the Moslem Sunday, Bragadino was led round the Turkish batteries, crawling on his hands and knees, laden with two baskets of earth, and forced to kiss the ground whenever he passed the quarters of the Pasha. He was then hoisted in a chain to the yard of the Pasha's galley, in full view of the fleet and army, and of the unhappy prisoners whom he had commanded. He was next exposed for a while in the market-place of Famagosta, bound to the pillory; and finally, he was flayed alive; Mustafa standing

on the marble wall in front of the palace of his victim to witness the perpetration of the barbarity. The cruelties and indignities heaped upon the Christian, and the heroic constancy with which he endured them, moved the pity and admiration of the Turks themselves. Bragadino's skin was afterwards paraded through the town, stuffed with straw, beneath the shade of the umbrella of his former office. It next swung for a while from the yardarm of Mustafa's galley, whence it went to hang in the great slave-prison of Constantinople. By the orders of the Pasha the cathedral church of St. Nicholas was sacked, its images and altars desecrated, the tombs broken open, and the ashes of Christian dead scattered to the winds. For these useless and impolitic atrocities, condemned even by the Turks, various causes were assigned. Some said that Mustafa ordered them, in a fit of fury at seeing the dauntless bearing and gallant array of his vanquished Venetian foes. Others were of opinion that his cruel treachery was deliberate, and proceeded from his desire, by these bloody spectacles, to afford his troops some compensation for the pillage of the place, of which its conditional surrender had deprived them.[1] After the conquest of Famagosta, the Turks did nothing to improve or strengthen the frontier. The works remain much as they were left by the Christians, and the guns of Venice are still pointed over the sand-choked haven.[2]

It was thus that the gonfalon of St. Mark disappeared from the towers of Famagosta, and that the royal banner of Cyprus, hoisted on festival days in front of the Ducal church of Venice, became a memorial of disaster and disgrace. For the loss of this important dependency there was no consolation to Venice beyond the gallantry of the brave men who died with Bragadino and Baglione. Its loss marked the decay of the Venetian Government, and the departure of that ancient vigour with which the Republic had once confronted the great powers of Europe leagued against her at Cambray. It also afforded a signal illustration of the jealousy and want of concert between the States of Christen-

[1] The siege of Famagosta is admirably described by Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, pp. 130, 144. Amongst the most interesting contemporary accounts are those of Fr. Angelo Calepio, a Dominican, who fell into the hands of the Turks at the fall of Nicosia, and of Count Nestor Martinengo, who was also for some weeks a captive after Famagosta was taken, but contrived to escape. The former was printed by Fr. Steffano Lusignano in his *Chorograffia et breve historia dell' isola di Cipro*, 4to, Bologna, 1573, fol. 92-123. The latter, entitled *Relazione di tutto il successo di Famagosta al serenissimo prencipe di Venetia*, was published in the *Raccolta di varii poemi . . . nella felice vittoria riportata da Christiani contra Turchi . . . MDLXXI.* Venetia, 1572, parte i. ff. 48-60.

[2] See Hobb's *Turkey*, p. 238.

dom. In the face of the descent upon Cyprus a confederation of the Pontiff and the two first naval powers had been formed to protect the island; a fleet, if not of the confederation, at least formed of the fleets of the confederates, had cruised in the Levant in the previous year; yet the Turk had been allowed to continue, for fourteen months, his operations almost unmolested; and before the contest could be begun, the prize was lost and gained. By the Pope the fall of Famagosta was regarded as a bitter calamity. To the King of Spain, if the Sultan's triumph was a cause of regret and alarm, the regret was tempered by the satisfaction with which he and his house had ever regarded the misfortunes of Venice.

After the arrival of the Venetian fleet at Messina, Veniero was occupied for some time in collecting stores and enlisting troops. His Government had ordered him to provide one hundred soldiers for each galley; but he had found it impossible to raise that number at Corfu. In his difficulty he had recourse to Marc Antonio Colonna, who promised by means of his relatives to furnish him with the men he wanted, but added that the soldiers would not come without their own chiefs, and that he must therefore take these gentlemen into the service of the Republic. Veniero was very unwilling to commit what he believed to be a stretch of authority, but, yielding to the necessity of the case, he gave colonels' commissions to Gaspar Toralbo and Prospero Colonna, who had been recommended by his colleague. They did not, however, bring him above half the men wanted and promised. Of the galleys which he sent to cruise along the Calabrian coast, in search of provisions, six were driven ashore and lost; and he had the further mortification of learning that two of the larger vessels, which were following him from Corfu with troops and munitions, had been taken by the Turk. Every post from Italy brought the most distressing news. Aluch Ali with eighty sail was ravaging the Ionian Islands, each in turn, and carrying fire and sword along the shore of Dalmatia, almost to within sight of Venice. Veniero was in despair at being kept idle at Messina while the Turk was busy in the Adriatic. He began to doubt whether Don John of Austria, whom he had been ordered at so great a sacrifice to join, was really coming. As the time approached for the arrival of the Venetian squadron from Candia, he entreated Colonna to permit him to sail out and meet it at sea, and so endeavour, with the armament of Venice, to strike a blow at the invader before the season for action was past. Colonna

had some difficulty in restraining the ardour of the impetuous old man; and both of them heard, with considerable relief, that Don John was at Barcelona, at Genoa, and at last at Naples.

Colonna himself was not without his troubles, public and private. The brawls between his troops and the Spaniards, which had disturbed Naples, were repeated at Messina. The Papal soldiers complained that, while taking the air in the cool of the evening, they were suddenly set upon by the Spaniards, some of them wounded, and many robbed of their cloaks and swords. The Spaniards, equally indignant, declared that no soldier of the King could show himself in the streets without being hunted like a hare. Colonna, as Commander-in-Chief, hanged some of both nations, and induced the Viceroy to confine the Spaniards to their quarters. In the midst of these commotions and anxieties, the Papal leader had the misfortune to lose his daughter, lately married to the Duke of Mondragone; and in her honour his galleys were draped in black.

Don John of Austria at last made his appearance at Messina, with part of his fleet, on the evening of the 23d of August. The next day, before going ashore, he held a meeting of his principal officers, of which the accounts which have been preserved vary in several important particulars.

The account usually adopted by historians is, that it was a council consisting of all the officers of rank, the commanders of contingents and their lieutenants, the commanders of the various divisions of the troops, the chief officers of artillery and engineers, the princely volunteers, and the Papal Nuncio, amounting in all, we are told, to sixty persons.[1] To the assembly Don John of Austria addressed a short speech to the following effect :—

"The Pope and the Republic," he said, "had laid him under "very great obligations in choosing him to command the fleet, "and he was anxious to justify their confidence by serving them "well. The labour and difficulty of bringing together from various "parts of the world the levies and supplies of the King of Spain's "contingent had been the sole cause of his delay in appearing "there, not the reasons by which calumny had charged His "Majesty with being influenced. He had now at his disposal, "for the purposes of the League, eighty galleys, twenty-two large "ships, and twenty-one thousand effective troops. The cause "which they had met to defend inspired him with hope that their "success could repair all the losses and misfortunes of the past

[1] Guglielmotti, 176.

" year. For himself, if he did not succeed in the enterprise to " which the Holy Father, the Republic, and the King his master " had called him, he was at least ready to die in making the " attempt." He then invited his hearers to express their opinions on the enterprise that ought to be undertaken. A long discussion ensued, in which the Papal and Venetian leaders spoke strongly in favour of going in search of the enemy, and bringing him to battle, while the Spaniards dilated on the great power of the Turks, the necessity of caution, and the advantages of attacking some important Turkish possession instead of risking a general engagement. The Papal Nuncio, Odescalchi, warmly supported the bolder proposal ; but the council broke up without coming to any decision.

The account given of this meeting by the Venetian Commander-in-Chief presents it in a very different light. In his report, on resigning his command,[1] he says that, on the arrival of Don John of Austria, "His Highness called us together to council;" but as he relates what took place at considerable length, and yet mentions no one but Don John, Colonna, and himself, it is probable that no one was present except these three, and perhaps their three lieutenants, Requesens, Pompeo Colonna, and Barbarigo. " His Highness," continues Veniero, "said to us that the first thing " to be considered was the force at our disposal ; that he, for his " part, had eighty-four galleys, and seven thousand Spanish, seven " thousand German, and six thousand Italian soldiers, all good " troops. Marc Antonio Colonna said he had but few galleys, " but that they were in excellent order." Veniero had a less favourable tale to tell. Owing to losses, which he detailed, and of which we have already been informed, the number of his squadron was reduced to forty-eight galleys and galeasses, to which were to be added the sixty galleys which were coming from Candia. Mortality and other accidents had likewise thinned his troops ; but he expected that they would be reinforced by upwards of five thousand men, promised by Prospero Colonna and others, who would have been ready ere now, but for the hindrances thrown by the Viceroy of Naples in the way of enlisting soldiers and collecting provisions. Don John here asked how many soldiers he allowed to each galley. Veniero, not having been able to obey the recent order of his Government that the number should be one hundred, fell back on its general practice, and replied: " From forty to fifty, because our rowing-gangs can " all be trusted with arms." Don John said that, as he himself

[1] Appendix III.

had abundance of soldiers, he could make good any deficiency of troops that might exist in the Venetian galleys, and that as to the difficulties about provisions he desired to have a statement in writing. "He then asked," continues Veniero, "about the "enterprise. We replied that, as His Highness was waiting for "his galleys from Naples and Genoa, and we for ours from Candia, "we ought to get things into order, and then speak of what was "to be undertaken; and with this answer, which was made after "counsel taken with Marc Antonio Colonna, His Highness was "satisfied." The evidence of Veniero makes it clear that, whatever differences of opinion may have existed amongst the leaders of the League, none were declared at their first meeting, and that not only was no proposal to bring the enemy to immediate battle made by the Roman and Venetian commanders, but the question of future enterprise was, at their suggestion, for a while postponed. It seems as if historians had referred to this meeting discussions of a later date, arising in subsequent conferences or at the council of war which, as we shall see, was held some days afterwards.

The beautiful city of Messina was arrayed in all the pomp of decoration within the reach of municipal and private loyalty and Sicilian art, to do honour to Don John. In the harbour, in front of the landing-place, there had been reared a huge square edifice, of three orders, with broad steps descending to the level of the waters, each of its sides displaying three arches, a host of heraldic devices, and a great wealth of Latin prose and verse. On leaving his barge, Don John passed up the steps and beneath the arches, where there stood waiting his arrival a noble charger covered with trappings of massive silver, the gift of the city. Mounting, amidst the cheers of the multitude and the roar of cannon, and attended by his staff and the chief Sicilian nobility, he rode along the *Via maestra* to the Cathedral of La Nunziatella, one of those noble piles in which the Norman has displayed the religious architecture of the north, side by side with columned temples of Grecian art. From the harbour to the cathedral, and from the cathedral to the palace, the balconies glowed and gleamed with the usual display of beauty and festal tapestry; and the streets were spanned with arches, rich in arms and trophies, sculptured virtues and graces, inscriptions, couplets, all combining to one general result—assurance that the banner of Messina, a red cross on a field of gold, would follow wherever the Austrian eagle might lead, and that Venus and Neptune, and the other heathen deities, concurred with the Blessed Virgin and Saint Rosalia in

favouring the League and detesting the Morisco and Turk.[1] At night the general enthusiasm again burst forth in an illumination of the city, and the countless shipping in the vast basin of the harbour. No fugitive from Famagosta had yet arrived to cast a gloom over the exultation of the Christian host.

The first care of Don John of Austria was to send out two swift-sailing galleys, under Gil de Andrade, a Spanish knight of Malta, and Chico Pisani, a Venetian, to cruise towards the east, and discover the position, strength, and probable movements of the armament of the Turk. He employed himself in making a personal inspection of the vessels of his fleet.

Observing all the courtesies of official life with his Papal and Venetian colleagues, Don John was by no means disposed to place implicit confidence in their judgment or advice. The Spaniards who were about him, or with whom he was in habits of confidential correspondence, expressed a strong belief in the immense strength and resources of the Turk, and a distrust, equally strong, of their allies, especially the Venetians. The counsels of old Don Garcia de Toledo, who on every account, public and personal, must have desired to counsel him wisely, may serve as a sample of the atmosphere of opinion with which Don John had been surrounded at Madrid, and was still surrounded at Messina. To Requesens Don Garcia wrote[2] that the soldiers on board the royal fleet were raw recruits, hardly knowing how to discharge their firelocks; that the Turks had plenty of seasoned soldiers, and that he, for his own part, would not like to meet them without some of the sinew of the army—the veteran troops now in Flanders. Possibly the superiority of the League in the number of its vessels might redress the balance; but without this chance, or without the express orders of the King, he would not lead the fleet into any position where the enemy could force a battle. A defeat would do far more harm than a victory could do good; and the Venetians were more skilled in advising than in doing. "For the love of God," he concluded, "consider well "what a great affair this is, and the damage that may be caused "by a mistake; and as it will be better, for various good reasons, "that the Venetians should not know how much or why it is for "His Majesty's interest that there should be no battle, I pray you,

[1] Vanderhammen devotes nearly three pages to describing the arch at the landing-place, compressing the rest of his account of the triumphal entry into one page, "not "desiring to weary the reader." Fol. 160.

[2] D. Garcia de Toledo to D. Luis de Requesens; Pisa, Aug. 1, 1571. *Doc. Ined.*, iii. 8-10.

" after having read this letter to Don John, to destroy it, or at " least let it get into no hands but those of the secretary " Soto." To Don John himself Toledo some days afterwards addressed a long letter of advice as to the handling of his fleet if he determines to go in search of the Turk.[1] He advised that it should be divided into three squadrons, sufficient distance being interposed between them to give room for manœuvring, but all sailing in one line. He had learnt this, he said, at Prevesa, where the Christian fleet fell into confusion in consequence of the great length of its unbroken line, and where Barbarossa derived great advantage from the three squadron order, "a plan," he added, "which I have always kept in my memory, to be used when " necessity should arise." In one case only did he think that this plan should be departed from—if the Venetians asked, as it was most probable they would, to be placed in the van. All, it was to be hoped, would do their duty, but the Venetians were less to be depended on than the rest, and it would be well to have them in front. Don John should therefore concede the point with a good grace, saying that he grants it because they of all the allies are most deeply interested in the quarrel, and have contributed the largest squadron, though he knows it will cause some discontent in the rest of the fleet. He would then have to order his own force in two lines, each line, however, sailing in three divisions. " But this intention of yours," he wrote, " ought, in my opinion, to " be kept secret, because if the Venetians were to learn that the " foremost place was to be had for the asking, they perhaps would " not ask for it." This being the advice of his most trusted counsellor, it was natural that Don John's dealings with his Venetian colleague should be largely leavened with caution, if not suspicion.

On the Papal admiral Colonna, in spite of the ties which bound him to the King, the Spaniards likewise looked with jealous and evil eyes. They could not forgive him for having taken, as they said, the Venetian side in the disputes of last year between Zanne and Doria. He was Grand Constable of Naples, and one of the great barons of Rome; but yet, according to Spanish opinion, in heart and feeling little better than a Venetian. The King wrote to him in a tone that wounded him deeply, ever reminding him, in mysterious language, of his allegiance and his personal obligations to the Crown, as if to wean or deter him

[1] D. Garcia de Toledo to D. John of Austria; Poggio, Aug. 12, 1571. *Doc. Ined.*, iii. 13, 14.

from the further prosecution of some treasonable design. Of this treatment Colonna complained to his friend, the Jesuit Francisco Borja, who was then in Spain, in these words:[1]—"I have received "divers letters from His Majesty, always setting before me the "obligations which bind me to his service. It would thus appear "that my own desire to serve him, which weighs with me far "more than any honours or riches, is held to be of no account. "I have heard that His Majesty had intended to write to me in "terms yet more extraordinary. If it should come to that, I "shall throw up the business, which will be a great relief to me. "At the very time when I had thought my services would have "been acknowledged, having been scarcely at Rome, and having "given His Majesty no offence, and, moreover, having last year "saved the honour of his fleet, and this year helped to conclude "the League, I find myself almost called upon to write a justi-"fication of my conduct. How I serve Don John, he sees and "shall see; but I am distressed when I am told that they are "going to make me do my duty, as if this were something new "to my House and me. God be praised that this at least shows "us the nothingness of this world. It is even publicly reported "here that Don John has come with orders to keep me in fear "and subjection, and that the Pope has sent hither Monsignor "Odescalchi chiefly to recommend me to Don John's favour, and "to transact business with him, thinking that he and his people "would not listen to me. Thank God that we are all here, and "that it will be seen what each of us is worth!"

In spite of these reports, Don John and Colonna were on very friendly terms. On the day of his public entry, after the ceremonies were over, the Commander-in-Chief was closeted with the Papal admiral for two hours, and assured him that nothing should be done in the management of the fleet without his approval and that of Veniero, according to the letter of the treaty.[2] Colonna was well aware that there were many persons about Don John who were most careful to let slip no opportunity of doing him an ill turn; and he seems to have regarded it as a proof that they had not been very successful, when Don John himself told him that such attempts were very frequently made.[3]

[1] M. A. Colonna to Padre Fr. Borja; Messina, Sept. 4, 1571. Quoted by Guglielmotti, 180.

[2] Onorato Gaetano to Cardinal Sermoneta; Messina, Aug. 24, 1571. Quoted by Guglielmotti, 175.

[3] M. A. Colonna to Nic. Danèo; Messina, Sept. 3, 1571. Quoted by Guglielmotti, 181, note 61.

But his favour with Don John at once endangered his popularity amongst the Venetians. Soon after Don John's arrival the perplexed Colonna wrote to the Doge:—"My ill-wishers, weary

"of making me out to be so great a Venetian, are now saying "that I neglect the service of your Serenity."[1]

Except Don John himself and the Marquess of Santa Cruz, who did not arrive for a few days, the chief Spanish officers were all in favour of the Spanish policy of caution and delay. Those who were most loud in defending it were both Italians, Ascanio de la Corgnia, general of the Italian infantry, and the Count of

[1] M. A. Colonna to the Doge; Messina, Aug. 28, 1571. Quoted by Guglielmotti, 181, note 61.

Santa Fiore, commander of one of the divisions, who had led the troops of Pius V. against the Huguenots. Their main argument was that the fleet of the League was not strong enough to

SFORZA, COUNT OF SANTA FIORE.

encounter that of the Turk, or to undertake any considerable enterprise against him; and this argument was urged by La Corgnia in a paper addressed to Don John, and widely circulated.[1] Colonna, writing to a Cardinal,[2] wondered how they

[1] Sereno, p. 138.

[2] M. A. Colonna to Cardinal Rusticucci; Messina, Sept. 2, 1571. Quoted by Guglielmotti, 180.

could bring themselves thus to endeavour to chill the ardour of the Commander-in-Chief, exaggerate the power of the enemy, and, being vassals of the Pope, thwart this anxious wish of their liege lord and the common interest of Christendom. For the zeal of La Corgnia, at least, one of Colonna's own officers[1] found a motive, which shows how many springs were secretly at work to affect for good or ill the action of the League. It was to obtain the favour of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, whose galleys were in the Pope's pay, with slender chance perhaps of being replaced if they were sunk or taken, and by whose support La Corgnia's brother, a Cardinal, aspired to be the successor of Pius in the Chair of St. Peter.

While waiting for the rest of the armament, Don John of Austria, as we have said, devoted some of his time to inspecting that part of it which was already at Messina. The squadron of the Pope he found to be in excellent order.[2] But in the galleys of Venice he saw more to justify the timid forebodings of La Corgnia than the fiery counsels of old Veniero. He thus described what he saw there to Don Garcia de Toledo[3]:—

"Yesterday (29th of August) I began to visit the galleys of the "Venetians, and went on board the flagship. You cannot "believe what bad order both the soldiers and sailors were in. "Arms and artillery certainly they have; but as fighting is not "to be done without men, a certain spasm takes me when I see "with what materials I am expected by the world to do some-"thing of importance, knowing that my galleys will be counted "by numbers and not by quality. Nevertheless, I will endeavour "to lose no chance of showing that I have done my share of the "duty, in which I shall find your advice of great use. To the ill "condition of things on board the Venetians, another thing even "worse must be added, that no kind of order seems to prevail "amongst them, and each galley appears to come and go as each "captain pleases. Fine grounds indeed for their anxiety for "fighting!"

But there were other persons in the fleet as well as the Venetians who were anxious for fighting. Don John and some of his intimates had been debating whether in a naval battle it was or was not desirable to be the first to fire, and he referred the

[1] Sereno, 139.

[2] D. John of Austria to D. Garcia de Toledo; Messina, Aug. 30, 1571. *Doc. Ined.*, iii. 18.

[3] D. John of Austria to D. Garcia de Toledo; *Doc. Ined.*, iii. 16.

question to his old friend Toledo.[1] The veteran's opinion was, that the longer a vessel's fire could be reserved the better. "In "my judgment," he wrote,[2] "the troopers[3] are right who say you "should never fire your arquebus until you are near enough to be "splashed with the blood of your enemy; and I have always heard "the most knowing sea-captains say that the crashing of a ship's "iron beak and the first report of her guns should be heard at "the same moment, and I think so too. But your people should "be taught not to be considering the enemy, or who is to fire first "or last, but to fire when your Highness gives the word, and "then only."

Meanwhile the Christian fleet was daily increased by the arrival of various expected squadrons. Veniero was joined by the Proveditore of Venice, Querini, and Canale, with sixty-two sail[4] from Candia. The Spanish force was swelled by thirty galleys under the orders of the Marquess of Santa Cruz, ten Sicilian vessels in which Don Juan de Cardona conveyed the German troops from Spezia, and twenty-two ships from Genoa hired by the King of Spain, twelve of them belonging to the Admiral Doria.

When the forces of each confederate were declared complete, Don John of Austria passed them in review. He found himself at the head of the greatest Christian armament ever assembled in the Mediterranean. Upwards of three hundred sail and eighty thousand men obeyed his commands. The fleet of the King of Spain was composed of ninety galleys, twenty-four large ships, and fifty frigates and brigantines; there being amongst the galleys three of Malta, three of the Duke of Savoy, and three of the Republic of Genoa. The Venetian fleet numbered a hundred and six galleys, six galeasses, two heavy ships, and twenty frigates. Twelve galleys and six frigates formed the squadron of the Pope. Added together there were two hundred and eight galleys, thirty-two larger vessels, and seventy-six frigates—in all three hundred and sixteen sail. The mariners and galley-

[1] D. John of Austria to D. Garcia de Toledo; Messina, Aug. 31, 1571. *Doc. Ined.*, iii. 18, 19.

[2] D. Garcia de Toledo to D. John of Austria; Poggio, Sept. 13, 1571. *Doc. Ined.*, iii. 25.

[3] *Herreruelos*, troopers of the German cavalry, armed with iron helmets, and breast and back plates, and carrying two small arquebuses at their saddle-bow,—in fact, *Ironsides* of a date earlier than those of our own civil war.

[4] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, p. 144. M. A. Arroya (fol. 32) makes the number 60; Torres de Aguilera (fol. 46) and Vanderhammen (fol. 167) call it 74. Such discrepancies as to numbers might frequently be noted in these and other contemporary writers were it worth while.

slaves of the fleet numbered upwards of fifty thousand, the troops about thirty thousand. Of these troops eight thousand were Spaniards, five thousand Italians, and six thousand Germans, in the pay of the King of Spain. Five thousand Italians were in the service of the Republic; two thousand were furnished by the Pope; and about three thousand, in small bands not exceeding one hundred and fifty, followed the fortunes of the Princes of Parma and Urbino, the nephews of the Pope, and other princely and noble volunteers.

The fleet being assembled, Don John of Austria, Colonna, and Veniero in private conference determined to sail in search of the enemy. Two days afterwards Don John informed his colleagues that he proposed to lay their resolution before a full council of war. To this proposal Colonna agreed, but the Venetian demurred. The matter, said Veniero, had been already determined; why discuss it any more? Don John explained that the council was a mere matter of form, held for the purpose of pleasing the gentlemen who composed it. Veniero made no further objection; but, according to his record of the transaction,[1] he and Colonna privately agreed that, if any fresh difficulties were thrown in the way of the sailing of the fleet, they two, as soon as their provisions and troops were on board, would take their squadrons to sea.

Colonna and his friends had not fulfilled their promise to supply Veniero with the requisite number of troops. He was still short of a large number. Don John proposed to lend him two thousand Germans, fifteen hundred Italians, and fifteen hundred Spaniards; but the Venetian was very loth to accept them. By the mediation of Colonna, he at last agreed to receive two thousand five hundred Italians and fifteen hundred Spaniards.

"These Venetian gentlemen," wrote Don John to Don Garcia de Toledo on the 9th of September,[2] "have now at last resolved "to take into their galleys four thousand of His Majesty's troops; "and these have just now been told off to them." "In the "embarkation of the men and their biscuit," wrote Veniero more than a year afterwards,[3] "I had many difficulties to contend with, "and much insolence from the soldiers to put up with."

Don John gave great dissatisfaction to his colleagues by nominating Ascanio de la Corgnia to the supreme command of

[1] *Relazione;* Appendix.

[2] D. John of Austria to D. Garcia de Toledo; Messina, Sept. 9, 1571. *Doc. Ined.*, iii. 20.

[3] *Relazione;* Appendix.

the land forces. The appointment probably carried with it little real power, unless operations ashore were to be undertaken. But La Corgnia's protest against a bold aggressive policy had given much offence to its advocates. Don John also conferred the command of the right wing of the fleet upon Doria, and that of the left on Barbarigo. In the first case he was probably acting under orders from Madrid; in the second he doubtless conceived that he was making a graceful concession to his allies. But Doria's conduct during last year's cruise had made him very obnoxious both at Rome and Venice; and in all three appointments Colonna and Veniero considered themselves aggrieved because they had not been consulted.

The council of war was held on the 10th of September on board the flagship, and was attended by about seventy persons. The facts of the case, so far as they were known, and the question of attacking the Turk or of doing something else, which had already been determined by the chiefs, were submitted to the council. Colonna and Veniero declared themselves in favour of an immediate attack. Doria and La Corgnia pointed out the reasons which, in their opinion, existed for great caution and further delay. Don John, in a few spirited words, announced his cordial concurrence with his Roman and Venetian colleagues. He was resolved to sail forthwith and bring the Turk to battle, and, with the help of God and the brave men around him, he was confident of obtaining a splendid victory. All opposition was at an end; the advocates of delay consented to join the party of action; and the judgment of the three leaders was unanimously affirmed with great applause.

The Papal Nuncio, in virtue of the powers which he had brought from Rome, proclaimed a jubilee; the officers and men thronged to the churches to confess and receive the sacrament; and, with great state and ceremony, the Pope's representative, in his master's name, bestowed upon the whole armament of the Holy League—princes, generals, soldiers, sailors, slaves, and shipping—the Apostolical benediction, and announced anew the indulgences which in past times had been conceded to the conquerors of the Holy Sepulchre.

CHAPTER XV.

THE WAR OF THE HOLY LEAGUE; NAVAL CAMPAIGN AND BATTLE OF LEPANTO, SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER 1571.

A SPECIAL Nuncio, Odescalchi, Bishop of Penna, arrived at Messina early in September. Ostensibly the bearer of relics, and of strings of beads blessed by the Pope, and bringing indulgences for all who were enrolled beneath the banners of the new crusade, this churchman was really charged to hasten Don John of Austria to take his fleet to sea and forthwith attack the Turk. Besides presents, amongst which was an Agnus Dei[1] of great size and beauty, he brought to him from the supreme Pontiff certain revelations and prophecies, uttered in the seventh century by St. Isidore, in which the great Archbishop of Hispalis appeared to have foretold the present League, formed under a Spanish leader against the enemy of the Spanish and the Christian name. Still more exciting to his young imagination than even those mysterious words was the promise, likewise transmitted to him by the Pope, that he should

[1] The *Agnus Dei* is a wafer of wax mingled with balm and consecrated oil, of which the Pope blesses a certain number in the first year and every seventh year of his pontificate. The ceremony is performed with great pomp, and with the assistance of four Cardinals. The wafer is stamped with a lamb reclining on a book, and bearing a banner with the sign of the Cross, and surrounded by a border with the words: AGNUS DEI QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI MISERERE NOBIS. It is supposed to convey to the possessor assurance of the good things, and exemption from the evils of life, especially from storms at sea, earthquakes, lightning, the plague, the falling sickness, sudden death, and devils. Its virtues, and the ceremonies of its consecration, are fully described in the rare tract of Hettor Spinola, entitled *Il significatione et beneditione con le virtu de gli Agnus Dei*, Roma, 1576, 16mo.

be rewarded for the triumphs he was about to gain with an independent crown. From Fossa di San Giovanni Don John wrote to Don Garcia de Toledo, to inform him that he had sailed in pursuit of the enemy.[1] "He is stronger than we," he wrote, "in "the numbers of his vessels, but not so, I believe, in quality "either of vessels or men. So I sail, please God, to-night for "Corfu, and thence according to what I shall hear. I have with "me two hundred and eight galleys, twenty-six thousand troops, "six galeasses, and twenty-four ships. I trust our Lord that He "will give us the victory if we meet the enemy."

Veniero now every morning hoped and begged for orders to sail. But each of several days brought some excuse for delay, in expected despatches or unsettled weather. At last on the evening of the 15th of September the great ships, under Don Gutierre de Arguello, having on board a large number of troops under Don Cæsar Davalos, put to sea. On the morning of the 16th, the whole forest of masts, which had so long filled the harbour of Messina, was in motion. The Nuncio, arrayed in his robes, and surrounded by a sumptuous staff of churchmen, took his stand at the end of the mole, and from thence bestowed his parting benediction on the vessels, as galley after galley, decked in all its flags and pennants, swept out into the straits. Conspicuous amongst them rose the flagship of Don John, with her lofty poop, rich with the delicate carvings in which the Sevilian brush and chisel of Vazquez had embodied the emblematical skill of the learned Mallara.[2]

The equipment of each galley—in arms, men, and munitions —was such as to render it fit for immediate action. Each had on board fifty seamen and one hundred and fifty soldiers or volunteers. Each captain was furnished with a copy of the

[1] D. John of Austria to D. Garcia de Toledo. Fossa de S. Juan, Sept. 16, 1571. *Doc. Ined.*, iii. p. 27.

[2] Fern. de Herrera; *Relacion de la Guerra di Cipro y sucesso de la batalla naval de Lepanto*, sm. 8vo, Sevilla, 1572—not paged—cap. xviii. The vessel, he says, was built at Barcelona three years before, under the orders of Diego Hurtado de Mendoça, Duke of Francavilla, Viceroy of Catalonia. The timber employed was the strong yet light pine of the Catalonian forests. Juan Bautista Vazquez wrought much both in painting and sculpture for the cathedrals of Toledo and Seville. Amongst his best works were some carvings for the high altar, and his small statues for the reading-desk of the choir, in the cathedral of Seville. He also modelled some parts of the beautiful *tenebrario*, or bronze candlestick, by Bart. Morel, used in Holy Week in the same church. Juan de Mallara, or Mal Lara, was a native of Seville, and taught Latin and rhetoric there. His book, *La Philosophia vulgar que contiene mil refranes glosados*, fol., Sevilla, 1568, is highly esteemed. Nic. Antonio (*Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, 2 vols. fol., Madrid, 1783-8, i. p. 731) mentions having seen at Seville a work of Mallara, in his own handwriting, entitled *Descripcion de la Galera real del serenissimo señor D. Juan de Austria, Capitan-General de la Mar*, which does not appear to have been printed.

general instructions issued by Don John to the fleet—instructions which applied not only to the order of sailing, but also to its

conduct in case of the sudden appearance of the enemy. The vanguard was to consist of eight swift-sailing galleys, under the orders of Don Juan de Cardona, general of the Sicilian squadron. These were to keep eight miles ahead of the main body of

the fleet, falling back upon it in case of discovering the enemy. The main body or line of battle was composed of three divisions. The first division, or right wing, numbered fifty-four galleys, and was commanded by Giovanni Andrea Doria, whose galley was distinguished by a broad green pennant at the peak of the main-yard (*en la pena*), smaller pennants of the same colour being displayed in the same position by the other vessels of the division. The centre, under Don John of Austria, consisted of sixty-four galleys, with blue pennants flying at the masthead (*en las calces*). The left wing of fifty-three galleys was commanded by Agostino Barbarigo, and was marked by yellow banderoles on the foreyard (*en las astas*), that of the leader flying at the peak of the main-yard. A rear-guard or reserve followed the line of battle, and was composed of thirty galleys under the Marquess of Santa Cruz. They displayed white pennants from a flagstaff over the stern lamp, that of the commander being on the mainyard's peak. The six galeasses of Francesco Duodo were to sail in pairs, and to be distributed amongst the three divisions of the line, the galleys taking in turn the duty of towing them when necessary.

On board the whole fleet the strictest discipline was to be maintained ; the men were to live peaceably and religiously ; and the water was to be husbanded with especial care. In case of an action the commanders of each division were to keep their vessels sufficiently far apart to prevent the oars of one from impeding those of another, but sufficiently near to render it impossible for the enemy to pass through the line. The spaces between each division were not to exceed four or five galleys' length. When the signal of battle was given from the flagship the galleys were to draw up in exact order, the commander of each division employing his frigates to watch over the correctness of his line. The artillery was not to be used until its fire was certain of being effectual, and the fire of at least two guns was to be reserved in each galley until she came to close quarters with an antagonist. The duty of the Marquess of Santa Cruz was to observe the progress of the battle, and to afford aid wherever the Christian line appeared to be weak or to be overmatched. Arguello and his great ships were not included in any of the divisions, but were to form a separate squadron to be employed wherever the commander considered he could do most damage to the enemy. If the wind prevented his unwieldy vessels from being brought into action he was to lower and man his boats, and these, with a few musketeers in each, were to row to the engaged

galleys, to be employed as the captains might direct. In like manner the frigates, each armed with two esmerils,[1] and having on board ten musketeers led by a corporal, were to lie astern of the galleys to render assistance when needed, or to be sent against the smaller vessels of the enemy.

These instructions were to come into force at the Fossa di San Giovanni, where the fleet arrived at noon. It was soon afterwards joined by Gil de Andrade and his squadron from the eastward. He brought positive tidings that the Turkish armament, after landing and doing some damage at Corfu, and after blockading Cattaro for a short time, had steered southward to Vellona.

On the 17th of September, under a splendid pavilion erected on the quarter-deck of the flagship, high mass was celebrated by Don Geronimo de Manrique, Vicar-General of the fleet, and attended by Don John of Austria and most of the leaders. The fleet afterwards sailed in the direction of Tarento. Brindisi had been at first proposed as the port from whence it should take its final departure from the Italian shore, as being the point best adapted for defence in the case of an attack. But the majority of the council decided in favour of a harbour which could be reached with less delay, and towards Tarento the fleet was therefore ordered to steer. It soon overtook Arguello and the great ships, delayed in their progress by contrary winds. It anchored on the 18th at Spartivento, and on the 19th at La Pace. While sailing to the latter anchorage the fleet was met towards evening by a small bark from Gallipoli, which hailed the flagship of Don John of Austria. The captain was the bearer of intelligence that Aluch Ali had, two days before, been in the harbour of S^ta^ Maria, near Otranto, with twenty-four galleys; that he had steered in the direction, as it seemed, of Barbary; and that the Turkish admiral, having attacked Corfu and done some damage there, had retired to Prevesa. This news led the captains of the League to fear that the Ottoman fleet had dispersed, and that their hopes of fighting a great battle were, for this year at least, to be disappointed. After nightfall, however, their spirits were again raised by the appearance of a brilliant falling star of unusual magnitude filling the heavens with light, and bursting into three meteors, which seemed to portend some remarkable success.[2] On the 20th the fleet anchored at Cape Stilo, and on the 21st at Le Colonne.

[1] *Esmeril*, a piece of ordnance somewhat larger than a falconet or field-piece.

[2] M. A. Arroyo: *Relacion*, fol. 43.

Here the weather, hitherto squally, became so tempestuous, and the north winds so violent, that it was necessary to halt for three days in spite of Don John's repeated attempts to put to sea.

On the 22d some vessels were descried twelve miles off, and, from the direction in which they were sailing, it was conjectured that they might belong to the squadron of Aluch Ali, passing to Algiers. A portion of the fleet made sail in pursuit: but the strangers proved to be Christian galleys which were to be employed in towing some of the large ships, and the pursuers returned to Le Colonne. When the weather moderated Don John sent Gil de Andrade and Giovanni Battista Contarini eastward to obtain tidings of the Turk. A brigantine, sent in search of the fleet from Corfu, arriving soon after, considerably influenced his plans. It brought the intelligence that Ali Pasha was not only still at Prevesa, but that he intended to remain there until a galley which he had despatched to Constantinople returned with further orders from the Sultan.[1] This news, which turned out to be inaccurate, greatly increased Don John's anxiety to reach the Adriatic, and caused him to relinquish his design of taking the fleet to Tarento. He therefore ordered Santa Cruz and Paolo Canale to proceed with twelve galleys to Tarento and Brindisi, for the purpose of embarking fifteen hundred Spanish and Italian troops which were waiting at these ports for means of transport.[2] At the adjacent haven of Castello he himself took on board the fleet five hundred Calabrian infantry.[3] He even entertained the idea of sailing direct to Prevesa without touching at Corfu, but was diverted from it by the strong desire expressed by the Venetian commanders to obtain some considerable reinforcements at that island.

On the 23d Don John attempted to proceed on his voyage, but foul winds and stormy weather drove him back to his anchorage. The flagship of the Maltese squadron ran upon a sunken rock and sustained some damage, which the ships' carpenters of the rest of the fleet were engaged for most of the day in repairing.[4]

On the 24th the fleet again put to sea, and on the morning of the next day had advanced forty miles. At nightfall it was off Fano, where the weather, still rough, did not permit it to enter the small harbour. During this day Don John of Austria learned by a vessel from Gil de Andrade's squadron of observation that,

[1] H. de Torres y Aguilera: *Chronica*, fol. 55.

[2] H. de Torres y Aguilera (*Chronica*, fol. 55) does not mention Brindisi, and he says Tarento instead of Otranto.

[3] H. de Torres y Aguilera: *Chronica*, fol. 55.

[4] *Ibid.* fol. 56.

eight days before, the Turk had sailed from Prevesa in the direction of Zante,[1] and he was also informed by the crew of a bark coming from Zante that they had left the Pasha attacking the town.[2]

The mountains of Corfu, crowned with the dark peak of San Salvator, were in sight at dawn on the 26th, but the wind was so unfavourable that it was with difficulty that Cape S^ta^ Maria di Casopoli was reached in the evening. The next day, 27th of September, the fleet, with the exception of the great ships, entered the harbour of Corfu, with the usual interchange of salutes and military welcome. Santa Cruz and Canale also arrived about the same time, but without the troops for which they had been sent, the soldiers having refused to embark, probably on account of the arrears of pay still due to them, the fruitful cause of mutiny and desertion in the armies of Spain.

Don John of Austria and his chief officers landed at Corfu to inspect the damage done to the town a few days before by the Turks, who, although they could effect nothing against the fortress, and although they had lost three galleys in their descent upon the island, had desecrated and pillaged several churches and plundered many private dwellings. The more devout of the commanders of the League found their zeal against the infidel quickened and exasperated by the sight of ruined altars and broken crucifixes, and pictures of saints executed in the best schools of Venice, of which the sacred features had been slashed with scimitars and the eyes used as marks for bullets. They then proceeded to hold a council of war. It had been resolved at Messina that the blow to be struck by the forces of the League was to be finally determined on at Corfu, by the light of that ampler information, as to the strength and movements of the enemy, which the leaders hoped to obtain there. For this purpose it was fortunate that the Turks, in their retreat from the island, had left something besides ruins behind them. In a sally from the fortress, the islanders had not only slain a good many of the invaders, but had captured a renegade named Baffo, whom the Pasha was glad to ransom at the price of ten thousand crowns and the freedom of two captains of Venetian galleys. By these exchanged officers the Ottoman fleet was described as numbering one hundred and sixty excellent galleys, and with galliots, brigantines, and other various craft, amounting probably to three hundred sail. But they said that it

[1] M. A. Arroyo: *Relacion*, fol. 44.
[2] H. de Torres y Aguilera: *Chronica*, fol. 56.

was badly manned, owing to its losses by disease; that the strength of its effective combatants consisted of four thousand five hundred janissaries; and that the chiefs were by no means agreed as to the expediency of giving battle to the fleet of the League. It was certainly known that the Pasha had steered for the Gulf of Lepanto. But while one account declared that he had gone thither with his whole fleet, another asserted that Aluch Ali, with the important Algerine squadron, had parted company and had sailed to Coron. In either case Don John of Austria resolved to follow the Turkish admiral and offer him battle. But to avoid the imputation of rashness, intolerance of advice, and disregard of the instructions of the King, he determined to take the opinion of his council.

When the important meeting was summoned it was very fully attended. Besides Veniero, Barbarigo, Colonna, Requesens, and Doria, there were present Santa Cruz, Ascanio de la Corgnia, Cardona, Orsini, Priego, Miguel de Monçada, the Princes of Parma and Urbino, and others. They were aware of the magnitude of the question they were about to decide, and knew that on their decision depended the honour and safety of the great States of the Christian world. After infinite difficulties—difficulties with which several members of this memorable council themselves had had personally to grapple—the chief Christian powers had assembled the greatest armament which had ever been arrayed against the common enemy. It was obvious that a wrong move, resulting in a disaster, would place Europe at the feet of the fierce Asiatic conqueror. But it was no less apparent that a timid and procrastinating policy, seeking to avoid a disaster, might have an effect, hardly less fatal, of resolving the great armament of the League into its original discordant elements, of breaking it up again into separate fleets, no one of which would be able to face the navy of Selim. It happened, by a fortunate coincidence, that while the forces of Christendom were joined, those of the Turk were divided. One portion of the Ottoman fleet was in the Gulf of Lepanto, another was still far away in the Levant, engaged in the blockade of Cyprus. Ali Pasha, who commanded in the waters of Lepanto, was a sufficiently formidable foe; but if he were to be joined by the squadron from Cyprus, he might be more than a match for the League. If ever there was a moment, therefore, in which daring was true discretion, that moment had now arrived.

Nevertheless, there were in the council some voices raised in

favour of that kind of caution which, under the circumstances, was extreme rashness. They spoke of the great power and resources of the Turk, of the admirable equipment of his fleet, and of his veteran soldiers and sailors, accustomed to victory and animated with fervent loyalty to a single lord. They hinted at the recent formation of the armament of the League; the national jealousies of its component parts; its want of practice in combined action; and the disgrace and peril to which the Christian cause would be exposed, were the united forces of Christendom to suffer a repetition of the disasters of Prevesa[1] or Gerbi.[2] Some of these timid advisers therefore suggested that the fleets of the Pope, the King, and the Republic should prove their prowess upon some third-rate Turkish fortress, upon Sopoto, or Margariti, or Castel Nuovo. Others, with more reason, proposed to steer southwards to the Morea and attack Navarino, the acquisition of which would be an important gain to the League, while the mere investiture would withdraw the Pasha from Lepanto to other waters, where a battle might be fought under conditions more favourable to the Christian fleet. The bolder and wiser views of Don John of Austria[3]

[1] In 1538 the Emperor Charles V., Ferdinand King of the Romans, Pope Paul III., and the Republic of Venice, formed themselves into a confederacy, offensive and defensive, against Sultan Solyman, whose fleet under Barbarossa had been ravaging the eastern shore of the Adriatic, and who had taken possession of much Venetian territory. The terms of the League will be found in Paruta: *Historia Venetiana*, lib. ix., 8vo, Venetia, 1645, p. 461. The Imperial Admiral, Andrea Doria, was chosen Commander-in-Chief of the allied fleet, and the Duke of Urbino of the land forces. The Christian armament was very long in assembling, but in September it mustered in such force off Prevesa, at the mouth of the Gulf of Arta, that the capture of that place was certain; and the relieving fleet of Barbarossa was in great danger. It was agreed amongst the confederate leaders to give him battle. But Doria so ordered his movements that the Turk was able to escape, not only without fighting, but almost with the honours of victory. The result of this proceeding was the dissolution of the League, and Doria was generally accused of collusion with the enemy.

[2] The African island of Gerbi, Zerbi, or Gelves, was surprised in March 1560 by the Duke of Medina-Celi, Viceroy of Sicily, when the Turkish Pasha took refuge in Tripoli. The place, however, had hardly been occupied and fortified by the Spaniards when Piali Pasha came with a strong fleet from Constantinople, and engaged and defeated the Spanish squadron, of which he captured or sunk twenty galleys and seven transports. Amongst the prisoners were Don Sancho de Leyva, Admiral of Sicily; Don Alvaro de Sande, Military Governor of Gerbi; Don Juan de Cordona; Don Bellinger de Requesens, Admiral of Naples; and many others of distinction. Medina-Celi and Giovanni Andrea Doria made a narrow escape in the dark. A graphic account of the reception of the ships and prisoners at Constantinople, and of the exultation of the Turks, will be found in the letters of Augustus Gislenius Busbequius (*Epist.* iv. 12mo, Monaci, 1620, p. 327), who says that until that success the Turks held the power of Spain and the valour of Spaniards in great dread.

[3] The Spanish authorities are unanimous in maintaining that Don John was, from the first, in favour of attacking the Turkish fleet. The fact is not disputed by Paruta, who, writing many years after the event, may be supposed to have examined the evidence fully and impartially. But the contrary is asserted by Girolamo Diedo, a Venetian, who was counsellor at Corfu at the time, and whose interesting letter to Marc Antonio Bar-

happily commanded a majority in the council, in which they had, from the first, the warm support of Barbarigo, Colonna, and Santa Cruz. It was resolved to go at once in search of the enemy; to follow him if he retired; and to spare no effort that might bring on a decisive battle.

To carry into effect this resolution, it was necessary to sail without waiting for Arguello and his great ships, which had not yet appeared off Corfu. In order to supply, as far as possible, the place of the men, guns, and munitions, of which the fleet was thus deprived, Don John caused the Venetians to take on board their vessels some additional troops and artillery from the island. While Veniero and his squadron were thus engaged, Don John, on the 29th of September, sailed from the harbour and, after taking in water about two miles from the castle which guarded its entrance, he anchored off Gli Molini. Thence he despatched Dr. Geronimo Morcat, Auditor-General of the fleet, with two galleys to Otranto, for the purpose of bringing off some Neapolitan troops, and of watching over and hastening the preparation of certain supplies. He then steered to Gomeniza, a safe and spacious harbour on the Albanian shore. In the evening the armament was joined by a frigate, sent by Gil de Andrade, and conveying intelligence which, although it proved not to be very accurate, had the immediate good effect of raising the spirits both of captains and men, and of justifying the warlike vote of the council. The Pasha, said Andrade's despatch, was certainly in the harbour of Lepanto; his force did not exceed two hundred sail; and his crews had suffered so severely from sickness and fatigue that sixty galleys and two ships had been sent with the sick and disabled to Coron, where fresh hands were to be taken on board to replace them. On receiving this intelligence, Don John immediately sent back a frigate to communicate the news to Veniero and Colonna, who had also remained at Corfu, and to entreat them to follow with all speed. After he had been joined by the Venetian and the Roman galleys, he held a final review of his fleet. The vessels were cleared and prepared for action, and were put through various manœuvres; and the gunners and

baro, Venetian Minister at Constantinople, containing a full narration of the proceedings of the fleet, from its arrival at Corfu to its return thither after the victory at Lepanto, will be found amongst the *Lettere di Principi*, 3 vols. sq. 8vo, Venetia, 1581—iii. fol. 259-275. Diedo says that both Don John and Colonna wanted to sail northwards to Vallona or Castel Nuovo in search of the great ships which they supposed had been driven in that direction by southerly winds, and to attack one or other of these places; but that they suffered themselves to be persuaded by the bolder counsels of Veniero and Barbarigo (f. 260-1).

musketeers were exercised at their arms, and acquitted themselves to the satisfaction of their commanders.

Don John passed through the fleet in a frigate, observing the vessels and minutely inspecting the more important of them. He was saluted as he passed with volleys of musketry, in which several accidents occurred from the careless or mischievous habit of some of the soldiers, of firing with ball. During the various salutes which had been fired between Messina and Gomeniza, not less than twenty lives had been lost from this cause. The repeated orders which had been issued against it having proved ineffectual, the offence was now not only declared capital, but the commander of the vessel from which a ball was fired was also made punishable with death.[1]

The first two days of October were thus employed at Gomeniza. During this time there arose, between Don John and the Venetian Veniero, an unpleasant misunderstanding, of which the facts, being diversely related, are not very clear. During the review, it seems that the duty of inspecting the Venetian vessels fell, by some unlucky accident of routine, to Giovanni Andrea Doria, who was, as we have already seen, upon the worst terms with the Admiral of Venice. When the Genoese presented himself Veniero flatly refused to receive him; and the duty, after some altercation, was ultimately performed by the Grand Commander Requesens, with whom the Venetians had no quarrel. But in spite of this victory over his rival, Veniero remained, it is said, very ill disposed towards the Spanish confederates, and took an early opportunity of wreaking his ill-humour upon Mucio Tortona, an Italian captain in the Spanish service, commanding some troops doing duty on board one of the Candiote galleys of the Republic. Some dispute between this man and the people of the galley attracted the notice of Veniero, who sent an officer from his own ship to put Tortona under arrest. The King of Spain's captain scorned to yield to the flag-captain (*ammiraglio*) of the Venetian admiral. He and his men continued their resistance and wounded the flag-captain; but they were at last overpowered by numbers, and Tortona, himself severely wounded, his sergeant, and a soldier, were dragged on board the Venetian flagship, and by order of Veniero immediately hanged from the yardarm.[2]

[1] Fer. Caracciolo, Conte de Biccari: *I Commentarii della Guerra fatta coi Turchi da D. Giovanni d' Austria dopo che venne in Italia*, 4to, Fiorenza, 1581, p. 25.

[2] Girolamo Diedo, in his letter to Marc Antonio Barbaro, 31st December 1571 (*Lettere di Principi*, 3 vols. 4to, Venetia, 1581, vol. iii. fol. 261) says that Veniero had had frequent cause of complaint against the Spanish soldiers, and had often complained

Don John of Austria, on the fact being brought under his notice, was, not unnaturally, highly indignant at this arbitrary proceeding. In lending to a Venetian vessel a company of Spanish soldiers, he had by no means conveyed to the Venetian admiral the right of summarily putting their captain to death. His anger so far got the better of his self-command that he gave way to the anti-Venetian feeling which lay dormant in the breast of every true Spaniard, and threatened to place Veniero under arrest. Many of his Spanish captains were still more indignant, and talked loudly of firing into their Venetian allies.[1] The violence of some of his officers and the prudent advice of better counsellors, however, soon brought him to take a more reasonable view of the matter, and to content himself with administering a rebuke to his colleague, and forbidding him to appear at the councils of war.

At Gomeniza, Gil de Andrade himself joined the fleet.[2] He had pursued his researches until he was discovered by a Turkish squadron of superior force, before which it was prudent to retreat. He repeated the tidings which he had previously sent as to the position and comparative weakness of the enemy, which he had learned from various Greeks who had fallen in his way, and who had assured him, he said, that the Christians might offer battle with every certainty of victory. He was not then aware that

of them without inducing Don John to punish them. On this occasion, hearing the disturbance on board the Candiote galley, he had sent thither his flag-captain (*ammiraglio*), with *i compagni dello stendardo*, seamen engaged to keep order on board the galleys. This force was not only resisted by the Spanish captain and two of his men, but the *ammiraglio* was fired at by an arquebusier. Veniero, to maintain the dignity of the Republic, when the captain and two soldiers were arrested, ordered all three to be instantly hanged. Paruta (*Guerra di Cipro*, p. 149) says nothing of Don John refusing to punish similar offences, but adds that Veniero's flag-captain (*ammiraglio*) was wounded in the fray. The Spanish writers, M. de Arroyo and Vanderhammen, tell the story somewhat more favourably for the Spanish side; but Hieron. de Torres y Aguilera (*Chronica de varios sucessos de Guerra que ha acontescido en Italia y partes de Levante y Berberia;* MDLXX. *hasta* MDLXXIV., 4to, Çaragoça, 1579, fol. 64) describes the resistance of Tortona and his men as so desperate, that they were not quelled until the people of the Candiote galley had been aided by two other Venetian vessels; the second of these by the flagship, with Veniero himself on board. He says that Tortona, his corporal, and two soldiers were hanged. Fer. Caracciolo (*I Commentarii*, p. 25) calls Tortona Mutio da Cortona, and says that the first order sent to him by Veniero was merely to remove into another galley, to which he insolently answered that he did not acknowledge the Venetian as his superior officer. Hence the mission of the flag-captain and the affray. Caracciolo adds that Veniero, when the culprits were in his power, ordered them to be hanged at the same moment that he reported the affair to Don John of Austria.

[1] Vanderhammen: *D. Juan de Austria*, f. 173. Torres y Aguilera: *Chronica*, f. 64. F. Caracciolo: *I Commentarii*, i. p. 25.

[2] H. de Torres y Aguilera (*Chronica*, p. 63) says Andrade returned on the 1st of October at ten o'clock, but some of the other accounts appear to imply that he did not join the fleet until the 4th, and off Cape Blanco.

these same Greeks had likewise been in communication with the cruisers of Ali, to whom they had furnished intelligence of the condition and movements of the Christians, no less encouraging and satisfactory to the hopes and wishes of the Turk.

Looking to the condition of the Turkish fleet before the battle of Lepanto, we find that Sultan Solyman in 1562 had in his arsenal at Constantinople one hundred and twenty sheds or vaults for vessels, each capable of containing two galleys, and most of them full—some finished, others not. There were also from twenty to thirty vessels for which there were not covered places, and which were always on the water; and there were, besides, the galleys employed in guarding Rhodes and Alexandria. To these must be added many *palandaria*, or vessels for transporting horses, each able to hold about eighty; and eighteen new ones were fitting out. There were one hundred and fifty captains in full pay always ready for sea, and fifty at Gallipoli; and each of these captains had a staff of six officers, always ready to go on board.[1]

Solyman could thus fit out one hundred and seventy excellent galleys for a long voyage, and two hundred for a short one.

These galleys, a contemporary account tells us, are built under the superintendence of Christian master-builders (the Turks showing no capacity that way), many being Venetians by birth. They are admirable vessels, very handy both for oars and sails, answer well to the helm, and are well found in cordage, masts, and ironwork, a great improvement having been made of late years in these things. If a mast or spar is, however slightly, bent or defective, it is immediately exchanged. There are about two hundred and fifty captains, many of whom having been for many years together every year at sea, are most expert sailors, capable of commanding not only each his own galley, but a fleet. Many are Venetian subjects who have been taught by the best masters of their profession, and now teach others. Some have become Turks "per diversi accidenti," others serve in the arsenal, though they remain Christians, induced either by being banished from home, or by the high pay they receive. These causes enable the Turks to supply themselves with good commanders much more readily than they used to do, their Christian sailors and craftsmen sending for their brothers and friends, men being glad to enter the Turkish service, in which they get more in four months than they would make in a year in the fleet of Venice. It is therefore unnecessary now to send for men from Greece and Asia Minor; any number that may be wanted over and above the slaves belonging to the Grand Turk being easily found in Constantinople. Supposing the Sultan to fit out forty galleys, fifteen others could be manned by the Venetian sailors, called *marioli*, always hanging about. Some time since a good many gave up the service on account of the disallowance of wine, but they have returned, tempted by the pay. Turks have been known to shut up their shops and go to sea for two years, in the

[1] And. Dandolo: *Relazione*, 1562. Alberi, Ser. III. fol. iii. pp. 164-166.

hopes of pay and booty. Men who before the Zerbi expedition had not two shirts to their backs, are now owners of from fifteen to twenty and twenty-five slaves, or good sums of money, owing to that lucrative adventure. Whatever the enterprise, the Sultan would find men flock to his galleys till some "stretta" check occurred; the estimation in which the Christian fleets are held at Constantinople being now low.

The understanding between the pirates and the Porte was such that they and their vessels could readily be taken into the Sultan's service in case of emergency.[1]

Ali Pasha, the Turkish admiral, was a brave and skilful sailor, and more imbued with the habits of a civilized warrior than was common with Turks of the sixteenth century. The land forces were commanded by Pertau Pasha, a soldier of fortune, lately promoted to that rank. Amongst the other officers of rank, the most distinguished were Hassan Pasha, son of the famous Barbarossa, who had, like his father, been Viceroy of Algiers, and who was said to have overcome a tendency to extreme corpulency by inuring himself to eat only once in four or five days;[2] Mahomet Sirocco Pasha, Governor of Alexandria, and Hamet Bey, Governor of Negropont.

Aluch Ali,[3] Viceroy of Algiers, and leader of the Algerine squadron, was a remarkable example of the vicissitudes of a life of adventure. Born a Calabrian fisherman, he was captured on his native strand by Dragut the famous corsair, and served for several years at the oar. A loathsome disease having attacked his head, the other slaves refused to eat with him: he went by the name of *Farta*, or scald head, and was exposed to all manner of contumely. At length a blow which he received from a soldier on board the galley so roused his ire that he swore to be avenged. As the only means of attaining this end, he offered to become a Moslem; but his bodily infirmities were so great that some days elapsed before it was thought worth while to accept his offer. After some further servitude he rose by slow degrees to the command of a galley, in which post he had the good fortune to please Piali Pasha, through whose favour and his own daring and conduct he rose to the grade of Pasha, and was appointed

[1] Donini: *Relazione*, 1562. Alberi, III. vol. iii. pp. 189-194.

[2] Gonçalo de Yllescas: *Historia Pontifical y Catholica, Segunda Parte*, lib. vi., large 8vo, Barcelona, 1596, fol. 366.

[3] This leader rivals Sir John Hawkwood in the varieties of spelling of which his name has been found capable. Ochiali, Ochali, Occiali, L'ochiali, L'uchiali, Luchiali, Louchiali, Luzali, Uluzzali, Uluzales, Ucciali, Uccizzali, Uluch Ali, Euldji Ali, are only a few of them. I have used the form most commonly adopted by Spanish writers. Von Hammer calls him Ouloudj-ali, probably the nearest representation of the true sound.

Governor of Algiers. Like his master Dragut, he figures in many of the ballads, in which the woes of the Christian captive are embalmed in popular Castillian verse.[1] He was now in his fifty-second year, strong and weather-beaten, and marked with a great scar across one of his hands, from a wound given him at Scio, in a mutiny of his galley-slaves, whom he treated with merciless cruelty. Of a gloomy and vindictive disposition, he was noted at Constantinople not only for his professional skill, zeal and daring, but for the hatred with which he regarded the Christians, whose faith and fellowship he had abjured.

Although Ali Pasha was invested with the supreme command of the fleet, he was accustomed to assemble his chief officers and hear their opinions. He had sailed from the Bosphorus with orders to bring the Christians to battle whenever he could find them, and he was himself in favour of finding them as soon as possible. When it was known that they had sailed from Messina and were approaching, the question of giving battle was discussed in a council of war. Some Venetian prisoners learned from a friendly renegade, who had been present, much that was said on the occasion. The great majority were in favour of immediate fighting. Hassan Pasha expressed what we may conceive to have been the feeling of the janissary who drank his coffee beneath the cypresses of Scutari, or the sailor who lounged on the quays of the Golden Horn. The armament of the League, he said, though perhaps large and well appointed, was composed of ships and men belonging to several jealous and hostile nations, unaccustomed to combined action and common authority. It had been assembled rather to gratify the vanity of a young Prince than for any definite object. Similar fleets had melted away, as at Prevesa and Gerbi, at the mere sight of the Turkish flag; and a great part of this particular fleet had last year cruised far to the eastward without daring to strike a blow either against the territories of the Sultan, or even in defence of the Christian towns of Cyprus. He was therefore for engaging at once an enemy who, always despicable, was now approaching the waters which had been the scene of his former disgraces. These opinions were shared by almost all his colleagues.

The Governor of Negropont, Hamet Bey, took a contrary view of the situation. He pointed out that the recent victories of the Sultan had at last awakened the Christians to the necessity

[1] As for example in the *Romancero General, Segunda Parte*, Valladolid, 1605, 4to, f. 167, the five romances of the slave of Ochali.

of making a common resistance; that these splendid successes in the Adriatic, in the Greek islands, and in Cyprus, placing his naval supremacy beyond doubt, justified his officers in avoiding any doubtful enterprise; that the fleet of the League was greatly superior both in ships, men, and equipment to the Christian fleet of last year; and that it had been placed under the command of a Prince who was certainly not likely to have been sent on a forlorn hope, or to neglect any chance of increasing the glory which he had won at Granada. He therefore advised that the Turkish force should remain under the shelter of the castles of Lepanto, watching the movements of the League, and ready either to repel any attack upon the Sultan's dominion, or to seize any favourable opportunity for a victory. This advice was supported by a minority more important in character than in numbers, for it comprised not only Pertau Pasha, chief of the land forces, and the Pasha of Alexandria, but also the daring Viceroy of Algiers.

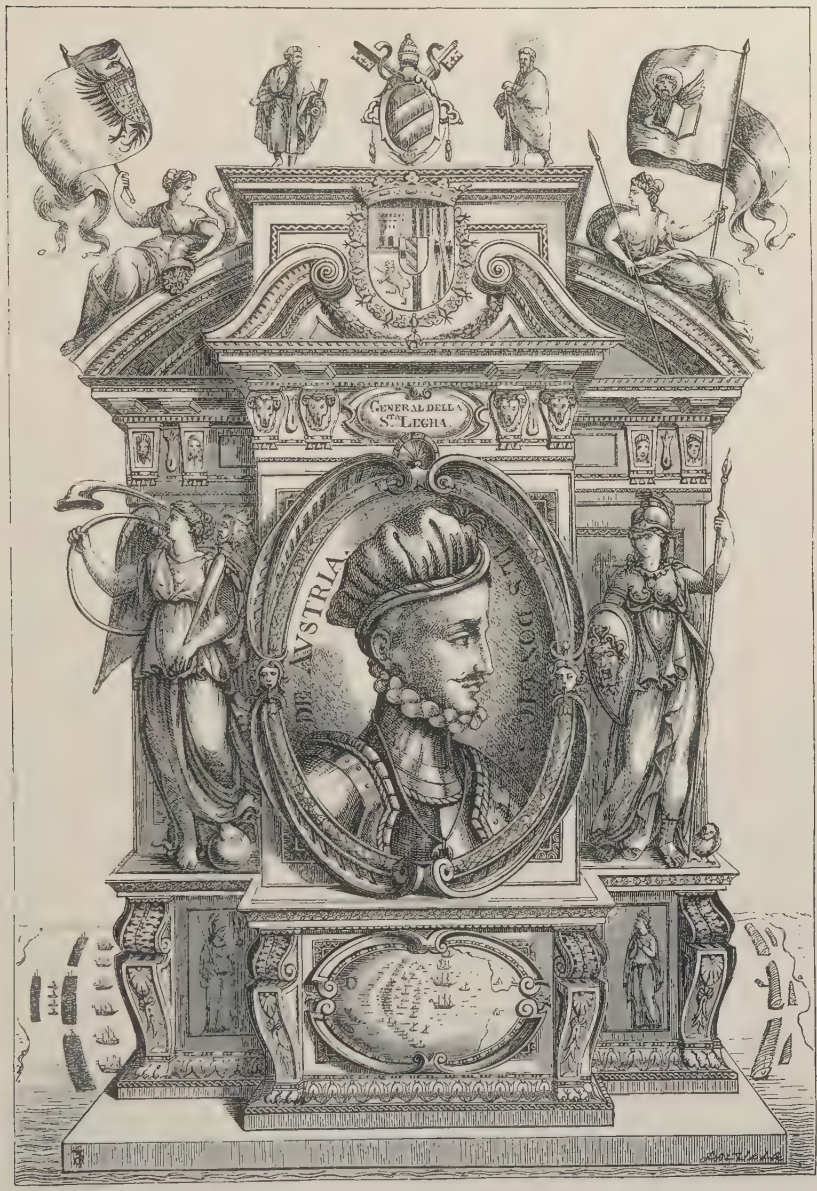
Ali Pasha was himself in favour of fighting. He knew that the Christian fleet was of no ordinary armament; but he was averse to wasting the enthusiasm of his men, the fruit of recent success. Fresh orders from Constantinople, more peremptory than those which he had received from the Sultan's own lips, soon left him no alternative, and the minority of his council no argument. When Selim learned that the fall of Famagosta had made him master of Cyprus, he was so intoxicated with his good fortune that he conceived that his word was the law of destiny. Reclining amongst his minions, the fiery-faced potentate now enjoined his admiral to capture the Christian fleet and bring it to the Golden Horn without delay.

September was far advanced before the order reached the Pasha. He immediately completed with all despatch the victualling of the fleet; he set all the bakers of Lepanto to make biscuit; from the Government magazine of that town he supplied himself with ammunition; and there and at other places he landed his sick, and obtained in their stead fresh men for the ranks and the oar. His fighting force was recruited with ten thousand janissaries, two thousand spahis, and two thousand irregular volunteers. He availed himself of every means which the Greek shores and islands afforded of discovering the movements, plans, and strength of the enemy, and of spreading false intelligence as to his own. Karacosh, one of his most gallant captains, excelling even Juan de Cardona in activity and daring, disguised

himself as a fisherman, and in a fishing boat was present at the review of the Christian fleet in the harbour of Gomeniza.

To that harbour and fleet we may now return. On the 3d of October, at dawn, Don John of Austria was once more under weigh. He was soon abreast of the town of Prevesa, a spot full of memories, which he hoped to efface, of the inglorious dissolution of the last Christian League and the triumph of the Turk. Here too he faced the opening of the Gulf of Arta, the famous Ambracian gulf of ancient history, in which the fate of the Roman world was decided in that great sea-fight from which Antony and Cleopatra fled southward before the galleys of Octavius. On the morning of the 4th he anchored off Cape Blanco, the northern headland of Cephalonia. A bark, passing from the eastward, here brought him positive intelligence that the Turkish fleet was at Lepanto, and that Aluch Ali and his squadron had joined it. On the receipt of this welcome news, as the enemy could not be far off, and might be very near, Don John issued an order forbidding, under pain of death, a firearm to be discharged in any of the ships; and he and the Grand Commander Requesens, each in a frigate, ran rapidly through the fleet. The same night he again set sail, but fogs and foul winds compelled him again to halt in the Canal of Cephalonia; and the greater part of the 5th he spent in the shelter of the harbour of Viscardo.

While the main body of the fleet was thus delayed, some of its lighter vessels, standing off and on the harbour, or beating to the southward, fell in with a brigantine from Candia, from which tidings were obtained of the fall of Famagosta and Cyprus, of the cruel treachery of Mustafa, and of the miserable fate of the gallant captains of Venice. The keys of the town had been surrendered on the 4th of August, and Bragadino had died his death of torment on the 17th. That no news of at least the first of these events should have reached the Ionian Islands until the 5th of October, is a proof either of the imperfection of the measures taken by Venice to secure regular intelligence from her great dependencies, or of the efficient guard which the Turk had kept over the waters of Cyprus. The tidings, however, could hardly have reached the fleet of the League at a more opportune moment. The Venetians were filled with grief and dismay, which soon became rage. They vowed that the host which was led by Ali should pay for the humiliation sustained by the flag of the Republic; and there was hardly on board the vessels of



DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA.
From a print probably executed at Venice about the time of the Battle of Lepanto.

St. Mark a noble of the Golden Book, or a fisherman from the lagoon, who was not burning to avenge the captivity or cruel death of some relation or friend. Every Christian in the fleet

became eager for the fray; and, among the leaders, those who had most anxiously advised delay now saw that a second Turkish fleet might perhaps be on its way from the Levant, and that not an hour was to be lost in laying the galleys of the League alongside the galleys of Ali Pasha. About the same time, Don Juan de Cardona picked up a fishing-boat, of which the master, a renegade Turk, assured him that the Ottoman fleet did not exceed in number one hundred vessels, and that in many of them the plague was raging. This story, although it may have served to increase the confidence of the Christians, was afterwards found to be so false that the pretended renegade was supposed to have been employed by the Turk to carry it to the Christian cruisers.[1]

Sailing from Viscardo on the 6th of October, Don John was unable, owing to unfavourable weather, to advance on that day beyond a portion of the Canal of Cephalonia called the Vale of Alessandria. But at two in the morning of the 7th he again got under under weigh, and at sunrise was about three miles from the Curzolarian Isles, a group of rocks and shoals anciently called the Echinades, situated on the north side of the Gulf of Patras, and about forty miles[2] west of the castles which guard the entrance of the Gulf of Lepanto. Don John immediately ordered two frigates to stand towards the highest of them, and to put ashore some sharp-eyed scouts for the purpose of ascending the rocks and endeavouring to discover the sails of the enemy. The day being Sunday, 7th October 1571—a day which was destined to become famous in history—he also issued orders for the celebration of mass throughout the fleet. Meanwhile Don Juan de Cardona was searching the passages between these rocks for Turkish vessels which might be skulking there. A short distance to the southward Doria was preparing to conduct his galleys round a cape which formed one of the landmarks of the Gulf of Lepanto. The flagship of Don John of Austria was closely followed by the Genoese squadron. From the maintop of that ship the watch cried out that two strange sails, a lateen sail and a famula, were in sight to the south-east. The keenest eyes on board were sent aloft to aid their comrades. Another and another sail were announced in rapid succession, eight were soon counted, and in a few minutes the whole Turkish fleet was perceived rising above the edge of the horizon. The important discovery was made almost at the same moment from

[1] M. A. Arroyo: *Relacion*, fol. 48. [2] Diedo: *Lettere di Principi*, iii. f. 265.

the galleys of Cardona and Doria, and from the adjacent cliffs upon which scouts had been placed. Don John immediately ordered his foresail to be hauled to the wind,[1] a square green ensign to be run up to the peak, a gun to be fired, and the sacred standard of the League to be displayed from the maintop. At the report of the gun, the signal to prepare for battle, every eye in the fleet was turned towards the flagship. When the holy banner was seen waving in the breeze and gleaming in the morning sun, a cheer ran from ship to ship, and the crews of the whole fleet hailed the sign of the approaching combat with loud shouts of victory!

By reference to the map it will be seen that after passing from Viscardo through the Canal of Cephalonia, the course of the fleet, in order to reach the Gulf of Lepanto, ought to have been nearly due east. Its actual course, however, had been east by north. Hence its position off the Curzolarian Isles, somewhat to the north of the northern boundary of the Gulf. It was therefore necessary for the flagship of Don John of Austria, which was to form the centre of the line of battle, to steer a southerly course in order to leave, off the Curzolarian islet of Oxia and Cape Skropha, ample sea-room for the left of the central squadron and for the left wing.

The Gulf of Lepanto is a long inlet of irregular shape, extending east and west, and bounded on the north by the shores of Albania, the ancient Epirus, and on the south by the coast of the Morea, and closed at its eastern end by the Isthmus of Corinth. The bold headland on the north side, guarded by the castle of Roumelia, and the lower promontory on the south with the castle of the Morea, advancing from the opposite shores into its waters, divide the long inlet into two unequal parts. The first of these parts consists of the mouth of the Gulf and the lake-like basin, together forming the Gulf of Patras. The second is the long reach of waters within the castled headlands called the Gulf (anciently) of Corinth, and now of Epakte or Lepanto. When the hostile fleets came in sight of each other, that of the League was, as we have seen, entering the Gulf near its northern shore, while that of the Turk was about fifteen miles within its

[1] *Poner la entena derecha per proa.* The manœuvre is thus described by G. Diedo (*Lettere di Principi*, iii. fol. 205): "Perche il signor Don Giovanni fece prestamente "far cicogna alla sua galea (che casi è chiamata da' marinari Vinitiani il tener dirizzato, "levato ad alto l' antenna più che sia possibile levarla, l' un capo di lei verso il cielo, "come se volesse mutarla dall' un lato al l' altro) et fece mettere al predetto capo dell' "antenna una quadra bandiera verde, e con tal segno, veduto da tutta l' armata Chris- "tiana, le fu significato il dever combattere."

jaws, his vast crescent-shaped line stretching almost from the broad swampy shallows which lie beneath the Acarnanian mountains to the margin of the rich lowlands of the Morea.

As the two armaments now advanced, each in full view of the other, the sea was somewhat high, and the wind, blowing freshly from the east, was in the teeth of the Christians. But in the course of the morning the waves of the Gulf fell to a glassy smoothness, and the breeze shifted to the west, a change fortunate for the sailors of the League, which their spiritual teachers did not fail to declare a special interposition of God in behalf of the fleet which carried the flag of his vicar upon earth.

At the sound of the signal-gun each captain began to prepare his ship for action. By order of Don John of Austria the sharp peaks of the galleys, the spurs (*espolones*) as they were called, had been cut off, it being thought expedient to sacrifice those weapons of offence, which were somewhat uncertain in their operation, to ensure the more effectual working of the guns on the forecastle and gangway; and the bulwarks had been strengthened, and heightened by means of boarding nettings. In some vessels the rowers' benches were removed or planked over, to give more space and scope to the soldiers. Throughout the fleet the Christian slaves had their fetters knocked off and were furnished with arms, which they were encouraged to use valiantly by promises of freedom and rewards. Of the Moslem slaves, on the contrary, the chains which secured them to their places were carefully examined, and their rivets secured; and they were, besides, fitted with handcuffs, to disable them from using their hands for any purpose but tugging at the oar. The arquebusier, the musketeer, and the bombardier looked carefully to the state of their weapons, ammunition, and equipments; the sailor sharpened his pike and cutlass; the officer put on his strongest casque and his best-wrought cuirass; the stewards placed supplies of bread and wine in convenient places, ready to the hands of the combatants; and the surgeons prepared their instruments and bandages, and spread tables in dark and sheltered nooks, for the use of the wounded.

While these preparations occupied their subordinate officers, the chiefs of the armament repaired to the flagship to learn the final resolution and receive the last instructions of Don John of Austria. Some of these went for the purpose of combating that resolution and objecting to those instructions. For that eagerness to fight, which pervaded the soldiers and sailors, was not unanimously shared by their leaders. Veniero, whose conduct

at Gomeniza still exiled him from the flagship, although he had been hitherto very desirous of meeting the enemy, was now anxious and dispirited. Doria and Ascanio de la Corgnia reminded their young commander that the Turk, who was evidently bent upon fighting, had a convenient harbour and arsenal behind him at Lepanto; while for the fleet of the League, far from accessible ports, a disaster implied total destruction. Some of their colleagues ventured to advise Don John to retire while it was still in his power to do so. He refused to discuss a question which had been decided at Corfu. "Gentlemen," he said, "the "time for counsel is past, and the time for fighting has come," and with these words he dismissed them to their ships.

The order of battle which had been agreed upon at Messina was in the main followed in the Gulf of Lepanto. As the vessels of the fleet, favoured by the west wind, began to take their proper places, two frigates were despatched from the flagship, to right and left, to order the six Venetian galeasses of Francesco Duodo to the front. Each galeasse was towed by two galleys to its position. All six were about three-quarters of a mile in advance of the fleet, two of them being in front of each of the three divisions of the main line.

The first of these divisions, or the left wing, consisted of sixty-three galleys, chiefly Venetian, mingled with a few vessels of Naples, the Pope, and Doria. It was commanded by the commissary, Barbarigo. He sailed on the extreme left of the line, next to the Albanian shore. The galley on the extreme right of the left wing was that of the gallant Marco Quirini, carrying the best seamen of St. Mark. The galeasses which sailed in front of the left wing were commanded by the brothers Antonio and Ambrosio Bragadino, captains no less able than willing to avenge the cruel fate of the hero who had shed such lustre on his noble name by the defence of Famagosta.

The central division of the fleet also consisted of sixty-three galleys. Don John of Austria sailed in the centre of the line, supported on the right by Marc Antonio Colonna, in the flagship of the Papal squadron, and on the left by Veniero, in the flagship of Venice. Immediately astern of Don John's ship came the flagship of his lieutenant, the Grand Commander Requesens, and the Patrona of Spain. The strength of the division was composed of Spanish vessels. Amongst those to the left of the Commander-in-Chief was that of Ettore Spinola, who led the galleys of the Republic of Genoa with the young Prince of Parma on board.

To the extreme right of the centre was the flagship of Pietro Giustiniani, Prior of Messina, who commanded the contingent of the Knights of St. John. The two galeasses which sailed in front of the centre were those of Francesco Duodo and Andrea da Pesaro.

In the right wing were sixty-four galleys, vessels of the Pope, the Duke of Savoy, and other members of the League, and the larger part of those belonging to Giovanni Andrea Doria, who commanded the wing and sailed on the extreme right. The galeasses were commanded by Giacopo Guoro and Pietro Pisani.[1]

The reserve or rear-guard squadron followed, under the orders of the Marquess of Santa Cruz. It ought to have consisted of thirty-eight galleys; but it numbered only thirty-five. Two were absent, employed on the mission to Otranto, and a third, a Venetian, declined to form part of it, and kept aloof from the action.[2]

On board the flagship of Don John very careful preparation for the long and severe struggle, of which, it was correctly anticipated, that vessel would be the scene, was made by the captain, Juan Vazquez Coronado. The rowing-benches were removed, to give ample room for the operations of the soldiers. The gentlemen volunteers who had followed the fortunes of Don John were entrusted with the defence of various important points. Pietro Francesco Doria commanded on the prow; Gil de Andrade at the midships (*medianada*); Don Lope de Figueroa and Don Miguel de Monçada, Andres de Salazar, the Castellan of Palermo,[3] and Andres de Mesa defended the platforms of the forecastle (*arrumbadas*); and Pedro Zapata the kitchen (*fogon*). The boat (*esquife*) was entrusted to Don Luis Carrillo, and the quarter-deck (*popa*) to Don Bernardino de Cordenas, Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, Don Luis de Cordoba, Don Juan de Guzman, Don Ruy Diaz de Mendoza, and many other gentlemen.

While the galleys were taking up their positions, Don John of Austria, in complete armour and attended by Don Luis de Cordoba and his secretary Juan de Soto, transferred himself to a frigate remarkable for speed and armed with a single German gun, and ran along the line to the right of the flagship, embracing the whole extent of the right wing. As he neared each galley

[1] Torres y Aguilera (*Chronica*, p. 68) says that these two did not reach their places in time to bring their artillery into play; but this is not confirmed by other accounts.

[2] Marc Antonio Arroyo (*Relacion*, fol. 58) asserts that this vessel declined to take part in the battle, until it should be known which side was to be victorious, an absurd statement in which the anti-Venetian spirit of the worthy Castillian is somewhat too apparent.

[3] Vanderhammen, p. 175.

he addressed a few words of encouragement to the officers and men. He reminded the Venetians of the cruel outrages which the Republic had lately received from the Turk in the Adriatic, Corfu, and especially in Cyprus; and that now was the time to take signal vengeance; and he therefore bade them use their weapons as these recollections and the great opportunity required. To the Spaniards he said: "My children, we are here to conquer "or to die as Heaven may determine. Do not let our impious foe "ask us, 'Where is your God?' Fight in his holy name, and in "death or in victory you will win immortality." His words were eminently successful. They were in all cases received with enthusiastic applause. The soldiers and sailors were delighted and inspired by the gallant bearing and language of their young leader. As he left them, shipmates, who had quarrelled as only shipmates can, and who had not spoken for weeks, embraced, and swore to conquer or to die in the sacred cause of Christ. Before Don John returned to his quarter-deck, he took occasion to pass under the stern of the flagship of Veniero, and, with great good sense and feeling, addressed some courteous words to that gallant but hot-tempered veteran. The old man, who was in armour on the poop, replied with great cordiality, and they parted good friends. Don John also visited the two galeasses which were being tugged to their place in front of his own division of the fleet, and encouraged them to take up this position. While the Commander-in-Chief thus made his final inspection of the right of the line, another swift-sailing bark carried the veteran Requesens on a similar mission along the left wing. Colonna also went out in a boat to inspect his galleys and encourage his men. As he passed the Venetian flagship he exchanged hearty greetings with Veniero, who had by this time sufficiently recovered his spirits to hail him, in playful parlance, as the stoutest column of the Holy Church.[1]

As the two fleets approached—the Christians wafted gently onward by a light breeze, the Ottomans plying their oars to the utmost—the Turkish commander, who like Don John sailed in the centre of his line, fired a gun. Don John acknowledged the challenge and returned the salute. A second shot elicited a second reply. The two armaments had approached near enough to enable each to distinguish the individual vessels of the other, and to scan their various banners and insignia. The Turks advanced to battle, shouting and screaming, and making a great

[1] Girol. Diedo: *Lettere di Principi*, iii. p. 266.

uproar with ineffectual musketry. The Christians preserved complete silence. At a certain signal a crucifix was raised aloft in every ship in the fleet. Don John of Austria, sheathed in complete armour, and standing in a conspicuous place on the prow of his ship, now knelt down to adore the sacred emblem, and to implore the blessing of God on the great enterprise which he was about to commence. Every man in the fleet followed his example and fell upon his knees. The soldier, poising his firelock, knelt at his post by the bulwarks, the gunner knelt with his lighted match beside his gun. The decks gleamed with prostrate men in mail. In each galley, erect and conspicuous amongst the martial throng, stood a Franciscan or a Dominican friar, a Theatine or a Jesuit, in his brown or black robe, holding a crucifix in one hand and sprinkling holy water with the other, while he pronounced a general absolution, and promised indulgence in this life, or pardon in the next, to the steadfast warriors who should quit them like men and fight the good fight of faith against the infidel.

In the night between the 6th and 7th of October, about the same hour that the Christian fleet weighed anchor at Cephalonia, the Turks had left their moorings in the harbour of Lepanto. While Don John, baffled by winds and waves, was beating off the Curzolarian Isles, the Pasha was sailing down the Gulf before a fair breeze. Every Turk on board the Sultan's fleet believed that he was about to assist in conveying the armament of the Christian powers to the Golden Horn, in obedience to the commands of the Padishah. The soldiers and sailors, lately recruited by large reinforcements, were many of them fresh from quarters on shore. Officers and men were in the highest spirits, eager for the battle which they knew to be at hand, and in which they supposed their success to be certain. For although Ali was well informed as to the position and movements of the fleet of the League, he was no less mistaken as to the strength of the Christians than the Christians were as to his own. He had been more successful in pouring fictions into the ear of Don John than in obtaining accurate intelligence for himself.

The Greek fishermen, in reporting to each leader the condition of his enemy, had, as we have seen, taken care to please and deceive both. Karacosh had indeed been present at the review at Gomeniza, but he had erred considerably in his reckoning of the numbers of the Christian fleet. Either by accident or design, he computed the vessels at fifty less than the real number, and he, besides, greatly underrated the weight of the

artillery. Ali was still further deceived by the reports of three Spanish soldiers, captured on the shore near Gomeniza, where they had strayed too far from their boat. These prisoners assured the Pasha that the Christian fleet had not as yet been joined either by the great ships or the galeasses, and that forty galleys, sent under Santa Cruz to Otranto for troops, and two galleys with which Andrade had gone on a cruise of observation, had not yet returned. This story confirmed the accounts both of Karacosh and the Greek fishermen. The Pasha was naturally no less anxious to meet Don John without Santa Cruz than Don John had been to meet the Pasha without the Viceroy of Algiers. It was no wonder, then, that the chiefs of the Turkish fleet led their galleys down the Gulf in the ardent hope of speedily meeting with an enemy in whom they made certain of finding a rich and easy prey. The three hundred sail of the Sultan moved, as already described, in the form of an immense crescent, stretching nearly from shore to shore. Ali himself was in the centre, which he commanded in person. It consisted of ninety-six galleys and galliots. The right wing, composed of fifty-six galleys, was led by Mahomet Sirocco, Pasha of Alexandria; the left wing, numbering ninety-three galleys and galliots, chiefly from Barbary, was under the orders of Aluch Ali, the redoubtable Algerine. The smaller craft were stationed in the rear.

When the Christian armament first came in sight, nothing was seen of it but the small vanguard of Cardona's Sicilian galleys, and a portion of the right wing under Doria. The rest was hidden by the rocky headlands at the north of the Gulf. For a while this circumstance buoyed up the Turks in their belief that the force of the enemy was greatly inferior to their own. As, however, the long lines of the centre under Don John of Austria, and of the left wing under Barbarigo, came galley after galley into view, they began to discover their mistake. The men posted aloft were eagerly questioned by the officers as to the result of their observations, and their answers, always announcing accessions of strength to the Christians, led to misgivings, and to vehement denunciations against Karacosh for the inaccuracy of his report from Gomeniza.[1] When Ali perceived that the Christians had adopted a long straight line of battle, he also caused his fleet to take the same order, drawing in the horns and advancing the centre of his crescent. As the fleets came nearer to each other, the leaders of the League were encouraged by observing that the

[1] Diedo: *Lettere di Principi*, iii. fol. 267.

enemy's rear was not covered by anything that could be called a reserve, but only by a number of small craft. Ali, on the contrary, was surprised to see the galeasses which had been pushed forward by the Christians. He inquired what these *mahonas*[1] were, and was told that they were not *mahonas*, but galeasses; the very vessels, in fact, which he had been led to believe had been separated from the enemy, and whose formidable artillery he did not expect to encounter. He also observed with concern the large number of the galleys which were Spanish, or western (*ponentinas*, as they were called in the Levant), and of a stronger build than those which were constructed at Venice by the Orientals. He now saw that the victory was not to be so easy as he had anticipated, and that he must neglect no means that might avert defeat. A kind-hearted as well as a brave man, he had always been remarkable for the humanity with which he had cared for the unhappy Christian slaves who rowed his galley. He now walked forward to their benches and said to them in Spanish: "Friends, I expect you to-day to do your duty by me, in return "for what I have done for you. If I win the battle, I promise "you your liberty; if the day is yours, God has given it to you."[2] Other Turkish leaders began to share the apprehensions of their Commander-in-Chief. Pertau Pasha, General of the troops, went on board the flagship and urged Ali to make a retrograde movement, were it only for the purpose of throwing the Christian line into disorder by exciting false hopes, and of afterwards turning upon it with greater effect. Ali replied that such a movement was consistent neither with the honour nor with the orders of the Sultan, and that the battle must be fought. A cry was afterwards raised on board Pertau's galley that the right wing of the Christian fleet was giving way and about to fly. That wing being commanded by Doria, an old Genoese renegade went aloft to see how matters stood. To his practised eye it was soon apparent that his countryman was merely extending his line towards the southern shore of the Gulf in order to foil a manœuvre of Aluch Ali, who was endeavouring to outflank him and take him in rear. He descended, shaking his head and saying: "Doria "is not flying; God grant it may not turn out the other way."

When the fleets neared each other, and the Christians were all

[1] The *mahona*, or *maona*, appears to have been nearly identical with *nave*, or *nao*, great ship.

[2] Hermanos, hazed hoy lo que sois obligados por el buen tratamiento que os e hecho, que yo os prometto que si tengo victoria, dar os libertad; y sino hoy es vuestro dia Dios os lo de. M. A. Arroyo: *Relacion*, fol. 61.

prostrate before their crucifixes and friars, and no sound was heard on their decks but the voices of the holy fathers, the Turks were indulging in every kind of noise which Nature or art had furnished them with the means of producing. Shouting and screaming, they bade the Christians come on "like drowned hens" and be slaughtered; they danced, and stamped, and clanged their arms; they blew trumpets, clashed cymbals, and fired volleys of useless musketry. When the Christians had ended their devotions and stood to their guns, or in their ordered ranks, each galley, in the long array, seemed on fire, as the noontide sun blazed on helmet and corselet, and pointed blades and pikes with flame. The bugles now sounded a charge, and the bands of each vessel began to play. Before Don John retired from the forecastle to his proper place on the quarter-deck, it is said, by one of the officers[1] who has written an account of the battle, that he and two of his gentlemen, "inspired with youthful ardour, danced a galliard on "the gun-platform to the music of the fifes." The Turkish line, to the glitter of arms, added yet more splendour of colour from the brilliant and variegated garb of the janissaries, their tall and fanciful crests and prodigious plumes, and from the multitude of flags and streamers which every galley displayed from every available point and peak.[2] Long before the enemy were within range the Turkish cannon opened. The first shot that took effect carried off the point of the pennant of Don Juan de Cardona, who in his swiftest vessel was hovering along the line, correcting trifling defects of position and order, like a sergeant drilling recruits. About noon a flash was seen to proceed from one of the galeasses of the Christian fleet. The shot was aimed at the flagship of the Pasha, conspicuous in the centre of the line, and carrying the sacred green standard of the Prophet. Passing through the rigging of the vessel, the ball carried off a portion of the highest of the three splendid lanterns which hung on the lofty stern as symbols of command. The Pasha, from his quarter-deck, looked up on hearing the crash, and perceiving the ominous mischief, said: "God "grant we may be able to give a good answer to this question."

[1] F. Caracciolo: *I Commentarii della Guerra fatta coi Turchi da D. Gio. d'Austria*, Fiorenza, 1581, 4to, p. 36. Scipio Ammirato, who edited Caracciolo's Commentaries in his own *Paralleli* (Opuscoli di S. Ammirato, Firenze, 1583, sm. 8vo, p. 235), gravely cites the story as an historical parallel with that about Alexander the Great, that he, on debarking on the shore of Asia, "scaglio un asta lietissamente in atto di ballare."

[2] G. Diedo: *Lettere di Principi*, iii. fol. 268. See also, for the description of the dress of the janissaries, Busbequius, *Epistola* i.; N. de Nicolai, *Navigationi et Viaggi nella Turchia*, 4to, Anversa, 1576, pp. 147-153; and Fran. Serdonati, *Costumi de Turchi*, 8vo, Firenze, 1853, p. 13.

The next shot split off a great piece of the poop of an adjacent galley. Of the six galeasses four were soon pouring a murderous fire into the Turkish centre and right wing; the remaining two, which were intended to gall the left wing, having been rendered of little use, then and during the battle, by dexterous southerly movements of Aluch Ali. The balls from the galeasses appeared to stop the vessels which they struck, and which seemed to have been met as by a wall. Two of them were speedily sunk by the terrible fire. Perceiving the great superiority of the galeasses in weight of metal, Ali ordered his galleys not to attempt to attack them, but, avoiding them as well as they could, to push on against the galleys of the Christians. Obedience to this order, however necessary, produced great confusion in the Turkish line.

The Pasha of Alexandria, who led the right wing, endeavoured both to elude the galeasses and circumvent his antagonists, the Venetians, on the Christian left, by passing between them and the shore. Barbarigo observed the movement, and prepared to oppose by adopting it; but his pilots, inferior to those of Sirocco in local knowledge, dreading the shoals and shallows, did not stand towards the coast with sufficient boldness. The Pasha therefore effected his purpose with a few of his vessels, and Barbarigo found himself placed between two fires; his own galley at one time being engaged by no less than eight Turkish vessels. As they approached the Christians, the Turks assailed them not only with cannon and musketry, but also with showers of arrows, many of which, from the wounds inflicted by them, were supposed to have been poisoned. As Barbarigo stood giving orders on his quarter-deck, he became a conspicuous mark; and the hail of the archers fell so thick around him that the great lantern which adorned the galley's stern was afterwards found to be studded with their shafts.[1] At length one of these ancient missiles pierced the left eye of the gallant commander, and compelled his immediate removal below. The wound, in three days, proved mortal. His nephew, Marco Contarini, rushing to his assistance, was also slain. These untoward events for a moment paralysed the efforts of the Venetians. The galley became the centre of so severe a fire that its defenders were more than once swept away, and it was in great danger of being taken. Frederigo Nani, however, who, by Barbarigo's desire, had assumed the command, succeeded in rallying his men, and not only beat off Sirocco, but made a prize of one of his best galleys and its commander, the corsair Kara Ali.

[1] G. Diedo: *Lettere di Principi*, f. 268.

The combat between the Turks and the Venetians seemed inspired by the intensest personal hatred; the Turks thirsting for fresh conquests, the Venetians for vengeance. That they might the more effectually use their weapons, many of the soldiers of St. Mark uncovered their faces and laid aside their shields. No quarter was given, and the slaughter was very great on both sides. One of the Sultan's galleys near the shore being very hard pressed, the Turks jumped overboard and escaped to land. Some of the Venetians followed and slew them as they ran to the cover of some rocks. One of these pursuers, being armed only with a stick, contrived, with that simple weapon, to pin his victim through the mouth to the ground, to the great admiration of his comrades.[1]

As the centre divisions of the two fleets closed with each other, the wisdom of Don John in retrenching the fore-peaks of his vessels became abundantly apparent. The Turks had neglected to take this precaution; the efficiency of their forecastle guns was therefore greatly impaired. Their prows were also much higher than the prows of their antagonists. While their shot passed harmlessly over the enemy, his balls struck their galleys close to watermark with fatal precision. The fire of the Christians was the more murderous because many of the Turkish vessels were crowded with soldiers both on the deck and below.

Ali and Don John had each directed his helmsman to steer for the flagship of the enemy. The two galleys soon met, striking each other with great force. The lofty prow of the Pasha towered high above the lower forecastle of Don John, and his galley's peak was thrust through the rigging of the other vessel until its point was over the fourth rowing-bench. Thus linked together the two flagships became a battlefield which was strongly contested for about two hours. The Pasha had on board four hundred picked janissaries—three hundred armed with the arquebus and one hundred with the bow. Two galliots and ten galleys, all filled with janissaries, lay close astern, the galliots being connected with the Pasha's vessel by ladders, up which reinforcements immediately came when wanted. The galley of Pertau Pasha fought alongside. Don John's force consisted of three hundred arquebusiers; but his forecastle artillery was, for the reasons above mentioned, more efficient, while his bulwarks, like those of the other Christian vessels, were protected from boarders by nettings and other devices with which the Turks had not provided themselves. Requesens, wary and watchful, lay astern with two

[1] F. de Herrera; *Relacion*, chap. xxviii.

galleys, from which he led fresh troops into the flagship from time to time. Alongside, Veniero and Colonna were each hotly engaged with an antagonist. The combat between the two chiefs was on the whole not unequal, and it was fought with great gallantry on both sides. From the Turkish forecastle the arquebusiers at first severely galled the Christians. Don Lope de Figueroa, who commanded on the prow of the flagship, lost so many of his men that he was compelled to ask for assistance. Don Bernardino de Cardenas, who led a party to his aid, was struck on the chest by a spent ball from an *esmeril*, and in falling backwards received injuries from which he soon expired. Considerable execution was also done by the Turkish arrows, with which portions of the masts and spars bristled. Several of these missiles came from the bow of the Pasha himself, who was probably the last Commander-in-Chief who ever drew a bowstring in European battle. But on the whole the fire of the Christians was greatly superior to that of the Turks. Twice the deck of Ali was swept clear of defenders, and twice the Spaniards rushed on board and advanced as far as the mainmast. At that point they were on each occasion driven back by the janissaries, who, though led by Ali in person, do not appear to have made good a footing on the deck of Don John. A third attempt was more successful. Not only did the Spaniards pass the mast, but they approached the poop and assailed it with a vigorous fire. The Pasha led on his janissaries to meet them, but it seems with small hope of making a successful resistance, for at the same moment he threw into the sea a small box, which was supposed to contain his most precious jewels.[1] A ball from an arquebus soon afterwards struck him in the forehead. He fell forward upon the gangway (*crucija*). A soldier from Malaga, seizing the body, cut off the head and carried it to Don John, who was already on board the Turkish vessel, leading a fresh body of men to the support of their comrades.[2] The trophy was then raised on the point of a lance,

[1] H. de Torres y Aguilera: *Chronica*, f. 70.

[2] G. Diedo: *Lettere di Principi*, f. 269. Much difference of opinion prevails among the chroniclers of the battle about the circumstances of Ali's death, as to what became of his head. Arroyo (*Relacion*, f. 64) says it was brought to Don John, "who greatly re-"gretted his death, on account of his kindness to his Christian prisoners." Torres y Aguilera (*Chronica*, f. 70) says "the head was cut off by a galley-slave, who had that day "been relieved of his chain; and while the man was bringing it to His Highness, it fell "into the sea and was never seen again." Fer. Caracciolo (*I Commentarii*, p. 39) gives a different account. According to him: "After the Turkish flagship had been taken, "the Pasha was found by the soldiers lying wounded with an arquebus-shot. He said "to some of them in Italian, 'Go down below where there is money.' It being re-"marked amongst them that this must be the Pasha, a raw Spanish soldier (*un soldato*

to be seen by friend and foe. The Turks paused for a moment panic-stricken ; the Christians shouted victory, and, hauling down the Turkish standard, hoisted a flag with a cross in its place. Don John ordered his trumpets to sound, and the good news was soon proclaimed in the adjacent galleys of the League. The Turks defended their flagship but feebly after the death of their Pasha. The vessel, which was the first taken, was in the hands of the Spaniards about two o'clock in the afternoon—about an hour and a half after the two leaders had engaged each other. A brigantine, which had been employed in bringing up fresh troops, surrendered almost at the same time.[1] The neighbouring galleys

" *spagnuolo bisogno*) went to kill him ; upon which he, to prevent him, said, 'Take this " 'chain (*torta*),' holding out one of great price ; but his fair words availed him nothing, " for the man pitilessly cut off his head, and leaping into the sea, swam with it to Don " John, hoping for a great reward. Don John, however, answered him with displeasure, " 'What would you have me do with that head? Throw it into the sea.' It was, " nevertheless, fixed for an hour on a pike on the stern of the galley. Don John re- " gretted his death, because, being a prisoner, he ought not to have been killed, and still " more when he heard from the Christian slaves of his kindness and gentleness to them." Gonçalo de Yllescas relates (*Historia Pontifical*, ii. 762) the incident thus :—" In the " Turkish flagship there were four hundred men slain, and the few that remained were " giving way and jumping into the sea : whereupon Don Lope de Figueroa got to the " poop and pulled down the Turkish flag, and a soldier who was with him killed the " Pasha, already wounded with a musket-shot, by giving him a thrust, not knowing he " was the general until a Christian rower told him who it was. Then said the soldier, " 'Since this is Ali I desire to try my sword upon a Pasha (*quiero ver como corta mi* " '*espada en Baxaes*),' and with that cut off his head, which was presently put on a pike, " and they that were there began to shout *Victory ! victory !* The Turks seeing this, and " also that His Highness continued the battle with the other galleys, lost all heart, and " knew for certain that the day was ours." Rich. Knolles (*The Turkish History*, 3 vols. folio, London, 1687, i. p. 59) has his own version of the story. "The bassa, deadly " wounded in the head with a shot, and all imbrued with blood, was taken, and as a " joyful spectacle, brought to Don John, who, seeing him ready to breathe his last, " commanded him to be despoiled of his armour and his head struck off. Which " presently set upon the point of a spear, he for a space held up aloft with his own hand " as a trophy of his victory, as also with the sight thereof to strike a terror in the minds " of the other Turks, who in the other galleys fast by fought yet right valiantly ; neither " was he therein deceived." Pietro Bizaro says that the Pasha " whiles that he executed " no less the charge of an excellent chieftain, than a stout soldier, was slain by a small " shot that hit him in the head, the which, being straightway cut off from his neck, was " brought by a Spaniard to Don John, who, as soon as he saw it, commanded it to be " set on the point of a spear for a space, and held it aloft with his own hand as if it had " been a trophy, and to strike terror into the hearts of the rest of his enemies, who fought " yet very valiantly, and anon were all the Turkish flags pulled down, and one of the crossed " hanged out in their place." *De Bello Cyprio*, lib. iii., Basileæ, 1573, 8vo, p. 235. Here the translation is taken from that in *All the famous Battels that have been fought in our Age*, London, 1587, 4to, Part I. p. 328. He afterwards says that the Pasha was slain by a Greek born in Macedonia, to whom was given " his rich casket with the six " thousand pieces of gold in it, with a yearly revenue of three hundred ducats, and he " was also created a knight by Don John ; he had also given to him the barrel [manu- " brium] of the Turkish standard, which, when he returned to Venice (where he had long " before dwelt with his wife, and served the Commonwealth about the arsenal), he sold to " a goldsmith." It was redeemed by the Senate at a ducat an ounce, and " laid up amongst " the rest of the trophies and spoils."—p. 263. Translation in *All the famous Battels*, pp. 334-5.

[1] G. Diedo ; *Lettere di Principi*, iii. fol. 269.

of the Sultan had themselves been by this time too severely handled to render much assistance. Only one serious attempt was made to recover the ship of Ali, or to avenge its loss. Several galleys from other parts of the line bore down at once upon Don John. The movement was perceived by Santa Cruz, whose vessels of reserve were still untouched. Dashing into the advancing squadron, he had the good fortune to sink one galley by the force of his fire; and he immediately boarded another and put all the janissaries to the sword. Don John himself dealt with the remaining assailants.

Veniero and Colonna fought with great gallantry and success; and each vanquished the Turk who had engaged him. The brave old Admiral of Venice fairly earned the Doge's cap, which soon after crowned his hoary brow. He was often in the thickest of the fire; and when, in the absence of many of his men, who had boarded the Turkish flagship, his own was also boarded, he repulsed the assailants in person, and, fighting with all the vigour of youth, received a wound in the foot on the deck of the galley of Pertau Pasha, whither he had pursued his advantage.[1] A second Turkish galley, advancing to attack Veniero, was run into about midships and sunk by Giovanni Contarini. Giovanni de Loredano and Caterino Malipieri were less happy in the enemies whom they encountered, and perished in their sunken vessels. From the flagship of Genoa the young Prince of Parma, followed by a single Spanish soldier named Alonso Davalos, leaped into a Turkish galley; fought their way through its defenders without a wound; and might almost boast of having, unaided, caused it to strike its flag. Two other Turks afterwards surrendered to the Genoese flagship, the captain of which, Ettore Spinola, lost his life by an arrow. In the flagship of Savoy, under a captain named Leni, of remarkable courage, who was also severely wounded, the Prince of Urbino likewise greatly distinguished himself. The gallant Karacosh was compelled to surrender to Juan Bautista Cortes, a captain of the King of Spain, although his galley was defended by a hundred and fifty picked janissaries and was one of the best built and equipped vessels in the fleet.[2] The *Eleugina* of the Pope had the credit of taking the guard-ship

[1] G. Diedo: *Lettere di Principi*, f. 270. Em. Mar. Manolesso (*Historia nova nella quale si contengono tutti i successi della guerra Turchesa dal anno* 1570, *sino all' hora presente*, 4to, Padua, 1572, fol. 70-71) describes Veniero as casting off his old age as a serpent in spring casts his skin, and leaving it at home with his civic gown, and putting on fresh youth and active limbs with his coat of mail.

[2] By some accounts this capture was attributed to the *Grifona* of the Pope.

of Rhodes; and the *Toscana*, also a Papal galley, in making a prize of the vessel of the Turkish paymaster recovered to the pontifical squadron the flagship of the contingent of Pius IV. in the unfortunate battle of Gerbi.[1] The crowning achievement of the central division was performed by the Grand Commander, who attacked and captured, after an obstinate and bloody contest, a fine galley, in which were the sons of the deseased Ali Pasha. These lads—Mahomet Bey, aged seventeen years, and Said Bey, aged thirteen—had been brought to sea by their father for the first time. Their capture was of importance, because the mother of one of them was a sister of Sultan Selim.

Juan de Cardona, who sailed on the left of the right wing, finding no enemy opposed to him, brought his vessel round to the rear of the Turkish centre, and attacked Pertau Pasha, with whom Paolo Giordano Orsini was engaged in a somewhat unequal conflict. After a stout resistance the Christians entered the Turkish galley, out of which the Pasha, though wounded, succeeded in escaping in a boat.

The right wing of the Christians and the Turkish left wing did not engage each other until some time after the other divisions were in deadly conflict. Doria and Aluch Ali were, each of them, bent on out-manœuvring the other. The Algerine did not succeed, like Sirocco, in insinuating himself between his adversary and the shore. But the seaman whose skill and daring were the admiration of the Mediterranean was not easily baffled. Finding himself foiled in his first attempt, he slackened his course, and, threatening sometimes one vessel and sometimes another, drew the Genoese eastward, until the inferior speed of some of the galleys had caused an opening at the northern end of the Christian line. Upon this opening the crafty corsair immediately bore down with all the speed of his oars, and passed through it with most of his galleys. This evolution placed him in the rear of the whole Christian line of battle. On the extreme right of the centre division sailed Prior Giustiniani, the Commodore of the small Maltese squadron. This officer had hitherto fought with no less success than skill, and had already captured four Turkish galleys. The Viceroy of Algiers had, the year before, captured three galleys of Malta, and was fond of boasting of being the peculiar scourge and terror of the Order of St. John. The well-

[1] In 1560, when the expedition which sailed from Naples had twenty-six galleys and seven or eight transports taken by Piali Pasha. Gonçalo de Yllescas: *Historia Pontifical*, ii. p. 727.

known white cross banner, rising over the smoke of battle, soon attracted his eye, and was marked for his prey. Wheeling round like a hawk, he bore down from behind upon the unhappy Prior. The three war-worn vessels of St. John were no match for seven stout Algerines which had not yet fired a shot. The knights and their men defended themselves with a valour worthy of their heroic Order. A youth named Bernardino de Heredia, son of the Count of Fuentes, signally distinguished himself; and a Zaragozan knight, Geronimo Ramirez, although riddled with arrows like another St. Sebastian, fought with such desperation that none of the Algerine boarders cared to approach him until they saw that he was dead. A knight of Burgundy leaped alone into one of the enemy's galleys, killed four Turks, and defended himself until overpowered by numbers. On board the Prior's vessel, when he was taken, he himself, pierced with five arrow wounds, was the sole survivor, except two knights, a Spaniard and a Sicilian, who, being senseless from their wounds, were considered as dead. Having secured the banner of St. John, Aluch Ali took the Prior's ship in tow, and was making the best of his way out of a battle which his skilful eye soon discovered to be irretrievably lost. He had not, however, sailed far when he was in turn descried by the Marquess of Santa Cruz, who, with his squadron of reserve, was moving about redressing the wrongs of Christian fortune. Aluch Ali had no mind for the fate of Giustiniani, and resolved to content himself with the banner of Malta. Cutting his prize adrift, he plied his oars and escaped,[1] leaving the Prior, grievously wounded, to the care of his friends, and once more master not only of his ship, but of three hundred dead enemies who cumbered the deck, a few living Algerine mariners who were to navigate the vessel,[2] and some Turkish soldiers, from whom he had just purchased his life. This struggle cost the Order, in killed alone, upwards of thirty knights, amongst whom was the

[1] In the *Romancero General; Segunda Parte*, Valladolid, 1605, pp. 168-9, there is a spirited ballad on the escape of Aluch Ali—

"Un esclavo de Ochali, que en sus galeras remava,
Tan abundante en nobleza, quanto lo es en desgracia," etc.

The refrain represents the orders given by the Turk to his slaves—

"Yça, boga, leva, salla | bogad apriesa canalla,
Apriesa, apriesa canalla."

[2] I cannot find the passage in the edition of Seville 1583, but it is on the back of fol. 32 in that of Brussels 1595 (en casa de Rutger Velpis), on the title-page of which there is the device of the Austrian eagle supporting a *Crucifix*—apparently identical with that which I have copied from a book printed at Toledo. Bernardino de Escalante (*Dialogos del Arte militar*, Sevilla, 1583, fol. 32) says that the flagship of Malta was recovered by Ojeda, captain of the Neapolitan galley *Guzmana*. Rosell: *Combate Naval de Lepanto*, 112, note 15.

Grand Bailiff of Germany, Commander-in-Chief of its land forces. A few were also made prisoners, most of them desperately wounded. For one of them, Borgianni Gianfigliazzi, his relations at Florence, supposing him dead, performed funeral obsequies, in spite of which he returned home from captivity, and was afterwards ambassador from the Grand Duke to Sultan Amurath. Two other knights, Mastrillo and Caraffa, finding themselves unsupported in an enemy's brigantine, had given themselves up, and had just bribed their captor to spare their lives and admit them to ransom, when a Neapolitan galley coming by boarded the brigantine, and turned their new master into their slave.[1]

The main body of the Turkish left wing, though long of engaging the Christian right, fought with perhaps greater fierceness than any other part of the fleet. The battle was raging in that part of the line with very doubtful aspect, when Don John of Austria found himself free from the attacks of the enemies immediately around him. Thither, therefore, he steered to the assistance of his comrades. The Turks, perceiving the approach of a succouring squadron, and surmising the disasters which had occurred in the centre, immediately gave way and dispersed. Sixteen of the Algerine galleys, however, retired together, and rallying at a little distance, adopted the tactics of their chief, by making a circuit towards the shore of the Morea, and endeavouring to sweep round upon the rear of the Christians. Their manœuvres were closely watched by Don Juan de Cardona, who placed himself in their path with eight galleys. The encounter which took place between the two unequal squadrons was one of the bloodiest episodes of the battle. Cardona was completely successful, disabling some of his antagonists and putting the rest to flight. His loss was, however, very severe. His own galley suffered more damage than any vessel in the fleet which was not rendered absolutely unfit for service. The forecastle was a ruin; the bulwark and defences of all kinds were shattered to pieces; and the masts and spars were stuck full of arrows. Cardona himself, after escaping a ball from an arquebus, which was turned by a cuirass of fine steel given to him at Genoa by the Prince of Tuscany, received a severe wound in the throat, of which he died.[2] Of the five hundred Sicilian soldiers who fought on board his galleys only fifty remained unwounded. Many of the officers were slain, and not one escaped without a wound. Others had

[1] Ferrante Caracciolo, Conte de Biccari: *I Commentarii della Guerra fatta coi Turchi*, 4to, Fiorenza, 1581, pp. 40-41.

[2] *Relacion* of D. John, p. 36.

suffered even greater loss. In the *Florence*, a Papal galley, not only many knights of St. Stephen were killed, but also every soldier and slave; and the captain, Tommaso de Medicis, himself severely wounded, found himself at the head of only seventeen wounded seamen. In the *San Giovanni*, another vessel of the Pope, the soldiers were also killed to a man, the rowing-benches occupied by corpses, and the captain laid for dead with two musket-balls in his neck. The *Piamontesa* of Savoy had likewise lost her commander and all her soldiers and rowers.

Although Doria, having suffered himself to be out-manœuvred by Aluch Ali, and having failed to exchange a shot with that leader, could not claim any considerable part of the laurels of the day, he was nevertheless frequently engaged with other foes, and made several prizes. He escaped without a wound, though he was covered with the blood of a soldier killed by a cannon-ball close behind him.

On the left wing of the Christian fleet, the battle, which had begun so unpropitiously, was also brought to a prosperous issue. The wound of Barbarigo transferred the command to the commissary Canale. Aided by Nani, who commanded Barbarigo's galley, Canale engaged and sunk the vessel of the Pasha of Alexandria. Mahomet Sirocco himself, severely wounded, was fished out of the sea by Gian. Contarini, and sent on board Canale's galley. As the wound of the Turk appeared to be mortal, the Venetian relieved him from further suffering by cutting off his head. Marco Quirini likewise did gallant service, compelling several of the enemy to strike their flags. Of the remaining galleys many were run ashore by their crews, of whom the greater number were slain or drowned as they attempted to swim to land.

The victory of the Christians at Lepanto was in a great measure to be ascribed to the admirable tactics of their chief. The shock of the Turkish onset was effectually broken by the dexterous disposition made of the galeasses of Venice. Indeed, had the great ships been there to strengthen the sparse line formed by these six vessels, it is not impossible that the Turks would have failed in forcing their way through the wall of that terrible fire. Each Christian vessel, by the retrenchment of its peak, enjoyed an advantage over its antagonist in the freer play of its artillery. When, however, the galleys of Selim came to close combat with the galleys of the League, the battle became a series of isolated struggles which depended more upon individual mind

and manhood than upon any comprehensive plan or far-seeing calculation. But Don John of Austria had the merit or the good fortune of bringing his forces into action in the highest moral and material perfection ; of placing admirable means in the hands of men whose spirit was in the right temper to use them. He struck his great blow at the happy moment when great dangers are cheerfully confronted and great things easily accomplished.

His plan of battle was on the whole admirably executed. The galleys of the various confederates were so studiously intermingled that each vessel was incited to do its utmost by the spur of rivalry. Veniero and Colonna deserve their full share of the credit of the day ; and the gallant Santa Cruz, although at first stationed in the rear, soon found and employed his opportunity of earning his share of laurels. On Doria alone Roman and Venetian critics, and indeed public opinion, pronounced a less favourable verdict. His shoreward movement unquestionably had the effect of enabling Aluch Ali to cut the Christian line and fall with damaging force upon its rear, and of rendering the victory more costly in blood and less rich in prizes. This movement was ascribed to the desire of the Genoese to spare his own ships, and to secure a safe retreat for himself in case of a disaster;[1] and he was further even taunted with cowardice for hauling down the gilded celestial sphere, the proud cognisance of his house, which usually surmounted his flagstaff.[2] To the latter charge his friends replied that the sphere was taken down to secure it from injury, it being the gift of his wife, and that his ship was too well known to both the fleets to find safety in the want of her usual badge. The other accusations, they considered, were disposed of by the necessity of shaping his course according to the tactics of the Algerine, and abundantly refuted by the vigour and success with which he at last attacked the enemy. It is not improbable that the true explanation of his conduct is that offered by the captain of a Neapolitan galley, present at the battle, that he wished to gain an advantage over Aluch Ali by seamanship, and that the renegade, no less skilled in the game, played it on this occasion better than he.[3]

Men of all ranks vied with each other in deeds of the most brilliant gallantry and the most stoical endurance. The young Prince of Parma, who boarded a galley alone, by no means outdid Martin Muñoz, a sergeant who lay sick in the *San Giovanni* of Sicily.

[1] Paruta : *Guerra di Cipro*, p. 161. [2] G. Diedo : *Lettere di Principi*, fol. 270.
[3] F. Caracciolo : *I Commentarii*, p. 41.

Hearing the rush of the Turks on the deck overhead, this man leaped from his bed crying that there was no need to die of fever. Snatching a weapon, he dashed up amongst the combatants, and killed four of the enemy, driving the rest before him to the mast. With the loss of a leg, and with nine arrow wounds, he then sank upon a rowing-bench, saying to his comrades: "Each of you do "as much," and expired. Federico Venusta, a captain of Spanish artillery on board Doria's *Doncella*, had his left hand mutilated by a grenade which exploded as he was about to fling it amongst the Turks. He went up to one of the galley-slaves, and begged him to cut off the bleeding hand with a long knife which he wore. The man refusing to undertake this operation, Venusta performed it himself. He then walked forward to the cook's quarter, thrust the bleeding stump into the warm body of a fowl which he caused to be opened, had it tied up, and returned to his projectiles.

A Spanish soldier, whose name has not been preserved, was shot in the eye with an arrow. Plucking out the weapon with the eye attached to it, he wrapped a cloth round his head, and tied it with a garter, and was the first man who boarded the Turkish galley with which his own was engaged, and to which it soon surrendered. Men who were skilful swimmers and who found themselves overmastered in the grasp of a strong infidel, leaped into the sea, and finished the conflict amongst the waves, by drowning their antagonists or knocking out their brains.

Amongst the arquebusiers on board the flagship, under the command of Don Lope de Figueroa, was a woman disguised as a man, who greatly distinguished herself. Not contented with using her firelock with great effect, she accompanied the boarders into the Pasha's vessel, and there slew a Turk in hand-to-hand fight. As a reward for her gallantry, Don John gave orders that Maria *la Bailadora* (the dancer), as she was called, should be continued on the strength of the company in which she served.

The Christian portion of the galley-slaves shared the enthusiasm of the soldiers, and materially contributed to the victory. One of them, called *El Marquesillo*, because reputed to be the son of the Marquess of Cañete, fought with such daring, and with such manifest advantage to his ship, that besides his freedom the officers presented him with two hundred ducats. Like a true jail-bird he next day lost the whole sum at play, and resumed his place at the oar.[1]

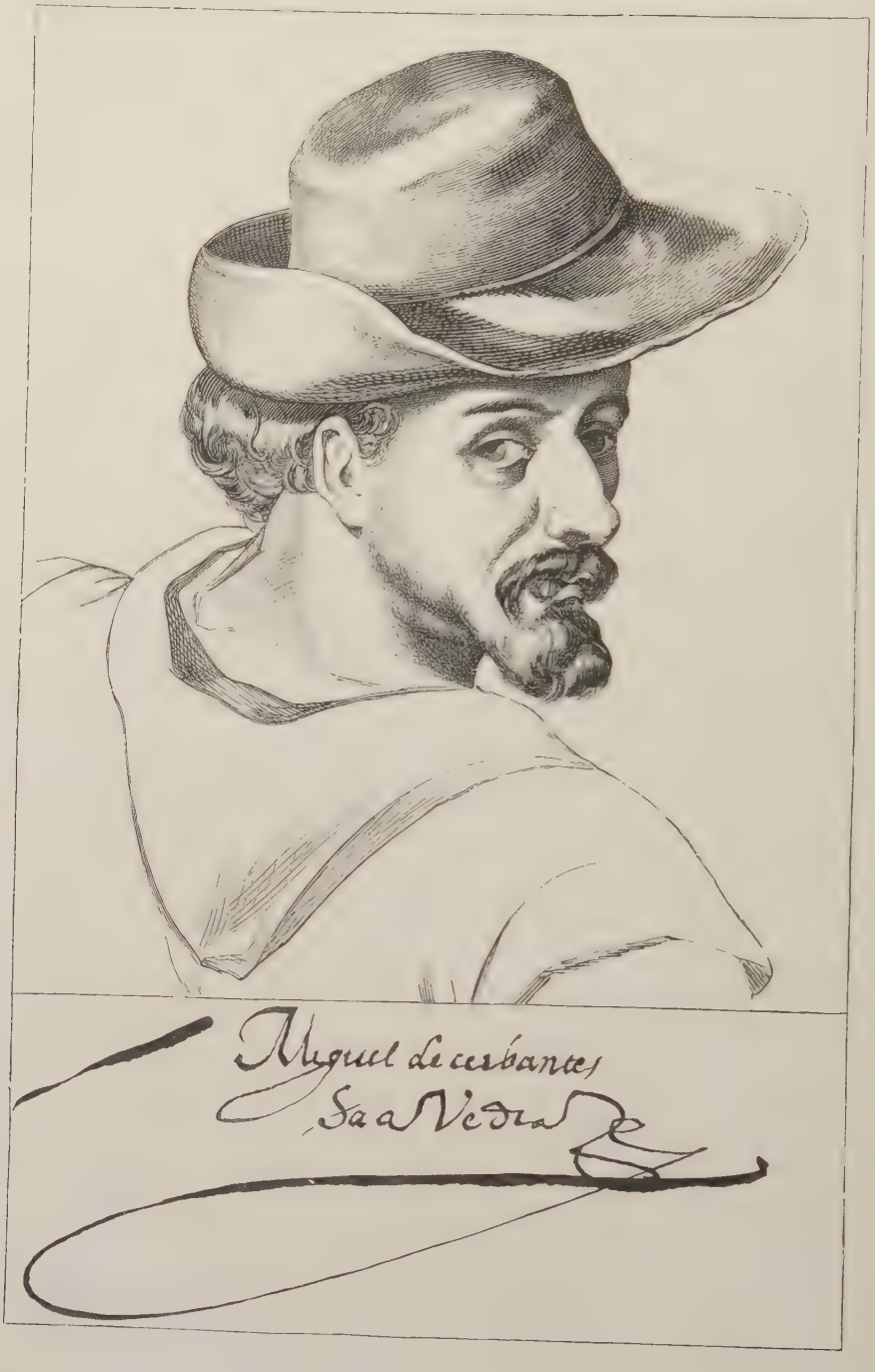
[1] *A* (*MS.?*) *History of Tarancon*, in the Escorial, cited by Rosell: *Combate Naval*, 116, note 21.

These were the bold deeds of brave men, whose names are either forgotten or are pronounced without emotion or interest. But on board the *Marquesa* of Doria there was a military volunteer whose name is still familiar and delightful to thousands to whom Doria and Colonna are but strange sounds, and whose valour at Lepanto is a minor trophy of one whose achievements were to be accomplished by a better weapon than the sword. In that galley sailed Miguel de Cervantes, then in his twenty-fourth year.[1] On the morning of the battle he lay sick of a fever. Nevertheless, he rose from his bed and sought and obtained the command of twelve soldiers posted near the long-boat (*esquife*), a position exposed to the hottest of the enemies' fire. He remained there until the combat was over, although he had received two wounds. One of these left him marked with an honourable distinction, the only military distinction ever conferred upon him, the loss of "the movement of his left hand for the honour of the "right."[2]

Although in numbers, both of men and vessels, the Sultan's fleet was superior to the fleet of the League, this superiority was more than counterbalanced by other important advantages possessed by the Christians. The artillery of the West was of greater power, and far better served than the ordnance of the East; and its fire was rendered doubly disastrous by the thronged condition of the Turkish vessels. The lofty peaked prows of these vessels seriously interfered, as we have already seen, with the working of their guns. A great number of their combatants were armed with the bow instead of the firelock, which placed them at an obvious disadvantage, except during heavy rains, which extinguished the match of the latter weapon. Of the Turks who carried the musket or arquebus few could handle them with the expertness of the Christian soldier. The advantages which the League derived from its galeasses were heightened by the fact that a large proportion of its other vessels were superior to their antagonists. The galleys of the King of Spain were, in general, both more strongly built and more carefully protected against boarders than those of the Sultan. Even early in the

[1] M. Fernandez de Navarrete: *Vida de Cervantes*, 8vo, Madrid, 1819, p. 19.

[2] *Viage al Parnaso*, cap. i., 8vo, Madrid, 1784, p. 9. Cervantes several times alludes with pride in his works to his presence at the battle of Lepanto, as in the prologues to *Don Quixote*, Part ii. and the *Novelas*. From the dedication of the *Galatea*, he appears to have served also in the galleys of Marc Antonio Colonna; but the facts, as above related, of his service in the regiment of Miguel de Monçada, the company of Diego de Urbino, and on board Doria's *Marquesa* at Lepanto, seem established beyond doubt by evidence cited by Navarrete in his *Vida de Cervantes*, pp. 291-2.


Miguel de cervantes
Saavedra

battle the Moslems began to discover that they were overmatched. In many of the galleys the guns were at once silenced by the heavier artillery of the Christians, in whose hands the fire of the arquebus and the musket, when they came to close quarters, proved so withering, that the enemy's deck was sometimes swept clean before they boarded, and the turbaned heads of the janissaries were seen crouching beneath the benches of the slaves. When the conflict was transferred to the Turkish decks, the Christians, however, found themselves fiercely met, and amongst other means of opposing their progress, they perceived that the central gangway (*corsia*) had been torn up, or they slipped upon planking which had been smeared with butter, oil, or even, it is said, with honey, to render the footing insecure.[1] So efficient were the nettings and other precautions with which Don John of Austria defended the bulwarks of his ships, that he was able to inform Philip II. that not a Turk had set foot upon a single deck belonging to His Majesty.[2]

Such were some of the chief causes of the success of the arms of the League. In the sixteenth century, in a vast concourse of men of the south, hot from battle and largely leavened with priests and friars, it was natural that the victory should be by many ascribed to a more mysterious agency. In the opinion of these persons the Almighty had evidently been fighting on the side of the Pope and the Cross, although they would perhaps have demurred to the logical deduction from that opinion, that at Cyprus He had steadily adhered to the drunken Sultan and the Crescent. It was not only in the victory that they saw the finger of Omnipotence, but in many accidents and incidents of the day. The wind, which wafted the Turks swiftly to destruction, changed at the precise moment when it was needed to aid the onset of the Christians. The boisterous sea also sank to smoothness in the special interest of the League. Of the clergy and friars who ministered on the Spanish decks to the wounded and dying, although some of them were struck, not one was killed. The Venetians were less fortunate, having four chaplains killed and three wounded; and the Pope likewise lost one of his friars, who died of his wounds soon after the battle. The churchmen exposed themselves as freely as the combatants, whom they encouraged from conspicuous posts either on deck or in the rigging, and

[1] Ferrante Caracciolo: *I Commentarii*, p. 42.

[2] Rosell: *Hist.*, p. 119. Fer. Caracciolo (*I Commentarii*, p. 41) says that the Turks boarded the galley of D. Juan de Cardona, and had reached the mast before they were driven back.

sometimes by example as well as precept. A Spanish Capuchin, an old soldier, had tied his crucifix to a halbert, and, crying that Christ would fight for his faith, led the boarders of his galley over the bulwarks of her antagonist; after using his weapon manfully, he returned victorious and untouched. An Italian priest, with a great gilded crucifix in one hand and a sword in the other, stood cheering on his spiritual sons, unharmed in the fiercest centre of the arrowy sleet and iron hail. A Roman Capuchin, finding his flock getting the worst of it, seized a boathook, and, pulling his peaked hood over his face, rushed into the fray, laid about him until he had slain seven Turks and driven the rest from the deck, and lived to call a smile to the thin lips of Pius V. by telling the story of his prowess.[1] The green banner of Mecca, brought from the Prophet's tomb, and unfurled from the maintop of Ali, was riddled with shot, which rendered illegible many of the sacred words with which it was embroidered. But the azure standard of the League, blessed by the supreme Pontiff and emblazoned with the image of the crucified Redeemer, remained untouched by bolt or bullet, although masts, spars, and shrouds around were torn and shattered from top to bottom. Not a crucifix in the whole fleet had been hit, although in the little shrine which contained one a ball had lodged. In the heat of the conflict between the two flagships, a couple of arrows stuck upon the staff of the royal standard, close to the crucifix which Don John had hung upon the staff. A little pet monkey belonging to him, observing what had happened, ran up the staff, pulled out the arrows, broke them with his teeth, and flung them into the sea, a feat of simious daring which has been gravely chronicled by a devout historian as one of the "evident "signs of God's mercy to the Christians."[2]

The battle was over about four o'clock in the afternoon. The rout of the centre and right wing of the Turk was complete. The vessels which composed these divisions were either sunk or taken, or they had singly sought safety in flight. A few galleys of the left wing still followed the banner of the Viceroy of Algiers. After hovering for a while near the coast of the Morea he made sail for S^ta^ Maura. Don John of Austria, with Doria and some other captains, gave him chase, but was compelled to desist for want of oarsmen. The pursuit, however, was not altogether unsuccessful, for several of the panic-stricken Algerines ran their galleys ashore, where some of them suffered shipwreck on the rocks. In the course of the night Aluch Ali and his little squadron of fugitives

[1] Guglielmotti, p. 249. [2] Torres y Aguilera: *Chronica*, fol. 75.

stole back from S^ta^ Maura to Lepanto. That harbour afforded a refuge to about nine-and-twenty vessels, most of them much shattered, the sole remains of the proud and confident armament which had so lately sailed out from between the two castles.[1] Amongst them, however, was the Venetian galley *Bua*, one of four vessels which had been fitted out at Corfu. Surrounded in the battle by the enemy, and overpowered by them, she escaped the notice of the Christians, and the Turks were able to carry her off in their retreat.[2]

Towards evening the milky sea and bright sunshine became troubled and overcast. Don John therefore collected his forces and prepared to take shelter in the haven of Petala, near the north-western limit of the Gulf. Of the captured galleys, he set fire to those which were in a sinking condition ; and the *Florencia*, a Papal vessel, being reduced to a mere wreck, was also burned. At sunset the field of battle presented a remarkable scene of desolation. For miles around the victorious fleet the waves, as eye-witnesses asserted, were reddened with blood, and were strewed with broken planks, masts, spars, and oars, with men's bodies and limbs, with shields, weapons, turbans, chests, barrels, and cabin furniture, the rich scarf of the knight, the splended robe of the Pasha, the mighty plume of the janissary, the sordid rags of the slave, and all the various spoils of war.[3] Boats moved hither and thither amongst the floating relics, saving all that seemed valuable except the lives of the vanquished ; for if a wounded Turk uttered a feeble cry for help or pity, he was answered by a shot from a musket or a thrust with a pike.[4] As night closed over this heaving waste of carnage, the burning ships here and there revealed themselves to view, and cast a lurid glare across the waters, as they sent their wreaths of smoke and tongues of flame into the stormy sky.

The fleet proceeded to Petala under sail, for the sake of reposing the wearied oarsmen, many of whom, having done good service as combatants, had been released from the chain.[5] On anchoring in the harbour the royal galley of Don John was crowded with the chiefs of the fleet, eager to offer their congratu-

[1] G. Diedo (*Lettere di Principi*, p. 273) says fifteen galleys and about ten galliots.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Richard Lovelace, in his *Posthume Poems*, 1650, has one "*On Sanazar's being honoured with* 600 *ducats by the Clarissimi of Venice for composing an elegiac hexastic of the city*," which bears testimony to the traditionary slaughter of the Turks at Lepanto—

> "His conquest (*i.e.* St. Mark's) at Lepanto I'll let pass,
> When the sick sea with turbans nightcapp'd was."

Singer's Edition, Chiswick, 1818, sm. 8vo, p. 78.

[4] H. de Torres : *Chronica*, f. 74.

[5] F. Caracciolo : *I Commentarii*, p. 43.

lations on the great success of the day. He received them with his usual grace and tact, and thanked each for the services which he had rendered. Observing that the Venetian Admiral was not present, he sent to invite him on board, and when he came alongside he received him at the top of the ladder with a friendly embrace, calling him *padre mio*, after the endearing fashion of the South. Veniero, who had not expected this reception, was greatly pleased and touched, and expressed his emotion by tears. The Commander-in-Chief next informed himself of the state of the wounded, and visited some of them. Of those on board his own vessel he ordered every care to be taken, and he gave up to them a part of his own accommodation. He then sent for the captive sons of Ali Pasha, who came and flung themselves at his feet, the younger of them bathed in tears. Addressing them kindly, he condoled with them on the death of their father, and assured them of his protection. By his orders the best Turkish clothing to be found amongst the ample spoils of the enemy was purchased for their use; and they were lodged in the cabin of the secretary, Juan de Soto, one of the best placed and most commodious berths in the ship. Mahomet, the eldest of these lads, although only seventeen years of age, was already a Turk of the old stoical fatalist breed. A day or two afterwards, seeing a young son of Don Bernardino de Cardenas weeping, he inquired the reason, and was told that it was for the loss of his father, who had just died of his wounds. "Is that all?" said the captive, contemptuously; "I too have lost my father, and also my fortune, country, "and liberty, yet I shed no tears!"[1]

The reconciliation between Don John and the Admiral of Venice, recent as it was, was nearly followed, ere the day closed, by a new misunderstanding. The Venetian had despatched a galley to carry to Venice the news of the victory and also to convey to Ancona his son, a priest, with congratulations to the Pontiff; and he had done this without having first informed the Commander-in-Chief. This neglect was, however, overlooked, partly perhaps because Colonna assured Don John that their colleague was sending two galleys on the same errand, and that one had been purposely detained until His Highness's pleasure had been taken; but chiefly because Don John was unwilling, on such a day, to reopen old wounds.[2]

The night was blustering, with thunder and heavy rain.

[1] Gonçalo de Yllescas: *Historia Pontifical*, 4 vols. folio, Madrid, 1613, ii. p. 763.
[2] F Caracciolo: *I Commentarii*, p. 46.

Nevertheless, by the soldiers and seamen who had come unscathed out of the battle it was passed in merriment and feasting. The occasion justified some relaxation of discipline. Roaming from galley to galley, they went about inquiring after the fortunes of friends, felicitating those who were safe and sound, giving a brief sigh to the ill-luck of the slain or missing, and drinking to the health of the wounded. The cheer was somewhat Lenten, at least in those vessels which had been hotly engaged. In the flagship, the cooking quarter had been carried away, or so much disabled that it was impossible to kindle a fire; and Don John and his officers, after the fatigues of the day, supped like galley-slaves on dry biscuit.

The next day, the 8th of October, Don John of Austria ordered a review of the fleet, and a return of the killed and wounded, the prizes and the prisoners. He went round the armament in a frigate, visiting the various officers, addressing a few words to the men, and thanking all for their bravery and devotion. He was especially courteous and complimentary to the Venetians, and obliterated from their recollection all trace of his dispute with Veniero. Later in the day, the flagship was got under weigh, and moved through the fleet, towing at her stern the galley of the Turkish Admiral. Some craft were also sent out to bring in some Turkish vessels stranded on the shore, or drifting about the Gulf with their dead. The prizes were, most of them, collected in the adjacent port of La Draguntina.[1]

Of the vessels which had formed the Christian line-of-battle, eleven or twelve, including the *Florencia*, burned by her crew, perished beneath the waves of Lepanto. Of these, eight belonged to the Venetians, one to the Pope, one to Doria, and one or two to the squadron of Sicily. The *Piamontesa* of the Duke of Savoy and some of the Sicilian galleys were in so shattered a condition that there was some difficulty in towing then into harbour.

The loss in killed was not less than seven thousand six hundred men. Two thousand of these were in the service of the King, eight hundred in the pay of the Pope, and the remaining four thousand eight hundred were Venetians. Of twenty-three captains and officers of rank who were slain, seven were Spaniards,[2]

[1] M. A. Arroyo: *Relacion*, fol. 82.

[2] Bernardino and Alonso de Cardenas, Monserrate de Guardiola, Juan de Cordoba Lemos, Agustin de Hinojosa, Juan de Miranda (gentlemen-in-waiting to Don John of Austria), Juan Ponce de Leon.

thirteen Venetians,[1] and four knights of Malta.[2] Barbarigo, commissary of the Venetian squadron, and distinguished no less for skill in affairs than for his majestic presence,[3] died three days after the battle. Insensible for the most part of the time after receiving his wound—an arrow-shot in the eye—he became aware of the great success only in his last moments. Unable to speak, he held up his hands to heaven, and so expired, "carrying "with him on high the palm of victory."[4] The numbers of the wounded have not been recorded with exactness; but there seems to have been the usual proportion, two wounded men for every man killed, or about fourteen thousand.

It was not only in the watches of the seamen and the ranks of the troops that the fleet was weakened by the battle. The force of the rowing-benches was also seriously diminished, partly by wounds and death, and still more by the desertion of the Christian convicts. Of these many had been relieved of their chains in order to serve in the action as combatants, and to all who had done good service Don John had promised a shortened term of captivity. Yet many of them took the opportunity of the first harbour, and the relaxed discipline of the night after the battle, to make their escape.[5] Some of them may have been Greeks, to whom the coast was familiar. But that men of western lands should have faced the unknown shores and wild people of Albania rather than remain for a while at their accustomed drudgery, is a striking proof of the misery of life at the oar.

The loss of the Turks could not be accurately computed. It was generally supposed, however, that from twenty to twenty-five thousand of them must have perished. Five thousand, amongst whom were several Pashas and governors of provinces, were made prisoners of war. All their chiefs, except Aluch Ali and Pertau Pasha, were slain or taken. Of thirty-seven galleys commanded by officers entitled to display an official lamp at the stern, not above three escaped capture or destruction. The galleys taken were one hundred and seventy, but many of them were so severely damaged as to be useless. Eighty were sup-

[1] Agostino Barbarigo, Benito Soranzo, Marino and Girolamo Contarini, Marc Antonio Lando, Francesco Buono, Giacomo di Mezzo, Catarino Malipiero, Giov. Loredano, Vicenzio Quirini, Andrea and Giorgio Barbarigo, Gaspar de Toraldo.

[2] The Grand Bailiff of Germany; Bernardino Bisbal, Count of Briatico (remarkable, says Herrera, *Relacion*, cap 38, for his sweet voice, and skill in music); Horacio and Virgilio Orsini.

[3] Fer. de Caracciolo: *I Commentarii della Guerra fatta coi Turchi da D. Giov. d'Austria*, 4to, Fiorenza, 1581, p. 37.

[4] G. Contarini: *Historia delle cose successe della guerra contra Turchi*, 4to, Venetia, 1645, fol. 54.

[5] F. Caracciolo; *I Commentarii*, pp. 43, 45.

posed to have been sunk, and about thirty wrecked on the rocky shores of the Gulf. The artillery taken was one hundred and seventeen large and two hundred and seventy-four smaller pieces, besides twelve *pedreros*, or cannon from which stone balls were projected. The holy standard of Mecca and the Imperial flag of the Sultan remained as rare and precious trophies in the hands of the conqueror. Lastly, from twelve to fifteen thousand Christian captives were released from labour at the Turkish oar.

Next morning Don John of Austria breakfasted on board Doria's ship. Colonna, Requesens, the Prince of Parma, and the Count of Santa Fiore were there to meet him. As they talked over the battle Don John said with deep emotion that the victory was one worthy rather of his father the Emperor than of himself. Of Doria's part in it he evidently did not take the Venetian and disparaging view; for he now presented the Genoese with two silver-gilt ewers (*fuentes*) filled with gold coins from the coffers of the Turkish Admiral.[1] He afterwards went with Doria to see a Spanish soldier who lay wounded on board the galley, and who, when his leg, shattered by a musket-ball, had been cut off, wanted to return to his place on deck.[2]

The plunder was immense. The insecurity of property under a barbarous despotism had taught those Turks who possessed wealth to carry much of it about with them; and from this habit the Christians reaped a rich harvest. Ali, the dead Commander-in-Chief, although the brother-in-law of the Sultan, was no exception to the general rule. In his ship were found one hundred and fifty thousand sequins, besides much valuable property in silk and brocade, although it was said that the last act of his life, when he saw that defeat and destruction were inevitable, was to throw overboard a casket of jewels of great price. The galley itself was a large and splendid vessel, with a deck of black walnut, and with much of its external and internal woodwork elaborately carved and gilt; its cabin was also profusely decorated with sculpture and gilding, and in the richness of its hangings, embroidered with silk and gold, was excelled by few palaces.[3] The galley of Karacosh yielded forty thousand sequins, and there was not a vessel in which considerable sums of money were not

[1] Ant. de Herrera: *Historia general del mundo del tiempo del Señor Rey Don Felipe II.*, 3 vols. fol., Valladolid, 1606-12, ii. p. 36. He says Don John dined (*fue a comer*) with Doria.

[2] Caracciolo: *I Commentarii della Guerra fatta coi Turchi da D. Giov. d' Austria*, 4to, Fiorenza, 1581, p. 47.

[3] P. Bizarus: *De Bello Cyprio*, lib. iii., Basileæ, 1573, 8vo, p. 253.

found.[1] By far the largest proportion of the booty fell to the soldiery, the sailors, and the oarsmen. They ransacked the captured galleys over and over again; and even after two or three pillagings, valuable gleanings were to be gathered in their obscure corners and hidden recesses. The floating dead were fished out of the sea, and stripped of their armour and clothes; and from many a concealed girdle and quilted coat were brought to light hoards of Spanish dollars or Venetian sequins.[2]

Later in the day the Commander-in-Chief visited the harbour of La Draguntina, and caused some of the principal prisoners to be brought before him, in hopes of learning something of the designs and probable policy of the Turk. Mahomet of Constantinople, the tutor of the sons of Ali, was submitted to a further and very careful examination by the secretary Soto. His replies to Soto's questions sometimes confirmed and sometimes contradicted the information received before the battle. Ali Pasha, he said, after his predatory expedition to the Adriatic, sent Aluch Ali with twenty-five vessels to obtain tidings of the forces and the plans of the League. The renegade coasted the southern shores of Calabria, and put into the harbour of Santa Maria, close to his native village. Thence he returned to his chief at Lepanto with assurances that the confederates were doing nothing but eating peaches at Messina, and that this year no enterprise would be attempted. Thereupon Ali Pasha gave leave to the Barbary commanders to return home for the winter, subject to the consent of the Sultan, for which he applied to Constantinople. The answer was no less prompt than peremptory. It forbade any man to leave the fleet under pain of death, and commanded Ali, after collecting all the reinforcements obtainable in and near Lepanto, to go in search of the armament of the League and engage it wherever it could be found. Mahomet further confessed that the Pasha was greatly relieved at hearing that the great ships of the Christians had lagged too far behind to be present at the battle, and that the Turks in general were most confident of obtaining a signal triumph. Soto asked him whether the Sultan would be able to fit out any considerable fleet the following year. He replied that in the dockyard at Constantinople there were fifty new galleys, and that he had no doubt that the recent disaster would cause many more to be built with the least possible delay. To this question the same answer was given by many

[1] Gonç. Yllescas: *Historia Pontifical*, 4 vols. fol., Madrid, 1613, p. 763.
[2] Torres y Aguilera: *Chronica*, fol. 76.

others of the captives; but no specific information was elicited as to the Sultan's resources for immediately supplying the place of the lost armament.

From Petala Don John of Austria despatched to the King a full account of the battle. It was comprised in a report of the proceedings of the fleet between the 30th of September and the 10th of October, which was probably written by Juan de Soto, and which has formed the groundwork of my narrative. The covering despatch, dated on the 10th of October, and written by Don John in his own hand, displays in no unpleasing colours his feelings on occasion of his great victory, and his desire that full justice should be done to the services of those under his command.

Your Majesty, he wrote, ought to give and cause to be given, in all parts, infinite thanks to our Lord for the great and signal victory which He has been pleased to vouchsafe to this fleet; and that your Majesty may understand all that has passed, besides the report herewith despatched, I send also Don Lope de Figueroa, to the end that he, as a person who has served in this galley in a way justly to entitle him to reward, should relate all the particulars which your Majesty may be pleased to hear. To him therefore I refer your Majesty for all such details, that your Majesty may not be wearied by reading the same things several times over.

I desire now to follow up the good fortune which God has given us for the advantage of your Majesty, and to see whether Lepanto can be taken, that gulf being a place of great importance; and if not, what other enterprise, time and circumstances considered, may be attempted. This I have not as yet been able to determine, on account of much which has to be done in refitting the fleet, in which we are every day discovering fresh damage, besides other things which must be supplied before we can or ought to advance; but to-morrow night or the next night we may, please God, be free to sail. Of all that happens your Majesty shall be informed, step by step; but that the good news may be no longer delayed I despatch Don Lope now, merely reminding your Majesty of the opportunity God has placed within our reach of extending your power with no greater difficulty than attends at once setting about levying troops and fitting out galleys, of which there is no lack, and providing for a supply of money and munitions in the ensuing spring. All this I believe will be much more easy than it has heretofore been, and of more advantage to your Majesty and to your greatness, of which our Lord takes so much care, and my desire to promote which prompts me to remind your Majesty of these things.

In this galley Don Bernardino de Cardenas has been slain, doing the duty imposed upon him at his birth. He leaves, as I am informed, many debts behind him, and here in the fleet a natural son; whereof it would be just and for the good of the service that your Majesty should order account to be taken. Other persons there are, about whom I am preparing a report, besides those who are mentioned in the report of which Don Lope is the bearer—persons who have in truth done good service and merited reward; and this is one of the occasions, as your Majesty well knows, when men watch what is done for those who have distinguished themselves. There are here

the two Princes (of Parma and Urbino) of whom the Prince of Parma was amongst the first who boarded and took the galley with which his own was engaged, Paolo Giordano Orsini, the Duke of Mondragone, and other lords, vassals, and servants of your Majesty, to whom, if your Majesty pleases, it would be well to order letters of thanks to be written. The same may be said of the Generals, who deserve it well, and the servants of your Majesty here in the fleet, of whom I ask your pardon for reminding you, seeing that it is for the advantage of the royal service, and that I must fulfil my duty towards those about me who have served your Majesty as zealously as it is always my own desire to do. I am, thank God, well, the cut which I received, I hardly know how, on the ankle having turned out a mere nothing. God keep and prosper your Majesty with all the things which I desire, and of which we all stand in need.[1]

Besides the despatch to the King, the gallant Don Lope de Figueroa, who had commanded on the forecastle of the flagship, was the bearer of the green standard of the Prophet. Don John sent at the same time letters to various personages in Spain, including Doña Magdalena de Ulloa. A letter of compliment to the Pope, with the banner of the Sultan as a fit offering to the author of the Holy League, was carried to Rome by the Count of Priego; and Don Pedro de Zapata and Don Fernando de Mendoza were the bearers of similar lettters to the Doge and Senate of Venice and to the Emperor Maximilian.

The three days during which the fleet of the League remained at Petala were fully occupied in making the more urgent of the repairs upon the damaged vessels, and in tending the wounded. The flagship of Ali was fitted up as a galley of Castille, and invested with the name of the *Patrona de España*. Accompanied by Doria and Colonna, and followed by a few galleys, Don John also visited the scene of their victory. They descried at a distance thirteen Turkish galleys, who were no sooner aware of the presence of Christian sails on the horizon than they put back with all haste to Lepanto.

At Petala a council of war was held to determine the movements of the fleet. The opinions there expressed by some of the leaders proved that their justness of vision was somewhat impaired by the dazzling splendour of the late victory. Some thought that so much had been already accomplished that nothing more need be attempted for that year, and that the several squadrons had better retire to enjoy their triumph in their respective ports. Others were for forthwith steering eastward to menace Constantinople. The more clear-sighted of the chiefs observed that due care for the wounded, the prisoners, and the captured vessels, as well as

[1] Aparici: *Documentos relativos a la batalla de Lepanto*, Madrid, 1847, pp. 26-7, 4to.

the want of provisions, rendered it impossible to employ the whole fleet upon any immediate expedition. Before the armament could be relieved of its impediments and sufficiently victualled the approach of winter would forbid all enterprises worthy of so great a force. But a part of the forces might be usefully employed in striking a blow before the enemy had recovered from his distress and panic. In deciding on the point where such a blow ought to be struck there arose the old jealousy and conflict of opposing interests which have burst the links and blasted the successes of so many confederations, and which now, in the brilliant dawn of its glory, began to loosen the ties of the Holy League of Pius V. The Venetians, not unreasonably as it seems to posterity, but most selfishly as it appeared to the Spaniards, proposed an attack upon some of the places of which the Turk had lately stripped the Republic in Albania or the Morea. Don John of Austria was in favour of attacking Lepanto, urging that as the Turk had embarked every available soldier of the garrison in his fleet, and had left the place occupied only by old men, women, and children, the two castles could hardly fail to surrender. After much discussion it was agreed to attempt the reduction of the fort and island of Santa Maura, which at least had the advantage of lying on the way to Corfu.

The fleet sailed on the 12th, but the wind being contrary, it did not reach Santa Maura until the next day. It anchored in a well-sheltered bay of that mountainous island,[1] where, amongst luxuriant groves of cypress, cedar, and orange, a genial climate had clothed some almond-trees with their vernal robes of delicate violet bloom. Don John immediately ordered Doria to land some three thousand troops. Ascanio de la Corgnia, the engineer Gabriel Serbellone, and many of the young volunteers, advanced with six hundred arquebusiers to examine the ground about the town and its castle. On their approach the Turkish garrison set fire to the suburbs, and, opening the sluices of an aqueduct, laid the adjacent fields under water. La Corgnia and his party returned with information, derived from the Greek peasantry, that the fortress was well manned and supplied, and with an opinion, founded on their own observations, that landing artillery and

[1] It has been variously named by different writers; Gorminon by M. A. Arroyo (*Relacion*, fol. 85), who also reports the bloom of the almond-trees; Santa Maura, frontero del fuerte de Goniza en tierra firme, by Vanderhammen (fol. 185); and Porto Caloiro, comodissimo e grande dentro il Canale di Santa Maura con acqua excellentissima, etc., by Ferrante Caracciolo (*I Commentarii della Guerra fatta coi Turchi da D. Giov. d' Austria*, 4to, Fiorenza, 1581, pp. 48-50). He was present in the campaign, and narrates the proceedings at Santa Maura with great minuteness.

bringing it to bear on the place would be so difficult and tedious that the reduction of Santa Maura could not be effected in less than fifteen days. Want of provisions therefore compelled the abandonment of the design; nor was any other suggested that met with the united approval of the commanders. On Sunday high mass was celebrated with great pomp by the Inquisitor Geronimo Manrique, in a pavilion erected for the purpose on shore, and was attended by Don John and all his chief officers. All the musical instruments in the fleet were likewise called into requisition; the trumpets which had lately blown a note of battle now swelled the chanting of the numerous clergy and friars; and at the elevation of the Host each vessel fired a salute of three guns.

The weather being still unfavourable to progress, and the place commodious, Don John employed the time in reviewing the spoils of the battle, and allotting them to the members of the League, according to the proportion in which the expenses of the war were to be divided by the terms of the treaty; or in the proportion of one-half of the whole to the King of Spain, and, of the remaining half, one-third to the Pope and two-thirds to the Republic. The total amount thus dealt with was one hundred and seventeen galleys, thirteen galliots and smaller vessels, one hundred and seventeen cannon, seventeen cannon for stone balls, two hundred and fifty-six pieces of smaller artillery, and three thousand four hundred and eighty-six slaves, besides the prisoners of rank from whom a ransom might be expected.[1] To one-tenth of the whole the Commander-in-Chief was, in virtue of his post, entitled. This right was contested by the Venetians, and was not conceded until some days after, when the matter was arranged at Corfu through the mediation of Colonna.

While the booty was being divided, Don John had an escape from death, as narrow perhaps as any that had occurred to him at Lepanto. A gun in one of the captured vessels, having by an oversight been kept loaded, was accidentally discharged. The ball passed over a hillock on the shore, and fell close to the pavilion in which the Commander-in-Chief happened to be attending mass.[2]

While the fleet lay wind-bound at Santa Maura, the Marquess of Santa Cruz was sent with a few galleys to cruise off the Curzolarian Islets in search of stranded vessels, of which he found

[1] *Relacion del repartimiento* in the *Documentos Ineditos*, iii. p. 227. The accounts of historians differ so considerably from each other that I have placed at the end of the chapter the figures of their various statements in a tabular form.

[2] Ferr. Caracciolo: *I Commentarii della Guerra fatta coi Turchi da D. Giovanni d' Austria*, 4to, Fiorenza, 1581, p. 51.

and burned four. A Turkish galley, taken in harbour at Santa Maura, was also burned. On the 21st the fleet again put to sea, to the great joy of those on board, who had been for some days subsisting on the rice and beans found in the enemy's ships. The night of the 22d was passed in the harbour of St. John, but the voyage was resumed next day. On the morning of the 24th, off the Isle of Paxos, they fell in with three Venetian galeasses laden with provisions; and in the port of that island they found thirteen Venetian galleys, detained there for many days by contrary weather. These vessels had been intended to reinforce Veniero's fleet, and their crews asserted that, being at Paxos on the day of the battle, they had heard the roar of the guns at Lepanto.[1] Divided into small squadrons for the convenience of navigation, the armament, on the evening of the 24th, entered the harbour of Corfu. With the usual congratulatory roar of guns, the Venetian authorities, the bailiff of the island Francisco Cornaro, and the Commissary-General Luigi Giorgio, with their councillors, went on board the flagship to bid the conqueror welcome in the name of the Republic. Don John replied in Spanish. Amongst other things he told them that he thanked God for preserving his life in the battle, chiefly because he hoped to spend it in following up the victory; and that they might be assured that he would always do all that lay in his power to abase the pride of the Ottoman House.[2] The arrival of the fleet was the signal for universal rejoicing, and during each of the three following nights the public joy was displayed by a fresh exhibition of fireworks.

At Corfu were found some of the heavy sailing ships which had fallen behind the fleet so early in the outward voyage, and whose powerful artillery, had it been available in the battle, might have saved much blood to the Christians.

The division of the prizes was here finally adjusted, not without difficulty to the very last. The deed, drawn up in terms assented to by the three commanders, was written out for signature in Spanish, probably because that was the mother-tongue of the Commander-in-Chief. On the plea of not understanding the language, Veniero refused to affix his name; and it was not until Colonna added a note to the document, attesting that its stipulations agreed exactly with those in the Italian translation, that the Venetian signed it on behalf of his Government.

[1] Torres y Aguilera: *Chronica*, fol. 78.

[2] G. Diedo; *Lettere di Principi*, fol. 273. "Le quali parole," says he, "essendo-" mivi trovato presente, io bene appresi, et mi retenni nella memoria."

At Corfu Don John of Austria set at liberty, without ransom, Mahomet, tutor of the sons of the late Ali Pasha. This graceful act, which had its due influence on the treatment of Christian prisoners at Constantinople, was generally applauded in Europe, and ascribed to its true motives, the natural generosity of the Prince, and his desire that the widow of the Pasha should not, in addition to the terrible calamities which had befallen her, suffer the torture of long suspense as to the fate of her children. There were not, however, a few evil tongues who represented it as an adroit means of negotiating for the speedy release of the lads at an increased ransom. The after-conduct of the conqueror proved the unworthiness of the insinuation.[1]

In the Spanish fleet the question of rewards and gratifications to the officers and men was considered by the Commander-in-Chief. It was proposed to give to each soldier and sailor a month's rations, or probably the value of a month's rations in money; but the decision of the matter was postponed by Don John. The general and major-general of infantry received each six slaves; the general of artillery, four slaves and a piece of ordnance; the colonels and majors, each four slaves; the captains of galleys, each one slave. To Requesens, as second in command, a galley and thirty slaves were adjudged. The Prince of Parma had thirty slaves; the Prince of Urbino and Paolo Giordano Orsini, twenty-five each; and many other volunteers two each. To the flagship of Malta Don John ordered forty slaves to be given on behalf of the King of Spain; and he recommended that the other two confederates should contribute an equal number, to make up for the total destruction of the rowing-gang of that vessel. Other claims were reserved for consideration at Messina.[2]

Here the combined action of the fleet was at an end. The Venetian squadron was ordered by the Doge and Senate to remain at Corfu as a convenient station for any enterprise which might appear advisable. Don John of Austria had at one time thought of wintering here, but he had received positive orders from the King of Spain to bring his squadron back to Messina. On the 27th of October, therefore, he took a friendly leave of Veniero, who with some galleys convoyed the Commander-in-Chief a few leagues out to sea.[3] Accompanied by Colonna, Don John then steered for Italy. The fleet sailed in squadrons for

[1] F. Caracciolo: *I Commentarii*, p. 52.

[2] *Propuesta hecha al S^r. D. Juan de Austria con los decretos de S. A.* Corfu, 24 de Octubre de 1571, *Documentos Ineditos*, iii. pp. 230-235.

[3] Torres y Aguilera: *Chronica*, fol. 78.

the convenience of navigation. At Otranto the Princes of Parma and Urbino, and some other volunteers, landed from the galleys.[1] The weather was very rough and threatening, but the wind was not unfavourable; and on the evening of the last day of October Don John stood into the roads of Messina.

[1] F. Caracciolo: *I Commentarii*, p. 52.

COLLAR AND BADGE OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE.

AUTHORITIES.		CHRISTIAN LOSS. Killed.	Wounded.	Galleys taken.	Galleys sunk or burnt.	Killed.
Relacion del repartimiento que se hizo de los bajeles artilleria et esclavos que se tomaron de los Turcos en la victoria naval de la batalla de los 7 de Octobre de 1571 en el puerto de Santa Maura á 18 del mesmo en presencia del Exmo. Snr. Marc Ant. Colonna, General de la Santitad, y de los diputados de S. M. y Señores Venecianos —in the *Coleccion de Documentos ineditos para la historia de España*, iii. p. 227.	Total	...	...	...	...	...
	Spain	...	...	...	...	...
	Venice	...	...	...	...	...
	Pope	...	...	...	...	...
	Don John	...	...	...	...	...
Fernando de Herrera: *Relacion de la Guerra di Cipro y sucessos de la batalla naval de Lepanto*, sm. 8vo, Sevilla, 1572, cap. xxvii.	Total	...	...	...	1[1]	20,000
Marc Ant. Arroyo: *Relacion del progresso de la Armada de la Santa Liga*, 4to, Milan, 1576, fol. 80, 81.	Total	7,000[1]	...	...	7[2]	...
Hieron. de Torres y Aguilera: *Chronica y recopilacion de varios sucessos de Guerra que ha acontescido en Italia y partes de Levante y Berberia de* MDLXX. *hasta* MDLXXIV., 4to, Çaragoça, 1579, fol. 74-6.	Total	7,650[1]	...	...	9[2]	35,000[3]
	Spain	3,000	...	...	...	...
	Venice	2,747	...	...	...	...
	Pope	1,803	...	...	...	...
	Don John	...	...	...	..	...
Gonç. de Yllescas: *Historia Pontifical y Catolica*, 4 vols. folio, Madrid, 1613, ii. pp. 762-3. *Segunda Parte*, Barcelona, 1596, fol., Lib. vi. cap. xxxii. fol. 357-361.	Total	6,000	15,000	...	...	30,000[2]
	Spain	...	...	...	...	...
	Venice	...	...	...	...	...
	Pope	...	...	...	...	...
	Don John	...	...	...	...	...
Luis Cabrera de Cordoba: *Don Felipe Segundo*, folio, Madrid, 1619, pp. 691-5.	Total	7,500[1]	...	...	4[2]	30,000
	Spain	...	...	...	...	...
	Venice	...	...	...	...	...
	Pope	...	...	...	...	...
	Don John	...	...	...	...	...
Lor. Vanderhammen y Leon: *Don Juan de Austria*, 4to, Madrid, 1627, fol. 182-4.	Total	7,500[1]	...	...	11[2]	30,000[3]
	Spain	...	...	...	...	...
	Venice	...	...	...	...	...
	Pope	...	...	...	...	...
	Don John	...	...	...	...	...
Girolamo Diedo: *Lettera al Sig. Marc Antonio Barbaro*, Dec. 31, 1571, in the *Lettere di Principi*, 3 vols., Venetia, 1586, iii. pp. 273-4.	Total	7,500[1]	15,000	1[2]	...	30,000[3]
	Spain	...	...	...	...	...
	Venice	...	...	...	...	...
	Pope	...	...	...	...	...
Gio. Pietro Contarini: *Historia delle cose sucesse dal principio della guerra mossa da Selim Ottomano a' Venetiani, fino il di della gran Giornata Vittoriosa contra Turchi*, 4to, Venetia, 1572, pp. 54, 55.	Total	7,656	...	...	...	25,000[3]
	Spain	2,000	...	...	...	...
	Venice	4,856[1]	...	...	...	...
	Pope	800	...	...	...	...
	Don John	...	...	...	...	...
Fer. Caracciolo: *I Commentarii della Guerra fatta coi Turchi da D. Giovanni d'Austria*, 4to, Fiorenza, 1581, pp. 43-51.	Total	8,000[1]	...	...	...	...
Paolo Paruta: *Della Historia Vinetiana, parte secunda, nella quale si contiene la guerra fatta dalla Lega*, folio, Vinetia, 1645, pp. 160-3.	Total	5,000[1]	7,500	...	...	...

ESULTS OF THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO.

TURKISH LOSS.

Christian slaves liberated.	Total loss in vessels taken or destroyed.	Vessels taken and distributed amongst the confederates. Galleys.	Vessels taken and distributed amongst the confederates. Galliots.	Cannon taken.	Cannon for stone balls, *Pedreros.*	Smaller guns.	EXPLANATIONS OR REMARKS BY WHICH THEIR STATEMENTS ARE MODIFIED.
...	...	117	13	117	17	256	
...	...	58	7[1]	63	$8\frac{1}{2}$[2]	128	[1] Where the number of vessels was unequal, the value of half the odd one was to be paid by the party receiving it.
...	...	59[1]	6	54	$8\frac{1}{2}$[2]	128	[2] Where the number of guns was unequal, one party was to pay the other half of the value of the odd gun.
...	...	6	...	...	...	...	
12,000[3]	240	160[4]		...	...	...	[1] One of the Pope's. [2,3,&4] More than (*mas de*) 2000, 12,000, and 160.
15,000	217	170		117	12	274	[1] Of these about 2000 were Spaniards. He says that his numbers are merely approximations to the truth. [2] All Venetians. [3] More than 20,000. [4] Not including the prisoners of rank.
13,000	...	177		125	21	229	
...	...	81		68	12	168	[1] Upwards of 3000 of them in the King's pay; 1803 in that of the Pope; the rest Venetians.
...	...	54		38	6	84	[2] The Turks sank 8 galleys of Venice; 1 belonging to the Pope was so much damaged that she had to be burnt at Petala.
...	...	27		9	3	42	[3] Including 34 *capitanes de fanal* and 120 other officers.
...	...	17		...	...	...	
15,000	224	150[1]	20[1]	...	...	...	
...	...	81		68	4[as] 12	168	[1] He says, after deducting the sunk or burnt vessels, there were 170 "enteras," but it is not quite clear whether the 170 do or do not include 20 galliots.
...	...	54		8	6	84	[2] More than (*mas de*) 30,000.
...	...	20		19	3	42	
...	...	17		...	...	...	
15,000	259[4]	130		...	...	...	[1] So many died of their wounds, owing to the poisoned arrows and the bad attendance, that the number rose to 10,000. [2] One of Savoy, 1 of Doria, 1 of Sicily, and 1 of the Pope. [3] Although 10,000 were taken there were forthcoming only (*mas no parecieron que*) 3500. [4] In all 175 vessels were taken, but many were useless. Of the whole Turkish fleet 30 are supposed to have been sunk and 99 destroyed by running ashore. [5] Of the guns Don John also claimed a tenth.
...	...	81		68	12	168	
...	...	54		38	6	84	
...	...	27		9	3	42	
...	...	17		...[5]	...	...	
15,000	274	130		...	...	...	[1] Raised to 10,000 by subsequent deaths, chiefly from wounds inflicted by poisoned arrows. [2] One of Savoy, 2 of Doria and Sicily, and 8 Venetians. [3] 200 officers of rank were slain, 30 of them governors of provinces, and 160 beys and *capitanes de fanal.* [4] Although 10,000 were taken there were forthcoming only (*no parecieron sino*) 3500. [5] Of the guns Don John also claimed a tenth.
...	...	81		68	12	168	
...	...	54		38	6	84	
...	...	27		9	3	42	
...	...	17		...[5]	...	...	
...	224	130		117	...	256	[1] Of these 2030 were Venetian sailors and rowers, and 29 noble persons, of whom 26 were Venetians. [2] The *Bua*, a Venetian galley. [3] Perhaps (*forse*) 30,000.
...	...	506		...	...	...	
...	...	395		...	...	...	
...	...	192		...	...	...	
...	210	117	13	...	...	...	[1] Of this number 1333 were soldiers, 925 sailors (*scapoli*), and 2274 galley-slaves, the rest being officers of various degrees, artillerymen, carpenters, etc. [2] It is not very clear whether 34 *capitani di fano* and 120 captains of galleys are to be added to this number or are included in it.
...	...	$58\frac{1}{2}$	$6\frac{1}{2}$	$58\frac{1}{2}$	$8\frac{1}{2}$	128	
...	...	$39\frac{1}{2}$	$4\frac{1}{2}$	39	5	86	
...	...	19	2	19	3	42	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
12,000	215	137	18	135	21	224	[1] He speaks cautiously as to these numbers. [2] At p. 43 he says about 5000 were taken; at p. 51 that at the partition there appeared 3360 slaves, whose number, however, was, after more careful search (*fattane maggior diligenza*), raised to 6200, which number was divided like the rest of the spoil in the proportions of half to the King, and, of the remaining half, two-thirds to the Venetians and one-third to the Pope. He says that Don John claimed a tenth of the whole booty.
...	...	117[3]		...	...	...	[1] He gives his numbers as only approximating to the truth. [2] Of whom 25 were persons of condition. [3] Besides many sunk.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA, FOURTH QUEEN OF PHILIP II.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE WAR OF THE HOLY LEAGUE; FROM OCTOBER 1571 TO THE 13TH OF MAY 1572.

THE Republic of Venice received first of the Confederates the news of the battle of Lepanto. The glad tidings were conveyed by Omfredo Giustiniani, who, favoured by wind, made the voyage in ten days. His galley appeared off the lagoons on the morning of the 17th of October and entered by the haven of the two Castles, in full view of the throng on St. Mark's Place. The vessel's poop covered with soldiers in Turkish dresses at first caused the people to wonder; but the firing of cannon, the shouts of victory, and the banners trailing astern soon solved the mystery, and caused

the joyful shouts to be echoed by the groups on the quays. From mouth to mouth the news soon flew over the whole city. Men embraced each other for joy and rushed from all quarters to St. Mark's; and when the Doge and Senate passed from the palace to the Ducal church they could hardly make their way through the excited multitude. The Doge received the sacrament from the hands of the Spanish ambassador, Guzman de Silva, and the usual *Te Deum* and high mass were followed by an order for the celebration of the event for four days, which, throughout the city and the mainland, were kept with religious services and processions, feasts, the ringing of bells, and the blazing of bonfires. Night after night the shops of the wealthy silk-mercers and woolstaplers in the square of the Rialto, splendidly decorated and brilliantly illuminated, resounded with music and revelry. It was decreed that every year the Doge and Senate should go in state on the 7th of October, St. Justina's Day, to the church of that saint in commemoration of the victory. Giustiniani, the bearer of the news, was made a knight: for those who had died in battle solemn services were performed; and in praise both of the dead and the living the press teemed with orations and poems. Ninety-nine versifiers whose names survive, besides many anonymous writers, celebrated the victory in Latin and Greek verses;[1] and a still greater number gave vent to their enthusiasm in Italian lyrics. In the dialects of Venice and Bologna the praises of "Don Zuane" and his colleagues were likewise largely sung. In almost all these effusions Pius V. is highly extolled, and Philip II. is handsomely, though less lavishly, flattered. But the generous son of Charles V., "Del Carlo Quinto il generoso figlio," is the universal favourite, and to him is ascribed, in high-flown phrase, garnished with classical metaphor and allusion, the glory of having destroyed the Wolf, the Bull, the Dragon, the Hydra of the East. To him, whom they styled the great defender of the Cross, the young Alcides of the Austrian line, worthy of Virgil's and of Homer's lyre, these bards held forth the promise of yet

[1] *In fœdus et victoriam contra Turcas juxta sinum Corinthiacum non. Octob.* M.D.LXXI. *partam Poemata Varia*, Petri Gherardii Burgensis *studio conquisita et disposita.* Sm. 8vo, Venetiis, 1572, p. 440.

Raccolta di varii poemi Latini Greci e volgari, fatti da diversi bellissimi ingegni nella felice vittoria riportata da Christiani contra Turchi alli vii. d'Ottobre del MD.LXXI. Parte 1 and 2, Venetia, 1572, sm. 8vo, ff. 60 and 48, the leaves of the first part being very incorrectly figured.

Trofeo della Vittoria Sacra ottenuta dalla Christianiss. Lega contra Turchi nell' anno MD.LXXI, *rizzato da i piu belli spiriti de' nostri tempi.* Venetia, 1572, 8vo, with woodcut portrait of Luigi Groto, the *cieco di Hadria*, the editor, and a cut of the top of the Turkish banner.

prouder victories, when, as they phrased it, the fair gardens of Byzance should yield their hoarded treasures and their fruits of gold, and Heaven in guerdon of his prowess set upon his laurelled head a kingly crown.[1] In one of these effusions, a sonnet, Neptune is represented as calling together the gods of the ocean to see him place his abdicated trident in the hand of the Iberian youth, who is thereupon proclaimed by Triton as ruler of the waves.[2] In another, a sort of lyric drama, St. James is made to call him an earthly sun of glory and grace, and a chorus of angels hymn St. Justina, as the patroness of a day in which the world had awakened to a new birth.[3]

Painting and sculpture vied with poetry in celebrating the victory. The Doge and Senate wished Titian to paint a commemorative picture for the Hall of Scrutiny in the Ducal palace. The great artist, however, being nearly ninety, was somewhat backward, either in undertaking or commencing the work. His rival, Jacopo Robusti, better known as Tintoretto, then in the height of his reputation and the full vigour of his extraordinary powers, thereupon offered to execute the required picture within a year, without fee or reward, desiring, moreover, that it should be removed if within two years any other painter should produce a composition more worthy of the subject and the place. The liberal offer was accepted, and the magnificent picture was executed by the indefatigable painter. The taking of the Turkish flagship and the death of Barbarigo were the incidents to which he gave the chief prominence; and Don John of Austria, Veniero, and Colonna were carefully portrayed.[4] For the same chamber Andrea Vicentino, an able painter of Venetian history, likewise depicted his idea of the battle.[5] In the Hall of the Great Council two scholars of Paolo Veronese painted episodes of the action; Antonio Vassilacchi, son of a Greek purveyor who had sailed in the fleet of the League, recording the death of Barbarigo;[6] and Pietro Longo illustrating the heroism of Veniero.[7]

[1] *Novissima Canzone al serenissimo Sig. D. Giovanni d' Austria, etc.*, 4to, Venetia, 1571, sheet B, fol. 3.

[2] By M. Alemanio Fino: *Raccolta di varii poemi*, parte 2, f. 42.

[3] *Trionfo di Christo per la victoria contra Turchi*, 4to, Venetia, 1571, fol. 3 and 4.

[4] C. Ridolfi: *Vite dei Pittori Veneti*, 2 vols. 4to, Venezia, 1648, ii. p. 27. The fate of this picture is uncertain. E. M. Manolesso (*Historia della guerra Turchesca*, f. 75) says it was placed "nella sala ove se reduce ciascuna domenica e l'altri giorni "solenni la nobilta per creare i magistrati." But it is not now to be found on the walls of the Sala dello Scrutinio, if it ever figured there.

[5] Ridolfi: *Vite dei Pittori Veneti*, ii. p. 145.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 210.

[7] *Le Publiche Pitture di Venezia, o Rinnovazione delle Ricche Minere de Marco Boschini*, sm. 8vo, Venezia, 1733, p. 125.

In the Dominican church of San Giovanni e Paolo, in the chapel of the Rosary, Domenico Tintoretto painted, in a style worthy of his sire, the three Confederate Princes,—the Pope, the Spanish King, and the Doge Mocenigo,—attended by their three commanders, kneeling in adoration of Our Lord and His Virgin Mother, with the naval conflict in the distance, and the holy Justina hovering above all, waving the palm of victory.[1] Over the stately portal of the arsenal the grateful Senate placed a marble statue of St. Justina, sculptured by Girolamo Compagno; and the front of the building was enriched with various bas-reliefs and martial devices, chiselled by disciples of Sansovino. The coins which the Doge, according to an old custom, annually presented to the members of the Great Council bore, in 1571, the words "*Anno magnæ navalis victoriæ Dei gratia contra Turcas*," "In the year of the great naval victory by the grace of God "over the Turks."[2] Furthermore, it was decreed that one of the coins of Venice should always bear the inscription "*Memor ero* "*tui Justina*," "I will remember thee, Justina,"[3] as a perpetual token of the thankfulness and devotion of the Republic. A medal of no great pretension or merit likewise commemorated the victory, and the protection accorded to Venice and Christendom by St. Justina.

While the city was yet in a frenzy of exultation, the galley of Giovanni Battista Contarini arrived with Don Pedro Zapata, the envoy of Don John. The letters of the Commander-in-Chief informed the Doge and Senate of the principal features of the battle, and assured them of his zeal for the safety and grandeur of the Republic, and of his willingness to attempt, and his hope of accomplishing, still greater achievements for the common cause.[4]

To the Pope Don John sent the Count of Priego, the day after the battle. Like Zapata, Priego sailed in Contarini's galley, which he quitted at Otranto, and thence travelled post to Rome. But Pius, as his contemporaries believed, and as his biographers report, with a circumstantiality which throws an air of probability round the story, was not dependent on the ordinary channels of information. On the afternoon of the day of Lepanto, while sitting at work with his treasurer, he suddenly rose, and opening a window, looked out as if his ear had caught some distant sound. In a few minutes he closed the casement and dismissed his companion, saying: "God be with you; this is no time for business,

[1] Ridolfi: *Vite dei Pittori Veneti*, ii. p. 264.
[2] E. M. Manolesso: *Historia della guerra Turchesca*, f. 75.
[3] T. Coryat: *Crudities*, 3 vols. 8vo, London, 1786, i. p. 179.
[4] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, lib. ii. p. 164.

"but for giving thanks to God, for at this moment our fleet is "victorious." As the man retired from the room, he saw his master prostrate before a crucifix. Struck by the circumstance, he noted the day and hour of its occurrence, and found afterwards that it had taken place at the precise time when Ali fell, and the shout of triumph rang through the flagship.[1] During the days which elapsed before the arrival of Priego and his despatches, the Pope frequently expressed his wonder at the delay of the news of the victory.[2] When the full account of the battle at length reached him, he was very warm in his admiration and his gratitude. To the Spanish Commander-in-Chief he is reported to have confessed the obligations of the whole Christian world, by a remarkable application to him of the words of the Evangelist, "*Fuit homo missus a Deo, cui nomen erat Joannes*"—There was a man sent from God, whose name was John.[3] But of the tactics and conduct of Doria he took an unfavourable and Venetian view, saying of him that he had behaved more like a corsair than a Christian captain.[4] In spite of all that the Spanish representatives could urge in defence of the Genoese, Pius could hardly bear to hear his name mentioned; and Doria himself found it advisable to abstain from a visit, which he had projected, to the Papal city.[5]

When Marc Antonio Colonna returned to Rome, he was received with the honours of an ancient conqueror. He and his

[1] Writing on the 9th [Sept.] 1868, our Roman correspondent says: Last Sunday there was a grand procession in Rome in commemoration of the second centenary of the battle of Lepanto, which saved Christendom from Mohammedan conquest. All the high dignitaries of Rome, and nearly all the cardinals, took part in the display, and the attraction was heightened by the presence of the Madonna, *Salus Infirmorum*, the work of Fra Angelico da Fiesole. It was before this image, which belongs to the church of the Magdalene, near the Pantheon, that Pope Pius V. was praying at the moment that the Christian fleet put the Turks to flight, and the same moment revealed to him by inspiration the glorious victory. Of course the image works miracles, and is held in great veneration by the Romans, who thronged the streets to see it pass. It is a fine work of art, and on Sunday was adorned with a crown of gold and gems, presented by the Chapter of St. Peter's.—*Pall Mall Gazette*, Sept. 15, 1868, p. 8.

The above correspondent is wrong, both in his day of month, year, and centenary, the second centenary of Lepanto having been 7th October 1771. But the story of the picture shows what is now believed, or probably believed, in Rome. Catena (*Vita di Pio V.*, pp. 214-5) tells the story pretty much as told in text. When the treasurer was dismissed, "in andando rivoltosi indietro, vide il Papa, ch'era corso à uno altarino, et "gittatosi inginocchion ringratiava Dio." . . . Possibly the picture now in the church of the Magdalene was formerly in this *altarino*.

[2] A. de Fuenmayor *y hechos*: *Vida de Pio V.*, 4to, Madrid, 1595, fol. 137-8. The story is told somewhat differently by A. Butler: *Lives of Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints*, 12 vols. sm. 8vo, Dublin, 1845, v. p. 74.

[3] F. Caracciolo: *I Commentarii*, p. 54. The Emperor Leopold I. used the same words in speaking of John Sobieski, who saved Vienna from the Turks in 1683.

[4] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, lib. ii. p. 161.

[5] Letter from D. Luis de Requesens to Don John of Austria; Rome, 15th Dec. 1571. Rosell: *Historia*, Appendix xxv. p. 223.

family had designed a triumph; but the Pope, being more frugal, somewhat fearful of offending Philip II. and Don John of Austria, and unwilling to excite against his leader the jealousy of the Roman barons, interposed and pared it down to an ovation. Along the Appian Way, beneath the venerable arches of the Emperors, and through streets hung with trophies and tapestries, Colonna was therefore obliged to content himself with passing to the Capitol and the Vatican, not in an antique car and clad in armour, but riding on a white genet, and wearing the Order of the Fleece, the robe of furred velvet, the crimson breeches, and the white boots of daily life. In the long and glittering files of pikemen and musketeers, civic guards, pontifical guards, dragoons, pages, trumpeters, and bannermen, marched a hundred and sixty Turks, chained two and two, and wearing red and yellow liveries. Amidst the roar of all the guns of St. Angelo, the many-coloured stream rolled on to the Papal palace, where Colonna kissed the feet of the Holy Father and received his benediction.[1] The cost of the customary banquet was spent in portioning orphan girls. In the church of Araceli, the mother of Colonna commemorated her son's exploits by a silver column, the well-known bearing of the house; a picture of the victory of Lepanto was placed in a hall of the Vatican by the order of Pius;[2] and in later years Colonna's triumphal entry formed the subject of a frieze painted in the Armoury, by the Cavaliere Arpino.[3] A fresco of the battle of Lepanto was painted by Goli and Gerardo on the vault of the gallery of the Colonna Palace at Rome, where Marc Antonio Colonna is depicted standing bareheaded on the prow of his galley.[4] A full-length marble statue of Marc Antonio Colonna was erected in the Capitol in 1595, placed there, says the inscription, as "the due reward of victorious valour by his grateful "country."[5] In commemoration of the victory, Pius decreed that

[1] Dom. Tassolo e Bald. Mariotti: *I Trionfi feste et livree fatti dalli Signori Conservatori e popolo Romano nella entrata dell' illus^mo. Signor Marc Antonio Colonna*, 4to, Venetia, 1571. A curious tract of four leaves. There is an edition entitled *La Felicissima et honorata intrata in Roma dell' Ill^mo Signor Marc Antonio Colonna*, etc., Viterbo, 1571, 4to.

[2] Montaigne, when at Rome in 1580 (he arrived on 30th Nov.), saw at St. Peter's, "en la salle audevant la chapelle S. Sixte ou en la paroi, il y a plusieurs peintures des "accidens mémorables qui touchent le S. Siege, comme la bataille de Jan d'Austria, "navale."—*Journal du Voyage* de Montaigne, Paris and Rome, 1774, 4to, p. 151. A note adds that the picture "suivant les relations modernes," exists there no longer, but the same subject is painted by G. Vasari, "à ce qu'on prétend," in the great hall (*grand salle*) of the Vatican.

[3] It is engraved and coloured in Litta.

[4] Litta, Colonna, tav. ix. The *Descrizione di Roma Mod^a.* (Rome, 1719, 8vo, p. 379) says this picture was by the "Pittori Lucchesi."

[5] There is a tolerable engraving of it by Castello, given by Gio. And. Borboni: *Delle Statue*, Rome, 1660, 4to, p. 290.

the feast of the Rosary should be held every year, on the first Sunday of October;[1] and to the titles of the Blessed Virgin, gathered from Hebrew poetry and Christian experience into the Litany of Our Lady, he added that of *auxilium Christianorum*, help of the Christians.[2] Roman medallists recorded the sea-victory of the League by a pair of well-executed medals, bearing the heads of Pius and Don John.

Neither Don Lope de Figueroa, who was sent in Contarini's galley to Otranto, nor the courier Angulo, who was despatched from Corfu, reached the Court of Spain in time to convey to Philip II. the first intelligence of the victory. The news arrived

MEDAL STRUCK IN HONOUR OF THE VICTORY OF LEPANTO.

at Madrid at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 29th of October, brought by a courier from Venice, the bearer of despatches from the Doge to the Venetian Envoy, Leonardo Loredano, and of a despatch to the King from his minister Don Diego Guzman de Silva. Considering the importance of the tidings, the Venetian carried that despatch at once to the King, who was at the moment seated within the curtain of his gallery in the palace chapel,[3] hearing the service for the eve of All

[1] This morning the tercentenary of the battle of Lepanto was celebrated with great pomp at the church of S^ta^ Maria Maggiore, where the body of Pope Pius V. was exposed. The Catholic Interests Society prayed Heaven that the Italians might be driven from Rome, and beaten as the Turks were at Lepanto. Rome, Oct. 7, "Notes "from Rome," *Pall Mall Gazette*, Oct. 14, 1871, p. 5, col. 1.

[2] A. Butler: *Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs*, etc. (May 5), v. p. 74.

[3] Fray Josef de Siguença, in his *Historia de la Orden S. Geronimo*, fol., Madrid, 1605, vol. iii. p. 564, says that Philip received the news at the Escorial. "The "King," he says, "being in the choir hearing the vespers, Don Pedro Manuel, a "gentleman of his chamber, entered; with a perturbation of look and manner which "showed that something great had happened, he said aloud to His Majesty: 'Sir, the "'courier of Don John of Austria is here, and he brings the news of a great victory.' "Yet the magnanimous prince neither changed his posture nor showed any emotion, it "being a great privilege, amongst others, of the House of Austria never to lose, happen "what may, their serenity of countenance and imperial gravity of demeanour. The

Saints. Like his father, when informed of the victory of Pavia, he received the news without change of countenance; but on the conclusion of the service he ordered the *Te Deum* to be chanted, and he presented Loredano with a fine jewel in return for his news.[1] The good tidings flew from mouth to mouth, and in the evening there was a voluntary and unpremeditated illumination of the principal streets. Next day the King and his Court heard high mass, said by the Papal Legate, at the conventual church of San Felipe el Real; and from thence the various Councils of State repaired in procession to give thanks at the ancient and popular shrine of Our Lady of Atocha.

Don Lope de Figueroa, hindered by his wound, did not arrive until the 22d of November, when the Court had moved to the Escorial. The following letter, in which he describes, for the benefit of Don John of Austria, his reception, gives a vivid picture of the joy and exultation which filled all hearts within that wilderness of gray walls and scaffold-shrouded towers,[2] which had for nine years been rising on the bleak slopes of the Guadarrama, in memory of the field of St. Quentin, a victory as full of promise and as barren of fruit as that just obtained at Lepanto. The Queen, who is introduced as so glad amongst her old women, is Anna, niece and fourth wife of Philip, the pale Austrian with pendent nether lip, who succeeded the beautiful

" vespers being over, he called the prior, Fray Hernando (de Ciudad Real), and ordered " that the *Te Deum Laudamus* should be sung for thanksgiving, with the prayers of the " Church suitable for the occasion. The prior presently went to kiss his hand, and offer, " on the part of the convent, felicitations, which he received with a glad countenance, " and then retired to his chamber." Next day he says there was a procession and prayers for the dead, and he describes the Turkish flag brought by the courier. His account is so nearly identical even in the terms of expression with that given by Fray Juan de San Geronimo, another monk of the Escorial, in his Journal or *Memorias* (*Documentos Inéditos*, iii. p. 258), that it is probable that that journal was used by Siguença in composing his history. Vanderhammen and many other writers have followed Siguença, and the guides at the Escorial have long been used to point out to travellers the precise seat in the choir which Philip occupied. That the guides are in error is proved by the fact that the church was not consecrated or used until 1586. That Siguença and the historians are also wrong, is made clear by a letter from Don Luis de Alzamora, to Don John of Austria, dated Madrid, 28th November 1571. "On " the last day of October, at three in the afternoon," says Alzamora, "a courier arrived " here (*llegó aqui*) for the Venetian ambassador;" and after recapitulating the intelligence brought by him, he adds: "These news and letters the ambassador presently delivered " to His Majesty, in the chapel of the palace, within the curtain (*en la capilla del palacio* " *dentro la curtina*), being at vespers." The illuminations of that night and the proceedings of next day are then related as given above. The letter has been printed by Don Cayetano Rosell: *Combate Naval de Lepanto*, p. 207.

[1] Ant. de Herrera: *Historia General del Mundo del tiempo del S^nr Rey D. Felipe II.*, 3 vols. fol., Valladolid, 1606-12, ii. p. 38.

[2] "Insana atque regia substructio ejus templi quod a Laurentio martyre nomen " habet." Mariana, *De Rege*, 1599, p. 340, quoted by Ticknor, ed. 1863, vol. i. p. 486.

Isabella of the Peace.[1] The close attendance of so many dueñas was probably on account of her approaching confinement, which took place in about a fortnight. The inquisitive and martial Princess, of whom we next catch a glimpse, is Isabella Clara Eugenia, the eldest daughter of the late Queen, the favourite child and companion of Philip, and afterwards the politic Archduchess of the Low Countries, now in her fifth year.[2]

I thought I never should have arrived, but have been made into relics in Italy and France as a man sent by your Highness; and it was not until the 22d of this month (November)[3] that I reached the Escorial, suffering a good deal from my wound. I was as well received by His Majesty as your Highness would be by the Pope. For the first half-hour he did nothing but ask "Is my brother certainly well?" and all sorts of conceivable questions that the case admitted. He then ordered me to relate everything that had happened from the beginning, omitting no single particular, and, while I spoke, he three times stopped me to ask for further explanations; and, when I had ended, he as often called me back to ask other questions about your Highness's care for the wounded, and how you gave away your share of the prize-money to the soldiers, at which he was not a little moved.[4] I was with him two separate times. At last he said he hoped God would grant your Highness health for the work which remained to be done; and that it would be necessary to build a thousand galleys to contain all who wanted to go and serve under your Highness, at whatever risk—a desire natural enough, but new since your Highness's time.[5] The standard he received with the greatest gladness that can be conceived. He wanted to know the meaning of the inscription upon it. I answered that we could not read it, because of the letters shot away; but that it was registered at the Prophet's house at Mecca, where it had been blessed by the chief priests.[6] The Prior and those of the royal chamber, who were there, I believe were worse than the Pope, who, the Cardinal using all the influence he could, and even with the intervention of His Majesty, granted to him [the King] a plenary indulgence but for seven years for his chapel; and, not having given any other, he gave me a perpetual one for a monastery of my father's; and the Cardinal telling me the story, I presently placed it at his disposal, as enough for me will be those which your

[1] Elizabeth of Valois married 20th June 1559, died 13th October 1568, aged twenty-three. Anna, eldest daughter of the Emperor Maximilian II. and Maria, sister of Philip, born 1549, married 12th November 1570.

[2] Born 5th August 1566, married 1599 to Archduke Albert, and died 1633.

[3] On this date see *infra*, p. 462, note.

[4] V. A. no dexó sacar los heridos, y aun el dinero que se buscó para dar á los demas, de que no se enternesció poco.

[5] "Con decir que no puede haber otra ya pues nunca la huvo ni la podia haber "hasta que llegó el tiempo de V.A."

[6] The standard was afterwards deciphered by Luis del Marmol. It contained the names of Mahomet and the other five chief founders and lawgivers of the religion, the principal saying of each of them, some prayers from the Koran, various lessons and numbers, and, in the middle, the name of God repeated 28,900 times. The shape was imitated from the original banner of the Prophet. This sacred standard had never before fallen into Christian hands. See the *Relacion hecha por Luis del Marmol* in the *Documentos Ineditos*, iii. pp. 270-3. The trophy was preserved at the Escorial for a century, and perished in the fire there in 1671.

Highness will obtain for us by means of other victories.[1] He said this victory was of God, such as had never before been seen, and worthy only of your Highness, whom he prayed God to allow to serve him with the affection which he knew you bore him. In the presence of many gentlemen the Queen expressed her joy, and came out with all her old women about her.[2] The Princess plied me with so many questions, more and weightier than Juan de Soto himself could have answered, that I cannot but take her for a soldier. Thus I passed an hour in the most agreeable manner possible, talking of your Highness. I do not know how it came about that your Highness did not write to the Queen, whom I told that I supposed half of the letters sent must have miscarried. The others [of the royal family?] I did not see, but I was sent to visit Doña Luisa de Castro. All are now minded to leave children and wives, or orders of knighthood, caring for nothing but to die in your Highness's service; and if money is wanting they would send you the Escorial, if nothing else were to be had. The Bishop of Cordoba swore to me he would much rather go and be your Highness's chaplain than take possession of his bishopric. The Duke of Sesa is stouter (*más firme*) than ever, and gayer (*más alegre*) than your Highness. A thousand men are cursing the causes why they were not with you in the battle. The troops and other things which your Highness sent for will be sent when the King comes, which will be to-morrow; after which I will write more fully, when Ruy Gomez also will be here. Up to this time, your Highness has not had so many visits on board your flagship as I have had; but my entertainment has been larger and better than that of your Highness on the night of the battle, when there was no fire (*sin fogon*); so that the biscuit and poor fare of that night would be more disagreeable here than they were there. Of your Highness's wound I have spoken to the King as you desired. Rejoicings are in preparation; what they will be I do not know, or whether they will be like what I saw in France. In Avignon there were more processions than feasts in Andalusia, where in many places they have already had cave-plays on a great scale. I will write to Juan de Soto any other things I may hear, and shall continue to do so. Our Lord have you and the troops in his keeping. From Madrid, 28th November 1571.[3]

At Seville great rejoicings and festivities were held in honour of the victory of Lepanto, and of the birth of the heir-apparent, who entered on his brief life on the 4th of December, and received the favourite Spanish and Sevillian name of Fernando. Seville claimed also a peculiar interest in the battle, because many of her citizens had there distinguished themselves, and because the flagship of Don John of Austria had been built or partly built in the Guadalquivir.[4] In memory of the victory at Lepanto, Philip II.

[1] "Y no habiendo dado otra ninguna, me la dió á mi para un monasterio de mi "padre perpetua, y contándomela el cardenal, se la offreci luego, que á mi me bastaba "las que V. A. nos daria en otras jornadas." The Cardinal alluded to was probably Cardinal Espinosa, Bishop of Siguença.

[2] "Y salió con todas quantas dueñas viejas se halló."

[3] This letter is in the National Library, Madrid, Cod. G. 45, p. 104, printed by Rosell: *Hist.*, Appendix xiv. p. 208.

[4] D. Ortiz de Zuñiga: *Annales de Sevilla*, fol. Madrid, 1677, p. 540. The festivities were described in a tract entitled *Relacion de las sumptuosas y ricas fiestas que la*

ordered the Dean and Chapter of Toledo to institute in their cathedral a service to be performed on every 7th day of October, in all time coming. He likewise bestowed, with his usual frugality,

various crosses of knighthood, commanderies, rents, and money rewards upon the more distinguished officers of his fleet and troops who had been engaged. The Grand Commander, Luis de

insigne ciudad de Sevilla hizo por el felice nascimiento del principe nuestro Señor, y por el vencimiento de la batalla naval que el Sermo. D. Juan de Austria tuvo contra el armada del Turco, 4to, Sevilla, 1572.

Requesens, was appointed to the viceroyalty of Milan; and Lope de Figueroa received the cross of Santiago and a benefice in that Order worth a thousand crowns yearly.[1] To Don John his gratitude was displayed in a tolerably gracious letter.

Although Titian had declined or evaded the invitation of the Doge and Senate to commemorate the victory of Lepanto in the Ducal palace of Venice, he executed a picture on the subject for the King of Spain; or, at least, there is a picture by him in the Royal Museum at Madrid which tradition has connected with Lepanto. Philip II. is represented as kneeling at an altar which fills the centre of the canvas, and holding up to Heaven his son the infant Don Fernando. A figure of Fame or Victory, descending headlong from the clouds, holds in one hand a garland of laurel, and with the other she places a branch of palm in the child's hand with a scroll inscribed MAJORA TIBI. A captive Turk, bound, and with his turban and arms on the ground, is seated in the foreground, and a burning fleet is seen in the distance.[2] Some years afterwards, Lucas Cambiaso, an eminent painter of Genoa, much employed by Philip at the Escorial, was commissioned by him to commemorate the events of the battle of Lepanto in six large pictures, which were hung in the lower arcade of the royal residence. They represent the departure of the Christian fleet from Messina; the fleet at sea; the two fleets in battle array; the battle; the flight of Aluch Ali and the remains of the Turkish fleet; and the return of the Christians to Messina.[3]

In Spain, as in Italy, artists of all kinds and all ranks busied themselves in celebrating Don John of Austria and his naval victory. In the splendid halls of El Viso, the country-seat of the Marquess of Santa Cruz in La Mancha, that gallant sailor, who had played so distinguished a part in the battle, caused the battle to be painted by the brothers Perola. Pictures of it became favourite decorations in the convents of the Dominicans, who remembered with pride that the Pontiff, who was the author of the League, was also a member of their Order; and one of these

[1] M. A. Arroyo: *Relacion*, fol. 82.

[2] *Catalogo del Real Museo*, 1858, p. 202, No. 854. The picture is twelve feet high, by nine feet ten inches wide. It is stated that "it was painted by Titian at the age of "ninety-four at least." Titian was born 1477, and died 1576. Don Fernando was born in 1571, and died in 1578.

[3] The arcade being open, they had suffered so much from the weather as to be scarcely discernible, and some time after 1820 they were consigned to the cellars. In 1856 they were restored, or rather repainted, and they are now in what is called the collection of battles in the palace gallery. *Catalogo de los cuadros del Real Monasterio del Escorial por* V. Poleró y Toledo, Madrid, 1857, 8vo, p. 120.

paintings may still be seen in the church of San Pablo at Seville.[1] It hangs on the south side of the church, between two doors, and has a finely-carved gilt frame, with a band of light blue in it. The execution is artistic, and there is some spirit in the composition. The galleys of Don John and Ali are engaged about the middle of the foreground, Don John's having her prow and right side towards the spectator, and therefore somewhat concealing the Turk. Historical truth has been little attended to—the Christian galleys have all got their sharp peaks,[2] and a number of Turks have forced their way on board the flagship. The banner of the League—a broad red flag with a crucifix on it, somewhat awkwardly placed at the right corner of Don John's poop—is *red*. From the conventional look of the galleys, the absence of bows and arrows in the Turkish ranks, and similar inattention to facts that must have been at the time notorious, I am inclined to think the picture a work of the seventeenth century. Above, in the sky, which goes up into an arch at the top of the frame, are the *Virgin and Child*, from whom destroying angels are sent to discomfit the Turks. Pius V. is praying on the right hand of the Virgin, with his tiara placed on a small red altar. In historic prose, in the rhythmical narration of the popular ballad, or in the more polished vehicles of epic or lyric verse, Castillian pens were frequently employed in describing the events of the battle, and extolling the valour, conduct, and generosity of the conqueror.[3] Amongst the prose writers, Geronimo Costiol,[4] Marc Antonio Arroyo,[5] Geronimo de Torres,[6] and Fernando de Herrera, deserve honourable mention. Juan Rufo,[7] Geronimo Corte-Real,[8] and Juan Latino,[9] a black man,

[1] Rosell: *Historia del Combate Naval*, p. 127, note. [2] See page 404.

[3] There is an oration by Muretus on the *Battle of Lepanto* (*Orationes*, published by Ald. Manutius, 1576), mentioned by Hallam (*Lit. of Europe*, 4 vols. 1860, ii. p. 29), and a quotation from another in praise of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. In this he says, that night "the stars shone more brightly, and the Seine poured forth a greater "volume, that the bodies of these impure men might be the more speedily conveyed to "the sea." The edition of Muretus cited above is Mureti *Opera*, cura Ruhnkenii, Lugd. Bat., 1789.

[4] G. Costiol: *Chronica del Señor D. Juan de Austria*, Primera Parte, Barcelona, 1572. He refers in preface to the second part, but I have never seen it, and doubt if it was ever printed.

[5] M. A. Arroyo: *Relacion del Progreso de la Armada de la Santa Liga*, 4to, Milan, 1576.

[6] H. de Torres y Aguilera: *Chronica y Recopilacion de varios sucessos de Guerra de* MDLXX. *hasta* MDLXXXV., 4to, Çaragoça, 1579.

[7] Juan Rufo: *La Austriada*, 8vo, Alcalá, 1586.

[8] Ger. Corte-Real: *Felicisima victoria concedida del cielo al Señor D. Juan de Austria en el golfo de Lepanto de la poderosa armada Otomana*, 4to, Lisboa, 1578.

[9] Juan Latino: *Austriados libri duo*, 4to, Granada, 1576 (Rosell says 1573). He was brought from Africa as an infant, and reared as a slave in the house of the great captain Gonsalvo de Cordoba, by whom he was liberated; and he afterwards became

each produced an epic which has, not unjustly, been consigned to that oblivion which few epics have escaped. Several large poems on the subject are still in existence which have never yet emerged from manuscript obscurity.[1] The learned Ambrosio Morales described the battle in choice Latinity and hexameters. Ercilla devoted to it a canto of his stately *Araucana;* and Fernando de Herrera concluded an excellent prose account with an ode which is still considered one of the models of Castillian lyrical composition.[2] The Ballad of Lepanto is still popular amongst Spaniards.[3] Cristoval de Virues, who was present in it as a soldier, gave to it some spirited stanzas of his *Monserrate.*[4]

The ancient Limousin language of the troubadours brought its poetical tributes in a Catalan poem by Juan Poyol,[5] and another in the dialect of Mallorca by Dionisio Pont.[6] Even Naples, not fruitful of literature, produced a votive volume in the *Austria*[7] of Ferrante Caraffa, Marquess of San Lucido, a retired courtier of Charles V. Of this nobleman, whose estate had been laid waste in 1534 by Barbarossa, whose men amused themselves by shooting out the eyes of the images in his chapel,[8] a confederation

master of the grammar school attached to the cathedral of Granada. He must therefore have been very old when he wrote the poem.

[1] *La Naval*, by Pedro Manrique, and another poem by Francisco de Pedrosa, are preserved in the National Library at Madrid. The library at the Escorial has a Latin poem by the learned Antonio Augustin on the same subject. Rosell: *Hist. del Combate*, p. 126, note.

[2] *Cancion en la alabança de la divina Magestad, por la victoria del Señor Don Juan:—*

"Cantemos al señor que en la llanura
Vencio del mar al enemigo fiero."

It is printed at the end of the *Relacion*, 12mo, Seville, 1572, already frequently cited. It was reprinted amongst the *Versos de Fernando de Herrera*, 4to, Seville, 1619, edited by the poet's friend, Francisco Pacheco (p. 276), and there will also be found there a sonnet on the same subject (p. 284).

[3] *Romance de la memorabile y triunfante Victoria que tuvo el Señor Don Juan de Austria contra la armada del Gran Turco, en el golfo de Lepanto a 7te de Octubre* 1571, was reprinted with an English translation by Thomas Rodd, sm. 8vo, London, probably about 1818. It is sometimes found in three parts, *El primero cuaudo partió Don Juan del reino de Sicilia con toda la armada en busca de la del Turco; el segundo, el presente que envió el Turco al Señor Don Juan; el tercero, otro presente que hizo el Señor Don Juan al Turco.* I bought a copy from a ballad-singer in the streets of Seville bearing date 1854.

[4] *El Monserrate* de Cristoval de Virues, Madrid, 1587, sm. 8vo, canto iv. fol. 32-34.

[5] *Historia Poetica*, in three cantos, of which the third is devoted to Lepanto. It does not appear to have been printed, but is praised by Rosell: *Hist.*, p. 126, note.

[6] This work is mentioned by Joaquin Maria Bover, *Diccionario de escritores mallorquines*, Palma, 1842, and is said to be one of the rarest books in Limousin, Rosell: *Hist.*, p. 126, note.

[7] *L'Austria* dell' illustriss. S. Ferrante Caraffa, Marquess de S. Lucido, *dove se contiene la vittoria della Santa Liga all' Hechinadi nell' anno* 1571; *Prieghi per la unione; Gioie havute per quella; successi per l' anno* 1572; *Lodi della Santma. Madre; Lettere con le riposte; una oratione alla Santità di Gregorio XIII.*, 4to, Napoli, 1573.

[8] Amongst the replies to his letters is one from Don John of Austria, thanking him

against the Turk had, ever since that visitation, been the dream. He had employed much of his time in writing turgid letters and vapid sonnets on the subject to most of the Catholic Princes; and to these compositions, which he now reprinted with the brief replies of his correspondents as part of his volume, he evidently attributed a considerable share in bringing about the League and the humiliation of Selim. His panegyrical poem and his hortatory and congratulatory sonnets and letters are very dull, and bear marks of labour which it is to be hoped was less wearisome to the writer than its result has been to his readers.

Last in the catalogue of poets who have sung of Lepanto is our own royal pedant King James VI. of Scotland. A doggerel narrative in the ballad-measure, of above eleven hundred lines, entitled, "Lepanto," forms one of "*His Majesties poetical exercises* "*at vacant hours;*"[1] and if it be, as the preface declares it to be, the work of a lad of twelve or thirteen, it is not altogether destitute of spirit and promise. "A great sort of stolen copies," handed about in manuscript, induced the royal author to print it, fifteen years after it was written, in 1591; when perhaps the intrigues of his northern Catholic earls with Spain rendered it advisable to conciliate the Kirk by offering the characteristic explanation that "if he should seem, far contrary to his degree and religion, like a "mercenary poet, to pen a work in praise of a foreign Papist "bastard," yet in truth the poem written on the proclamation of the French Catholic League against the Protestants was less a eulogy on the Spanish commander than an exhortation to the persecuted Protestants to resist their oppressors. The royal doggerel was soon afterwards translated into French heroic verse by Du Bartas; but not until Don John had for years been laid where neither the rugged compliments of the poem nor the clumsy disclaimer of the preface could amuse or annoy him. Perhaps the latest versified history of Lepanto is another piece of English doggerel by Abraham Holland,[2] consisting of nearly seven hun-

for his poem, which the author seems to have sent him in MS. It is dated Messina, 8th January 1572. The young conqueror is "glad of the pleasure the victory has given to "the Marquess; and can well believe that he retains, as his letter states, a very lively "recollection of his service under the Emperor, and will be very glad to respond to the "obligation under which the Marquess lays him by his prose and verses, which seem "very good; and if he cannot do all that is expected of him he will at least take pains "to do all he can."—*L'Austria*, fol. 126-7.

[1] *His Majesties poetical exercises at vacant hours*, 4to, Edinburgh, 1591. Reprinted with his *Essayes of a prentise in the divine art of Poesie* (facsimile of ed. of 1584), 4to, Edin., 1814. "Lepanto" was reprinted by itself, *His Majesties Lepanto or Heroicall Song*, London, 1603, 4to.

[2] *Naumachia, or a poeticall description of the cruel and bloudy sea-fight or battaile of*

dred verses in the heroic measure, in which the prevailing faults of the poetry of the reign of Charles I. will be found grotesquely caricatured.

Don John of Austria and his fleet, tossed and endangered, but neither retarded nor damaged, by a storm, were in the roads of Messina on the evening of the 31st of October, about the time that the news of their victory reached the royal ear in Spain. Next day, the day of All Saints, they entered the harbour, the galleys gay with all their flags and streamers, and towing their prizes with lowered colours. The flagship towed the flagship of the enemy, conspicuous with its three gilded lanterns hung at the stern. The heights, the shore, and the quays were thronged with crowds full of joy and welcome ; and the forts, walls, and shipping resounded with the due roar of saluting artillery. Don John, attended by his staff, landed upon a platform prepared for the purpose, and was received by the Archbishop Rattaña (a Spaniard), his clergy, and the magistrates of the city. Beneath a canopy, and amidst the continued roar of guns, rattle of musketry, clash of military music, and shouting of the multitude, he proceeded to the venerable cathedral, where he heard the *Te Deum*, the *Benedictus*, and the rest of the festal service. He then took up his abode in the palace, where next day the municipality waited upon him with a magnificent present, of which one portion was a sum of thirty thousand crowns. After he had made the proper acknowledgments, with his usual grace he ordered that the money should be given partly to the naval hospital and partly to the soldiers who had been wounded or distinguished in the battle. He afterwards ordered and attended a second thanksgiving service in the cathedral ; and nine days later caused to be performed there the funeral rites of the slain. A sumptuous catafalque or temporary shrine, hung with trophies and emblazoned with appropriate inscriptions, did honour to their memory. Of the wounded and sick, whom he placed under the superintendence of Gregorio Lopez, his household physician and physician-general to the fleet, he was unceasing in his care ; and while issuing orders that they should want for nothing he was also vigilant in personally seeing that these orders were executed. When the invalids began to emerge from the hospital the city gave some public festivals in

Lepanto (*most memorable*). By Abraham Holland. London, 1632, 4to. One of his couplets (p. 7) may be taken as a specimen of his style :—

"That horrid noise the battell made was such,
Hearing heard nothing, 'cause it heard so much.'

Abraham Holland was son of Philemon Holland, the translator of Pliny and Xenophon.

honour of the victory, and Don Adrian Acquaviva and some other cavaliers held the lists of a tournament against all comers. The various squadrons of which the fleet was composed were then dismissed to their respective ports. The loss of one of the Neapolitan galleys, from which, however, the people and artillery

DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA. STATUE AT MESSINA. FRONT VIEW.

were saved, which befell the squadron of Santa Cruz on the voyage to Naples, was the sole untoward accident which chequered the prosperity of the royal armament. The traders of Messina and of Naples benefited largely by the plunder and prize-money brought home by the soldiers and sailors. There was hardly one but had secured from a slaughtered or captured Turk a few pieces of gold. They spent them with the usual martial prodigality ; and

for a time it was said that there was no haggling about prices in the shop or the market.[1]

The city of Messina commemorated the victory by placing a statue of Don John in the small square between the palace and the Church of Our Lady of the Pillar. The figure is colossal,

STATUE AT MESSINA. SIDE VIEW.

and stands on a lofty pedestal adorned with bas-reliefs and inscriptions in bronze. In his right hand with extended arm the young commander holds a truncheon composed of three staves bound together to denote his triple command. His head, which was considered an excellent portrait, is very noble and graceful, and the figure, clad in elaborately-wrought armour, is full of life

1 Torres y Aguilera: *Chronica*, fol. 79.

and energy. Begun immediately after the victory, the statue was finished and set up in 1572. It is one of the masterpieces of Andrea Calamech, a sculptor trained in the fine school of Bartolomeo Ammanati:[1] and although the gilding in which it once

STATUE AT MESSINA. BACK VIEW.

shone resplendent in the sun has disappeared, it is still one of the most effective of the monuments of the great sixteenth century.

[1] Andrea Calamech is said by Vasari (*Vita*, iii. 872, ed. 1588, Fir., 4to) to have been a native of Carrara; and he speaks of him with high praise as a very able sculptor. He was a member of the academy of Florence, and was invited to Messina to fill the place of Fra. Giovanni Agnolo, where he died. Indeed Vanderhammen speaks of him in the edition of 1568 as already dead, which must be a mistake. Vanderhammen (fol. 189) speaks of the statue as by *Andrea Calamech*, insigne escultor y arquitecto Messinas. Andrea had a nephew Lazaro Calamech, also a painter and sculptor. Vanderhammen gives the inscriptions.

If ever a young head ran the risk of being turned by the applause of Princes, the blandishments of statesmen, the flattery of priests, and the idolatry of nations, it was that which the artists of Italy were now limning and modelling, and all Christendom was crowning with laurel. The Pope, to his well-beloved son, "the "man sent from God, whose name was John," addressed letters of affectionate thanks and benediction, and presented a shield of steel enriched with a silver crucifix and inscription,[1] two large black marble tables inlaid with jaspers and gems, and a piece of the true cross from the treasury of St. Peter. The relic was given to Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, a pearl of great price, for her rising church on the far-off Castillian heaths at Villagarcia; the shield is in the Royal Armoury, and the tables are in the Royal Museum at Madrid.[2] The brilliant victory had warmed, for the time, even the cold heart of Philip II. Some days after his long conversation with Figueroa, on the 29th of November, he wrote thus to his brother from the Escorial:—

BROTHER—By a courier despatched by the Republic of Venice to their ambassador, who arrived at Madrid on the eve of All Saints, I heard of the great victory which Our Lord has been pleased to give you, which has given me such contentment as I ought from this event to receive. Yet I was very anxious until your own advice of it arrived, to give me direct information and news of you. By your letter of the 26th of last month (October), which I received before that of the 10th, and by that letter which came the day before yesterday by the hand of Don Lope de Figueroa, I have been pleased to a degree which it is impossible to exaggerate, and not less by the particulars which I have learned of the great courage and conduct (*gran valor*) you showed in the battle, by planning and ordering it all in person, as was fitting for so important an affair, and by distinguishing yourself as well as by directing others, which have without doubt been a chief cause and part of this victory. And so to you, after God, ought to be given, as I now give, the honour (*parabien*) and thanks for it; and some thanks are also due to me, because by a person so near and dear to me this great business has been accomplished, and so much honour and glory, in the sight of God and the world, gained for the good of

[1] *Catalogo de la Real Armeria*, Madrid, 1863, No. 390. The silver crucifix and the letters of the legend, CHRISTVS VINCIT. CHRISTVS REGNAT. CHRISTVS IMPERAT, have disappeared, but old inventories attest that the shield was so adorned, and the places occupied by these enrichments are still visible on the steel. M. Achille Jubinal (*La Armeria Real de Madrid*, Paris, 2 vols. folio, vol. ii. plate 16) has given an engraving of it with restorations. In his ignorant and pretentious letterpress he says (p. 14) that, according to one account, this shield was given to Don John by Cardinal Ximenes (who died forty years before Don John was born), and according to another by Pius V., without an indication of opinion that one was more credible than the other. He states the weight at forty-one pounds. In the *Documentos Ineditos* (vol. xi. p. 361) it is asserted that the presentation of this shield to Don John by Pius V. rests only on tradition.

[2] These tables measure respectively eight feet four inches by four feet two inches, and eight feet eight inches by four feet four inches. The design of the larger one exhibits captive Turks and warlike trophies. Each is mounted on four lions of gilt bronze.

Christendom and the hurt of its enemies. As regards your coming hither this winter, you will already have been informed of the order which has been sent you to winter at Messina, and the causes of it; and although it would exceedingly delight me to see you now, and exchange personal congratulations with you on occasion of this great victory, I postpone this pleasure, because your presence yonder was never more important, in order that you may, with vigilance, see that no time is lost in the coming year, and prosecute the great achievements which may be hoped for from the past success and your own eminent ability. And touching the affairs of importance, as to which you say you

SHIELD,

Said to have been presented to Don John of Austria by Pius V., and now preserved in the *Armeria Real* at Madrid, as imaginatively restored by M. Jubinal.

must communicate with me, you may do so in writing or by means of persons to whom such matters may be confided. To your other letters, which I have received along with those I am now answering,—Don Lope having arrived the day before yesterday—I will not reply at present, in order not to detain the courier whom I am just despatching that you may know the joy I feel, which is too great to be expressed or heightened. Don Lope brought me the standard which you committed to his charge, with which I am delighted. But as I will write again soon in reply to your aforesaid letters, I will here say

no more but that may God have you in his keeping as I desire. From San Lorenzo, on the 29th[1] of November 1571,

"Your brother, I the King,

"YO EL REY."[2]

Most of the Catholic Princes sent envoys with letters of congratulation to Don John. Making all due allowance for the exaggerations of southern enthusiasm and royal flattery, these letters afford good evidence of the fear of Turkish encroachment

SHIELD

Said to have been presented to Don John, as it actually exists.

which pervaded Catholic Europe; and by that fear we may measure the joy caused by the tidings of the defeat of the

[1] The statement, occurring twice in the above letters, that Figueroa reached the Escorial "the day before yesterday," or 27th, does not agree with Figueroa's own statement (in p. 450), that he arrived on the 22d. Figueroa, who in expressing the date used Roman numerals, writes that he arrived *los* XXII. *deste;* so that an inaccuracy of transcription is less likely to have occurred in his case than a mistake of 29th for 24th in Philip's letter.

[2] A copy of this letter is in the National Library, Madrid, Cod. G. 51. fol. 276. It is printed by Rosell: *Hist.*, Appendix xv. p. 210.

Turk at Lepanto. While the Grand Duke of Tuscany assured Don John that "he had won for himself a place amongst the most "renowned conquerors of antiquity,"[1] the Prince his son, Francesco de Medicis, went still further, writing that "while those ancient "warriors subdued equals or inferiors, the chief of the League "had surpassed them by overthrowing the greatest monarch in "the world, and by saving Christendom."[2] In a long and pompous letter, or epistolary harangue of felicitation, the Republic of Venice reminded Don John that God, having vouchsafed to him a success which so many Kings and Emperors had striven in vain to achieve, had clearly imposed upon him the duty of carrying on the good work until he should have reconquered for Christ his holy sepulchre in the holy city.[3]

Yet more pleasing than this public homage must have been the private congratulations of those early friends whom he had known in his young years at the table of Quixada and Doña Magdalena. One of these, Don Bernardo de Fresneda, Bishop of Cuenca, and Bishop-Elect of Cordoba, in a letter written from bed, to which he was confined with gout, reminds him of a remarkable incident of those bygone days, the preservation of a crucifix in the fire which consumed the home of Quixada:—

I entreat your Highness to recollect how often I have recalled to your remembrance that mysterious circumstance of the escape from burning of the crucifix, and even of the string by which the cross was hung. I took it for a sure sign that God had need of your Highness as his standard-bearer; and of a Prince to whom God showed this favour and grace, son of Charles V. and brother of so great and potent a king, not only this glorious and famous exploit was to be hoped, but many others still more distinguished. . . . I have grieved much for the death of Don Bernardino [de Cardenas]; yet that a man of his quality should end his days for the good cause of God and our holy faith, is an occasion rather for envy than sorrow. I, Sir, am now waiting for the completion of the business of the See of Cordoba, and when that is accomplished, I shall once more entreat His Majesty to put another person into the charges I hold here, being certain that by residing here I am losing my health. At Cordoba I will be of what service I can to your Highness by breeding colts for the war in Barbary, in which I desire to serve you as chaplain."[4]

The compliments and flatteries of all kinds which poured in upon Don John neither diverted his attention from his political

[1] The letter is in the National Library, Madrid, Cod. G. 45, fol. 81, and is printed by Rosell: *Hist.*, Appendix xvi. p. 212.

[2] The letter is in the National Library, Madrid, Cod. G. 45, fol. 89, and is printed by Rosell: *Hist.*, Appendix xvii. p. 231.

[3] The letter is in the National Library, Madrid, Cod. G. 45, fol. 106, and is printed by Rosell: *Hist.*, Appendix xv. p. 211.

[4] This letter is in the National Library, Madrid, Cod. G. 45, fol. 95, and has been printed in Rosell: *Hist.*, Appendix xviii. p. 213. Cordoba was celebrated for its breed of horses, and those bred by the Carthusians were especially famous.

and military duties, nor altered his tone with those who shared these responsibilities. He was far more ready to soothe the contentions of his elders than to entertain jealousies on his own account. Of this the triumphal entry of Colonna into Rome afforded an example. That ovation had disturbed the equanimity of the Grand Commander Requesens, who considered that the Papal admiral's share in the victory, if it warranted his acceptance of such an honour, by no means justified him in suggesting and procuring it. These feelings were manifested in his letters to Don John, first in a sneering description of the ceremony, which he alleged, very erroneously, was attended by no Roman baron or knight, nor by any cardinal's family;[1] and afterwards in an announcement, made with evident satisfaction, that "the hero of "the triumph" (*il triumfador*) had been much mortified because he had not received, like some of the other Roman officers, a special letter of compliment from the King of Spain.[2] Don John's feelings on the matter were very different. Writing to the brother of Requesens, Don Juan de Zuñiga, Spanish ambassador at the Holy See, he said: "Marc Antonio [Colonna] is welcome to make "his triumph as grand as possible. I am glad to hear of it, and "also to find that you laugh at those who say that I have endea- "voured to hinder him of it, since it is not for us to fix our views "on such shadows."[3]

His own views had nevertheless now turned towards an object which proved to be no less a shadow than the pomp of a triumph. He was beginning to indulge in a dream which tormented the remainder of his life—the dream of a crown. During his residence at Messina he was visited by some secret emissaries from Albania and the Morea, who professed to represent the Christian population of these countries, and who, in the name of their countrymen, offered him the sovereignty of that part of the Turkish Empire. They assured him that the Turks were so panic-stricken by their defeat at Lepanto that it would be easy to overpower them; and they promised that, if he would undertake the enterprise, the whole Christian population would flock to his standard.

To this invitation, conveyed with the wily eloquence which

[1] Letter from D. Luis de Requesens to D. John of Austria, Rome, 14th Dec. 1571; National Library, Madrid, Cod. G. 45, fol. 132. Printed in Rosell: *Hist.*, Appendix xiii. p. 206.

[2] Letter from Requesens to D. John, Rome, 15th Dec. 1571; National Library, Madrid, Cod. G. 45, fol. 134. Printed by Rosell: *Hist.*, Appendix xxv. p. 223.

[3] Draft of a letter from D. John of Austria to D. Juan de Zuñiga, dated Messina, 20th Dec. 1571, Cod. G. 45, fol. 170. Printed by Rosell: *Hist.*, Appendix xxi. p 216.

belongs to the Greek race, Don John replied in a manner which sufficiently indicated his private and personal inclination to accept it. Without making any inquiry into the number and resources of the people whom they professed to represent, he thanked them for the honour done to him by a noble and warlike nation, but said that without the sanction of the King his master he could not move in the affair. He would, however, submit the proposal to His Majesty, and take his pleasure as to the course to be pursued, and as to the means of avoiding offence to the Venetians, who claimed a right of sovereignty over great part of the territories whose inhabitants desired to shake off the Turkish yoke in his favour. He would then inform them of the King's resolution; and he was himself always disposed to use his best endeavours for their protection and relief.

The reply returned by the King was, that the close alliance into which he had entered with Venice rendered any such step for the present inexpedient; but he desired Don John to keep the negotiations open, as a time might come when the project could be seriously entertained. Having discovered the dream of his brother's ambition, Philip seems to have used it thenceforth as a means of stimulating his zeal in his service, without any purpose or wish to realize it.

The appointment of Don Luis de Requesens to the Viceroyalty of Milan, in December or January, deprived Don John of his second in command. A letter written early in February to Don Sancho de Leyva by Don John shows how little he ventured to interfere, even by way of request or suggestion, in arrangements in which he was nearly concerned. "There are many pretenders, "I believe," he wrote, "for the place which the Grand Com- "mander lately occupied here; sometimes I expect it will be "given to Don Garcia de Toledo, who is coming hither from "Livorno—and, in truth, if you were appointed, I should be well "pleased to enjoy your company—but I do not think it becoming "to ask either for one or the other, having no object either in "thought or action beyond His Majesty's pleasure; and so I "wait, in this as in other matters, to obey his orders."[1] The King gave the post to the Duke of Sesa, whom we have already seen employed in the same capacity in the war of the Moriscos. The Marquess of Trevico, a Neapolitan, and Antonio Doria, a

[1] Draft of a letter from D. John of Austria to D. Sancho de Leyva; National Library at Madrid, Cod. G. 45, fol. 174. Printed by Rosell: *Historia*, Appendix xxvii. p. 229.

Genoese, were also added to the number of the war-council. Philip further directed his brother to send to Rome, to the care of the Pope, the sons of Ali Pasha and some of the more important of his Turkish prisoners. The motive of this course is not clear. It may have been a desire to pay a compliment to Pius, or to remove the eminent infidels to an atmosphere more impregnated with orthodoxy and more likely to produce some salutary change upon their religion. Mahomet, the elder of the sons of the Pasha, was taken ill on the road, and died at Naples. His younger brother was sent on to Rome, and with his companions in misfortune was placed under the care of a dignitary of the Church.

At Constantinople the news of Lepanto produced a panic and discouragement by no means equal in extent and continuance to the hope and exultation which the victory had diffused over Christendom. In the Christian cities of the sea, men who had been long accustomed to tremble at the sight of the Turkish flag had some difficulty in believing that the Sultan's fleet had actually been annihilated ; but when, through the evidence of uncounted trophies, and of actors in the great scene, they had attained to that belief, they fell into the other extreme, and indulged in the wildest dreams of crusading conquest. Forgetting the loss of Cyprus, they anticipated, as probable results of another campaign, the recovery of the holy places of Palestine, and the expulsion of the Turk from Europe. At Constantinople, on the other hand, if the disaster which had befallen the Sultan's fleet was at first sufficiently alarming, it was closely followed, if not accompanied, by the consolatory assurance that the Christians had retired to their winter quarters in the west, and that for some months they would make no further use of their victory.

The tidings found the fiery-faced Sultan at Adrianople, watching over the progress of the splendid mosque, the Escorial of Turkish despotism and devotion, in which Sinan achieved a dome excelling that of St. Sophia, and the masterpiece, still unrivalled, of Ottoman architecture. Falling into a violent fury, Selim hastened to his capital, and, assembling his council, ordered the slaughter of all the Spanish and Venetian slaves, some say of all the Christians,[1] in his dominions. The Vizier, Mahomet Sokolli, succeeded in obtaining the withdrawal of this order, by pointing out that the King and the Republic, if they pleased, could make terrible reprisals upon the Turkish captives, that such

[1] R. Knolles: *Turkish History*, p. 600.

a step would turn into active enemies many Christian powers now neutral, and that the dockyards and the fortresses of the Empire were the true channels through which vengeance was to be obtained. The Sultan's wrath having been assuaged, every means was immediately taken not only to repair, but also to conceal the disaster of which it is possible that Selim was never permitted to know the full magnitude. The Pashas who escaped from Lepanto, Piali and Aluch Ali, returned to the Bosphorus in December, each of them at the head of a considerable squadron,[1] consisting of the remains of the fleet, and of such galleys and transports as they could muster in the various ports and naval stations of the Levant. By means of this device, and the captured banner of the Order of St. John, Aluch Ali succeeded so well in saving his credit that the Sultan, pleased with his valour and conduct, appointed him High Admiral, and desired that his name of Aluch should be exchanged for *Kilidj*, or the sword.

Under the care of this able seaman and the Grand Vizier, the work of creating a new fleet went briskly forward. The arsenal of Constantinople did not, like that of Venice, receive any exterior embellishment of sculptured trophies, but it was enlarged by the addition of ground from the Sultan's gardens, on which eight new building-sheds were erected. In the course of the winter one hundred and fifty galleys and eight galeasses were constructed and fitted out for sea. No difficulty or obstacle was permitted to be insuperable. At the beginning of the undertaking Aluch, or Kilidj Ali, talking it over with Mahomet Sokolli, said that it might be possible to provide a hundred and fifty galleys for the next campaign, but that he feared that it would be impossible to furnish them with the five hundred requisite anchors. "Pasha," replied the Vizier, "the wealth and power of "this Empire can supply you, if needful, with anchors of silver, "cordage of silk, and sails of satin; whatever you want for your "ships you have only to come and ask for it." The renegade bowed until the backs of his hands touched the ground, and said: "I see you will re-establish the fleet as it was before."[2] One of the chief difficulties in the way of attaining this object was the dearth of seamen and oarsmen, owing to the great loss at Lepanto. To insure a sufficient supply, not only were all that could be

[1] J. de Hammer (*Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, vi. p. 432) says Piali brought back from the scene of battle 120 galleys and 13 transports, and Oloudj-Ali afterwards arrived with 87 vessels. The strength of Piali's squadron is surely greatly exaggerated; unless many of the stranded galleys were saved.

[2] J. de Hammer: *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vi. p. 433.

found on the shores of Greece and Asia Minor, and in the harbours of Egypt, ordered to the capital, but a considerable number were marched from Bassora on the Euphrates, across the vast plains of Mesopotamia, a journey so severe that three out of five perished by the way.[1]

While he made strenuous preparation for war the Vizier by no means neglected the arts of diplomacy. His dauntless spirit and acute foresight were characteristically displayed in his language, when greeting, for the first time after the disaster at Lepanto, Barbaro, the captive representative of Venice. This minister, who enjoyed much of his confidence, and was allowed considerable freedom on parole, paid him a visit some days after the receipt of the news of Lepanto. "You come," said Mahomet, "to "see how we bear our misfortune. But I would have you know "the difference between our loss and yours. In wresting Cyprus "from you, we have deprived you of an arm; in defeating our "fleet, you have only shaved our beard. An arm, when cut off, "cannot grow again; but a shorn beard grows all the better for "the razor."[2] Yet he hinted to Barbaro that he was well disposed to peace, and continued to discuss the subject with him so long as there was any probability of the League being joined by the Emperor or the King of France. The conduct and dubious policy of these sovereigns, both of them beset with home difficulties, were carefully watched by his agents at Vienna and Paris. It was a time when the continuance of strife amongst the Christian Princes, daily prayed for in the mosques, as discord amongst heretics has been prayed for at the Vatican,[3] was especially important to the safety of the Turkish empire. The efforts of Mahomet, ancient jealousies, and the necessities of their own affairs, kept both Maximilian and Charles apart from the League. The Emperor gave notice that he would pay his usual tribute; and with him, therefore, peace was, for one year, certain. The French King, indeed, had made an attempt to reconcile the Republic with the Porte, by sending an ambassador, the Bishop of Acqs, by way of Venice to Constantinople. Mediation was not what Mahomet wanted, but an assurance of neutrality. When he had obtained this from the Prelate, he rose in his demands, proposed to treat with the Republic as if the Sultan had been victorious at Lepanto, and soon made it plain that he intended to

[1] C. Garzoni, 1573: *Relazioni*, Ser. III. vol. i. p. 421.

[2] J. de Hammer: *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vi. p. 434.

[3] So late as 1729, by Benedict XIII. See Carlyle's *History of Frederick II. of Prussia*, 1858, vol. ii. p. 97.

wipe out that disaster either by an advantageous peace or by a vigorous prosecution of the war.[1]

The winter and spring (1571-1572) which followed Lepanto were busy times for the statesmen of Catholic Europe. But monarchs pondered, counsels met, statesmen and generals spoke, secretaries wrote, and couriers galloped, with even less result than usually attended such transactions. Rome was the centre of the vast web of complicated negotiations for obtaining fresh adherents to the League, and for determining the objects of the next campaign.

The Kings of France, Portugal, and Poland, and the Emperor were the Princes whose accession to the League was most desired. To each of them the Pope sent a Legate, with a pressing letter, urging him, as a faithful son of the Church, to draw the sword against the enemy of his faith. To each of them a special envoy from Venice likewise insinuated more worldly arguments, with admirable assiduity and address. Pius had even named a Legate to Ivan the Terrible, Czar of Muscovy, in hopes of obtaining the aid of that Prince against a despot almost as savage as himself; but the stories of his cruelties perpetrated upon other envoys deterred him from exposing the nose and ears of a southern bishop to the whimsical barbarities of the Muscovite tyrant.[2] As to the King of France, great anxiety was felt lest he should not merely stand aloof from the League but even join the Turk. It was rumoured that he and some of the Protestant Princes of Germany were to receive from Selim large sums of money, on condition of making a strong diversion against the King of Spain, and in favour of the Protestant malcontents in the Netherlands. Troops were said to be mustering and moving, with no friendly intent, near the frontiers of Navarre.[3] It was known that the Sultan was in the habit of obtaining various munitions of war by means of French vessels from Marseilles,[4] and that Charles might count upon the zealous support of his Huguenot subjects in any attempt to drive the Spaniards from the Low Countries. When applied to by the Pope, the French King refused to allow his small navy to act with the fleet of the League; but he held out a

[1] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, lib. iii. p. 176.

[2] A. de Fuenmayor: *Vida y hechos de Pio V.*, 4to, Madrid, 1595, fol. 136.

[3] Letter from D. Juan de Zuñiga, Spanish ambassador at Rome, to the Duke of Alba, Viceroy of the Netherlands; Rosell: *Historia*, Appendix xxiii. p. 221. In relating the report, Zuñiga adds: "It would be a new thing for money to come from "Constantinople, where they usually only gather it in from all parts of the world."

[4] D. Luis de Requesens to Don John of Austria; Rome, 15th Dec. 1571. Rosell: *Historia*, Appendix xxv. p. 224.

hope of sending an army under the Duke of Anjou to co-operate with the Imperial forces, if the Emperor would declare war against the Turks. The King of Portugal was too much exposed to attacks by pirates from Barbary and Huguenot cruisers from La Rochelle to be able to spare the galleys for which the Legate asked; but he promised to contribute to the League a force of four thousand infantry, and to inflict what injury he could upon the Turkish commerce and possessions in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. He further undertook to communicate the wishes of the Pope to the King of Persia, and to transmit pontifical letters to some almost mythical personages, whom Pius hoped to enlist in the cause, Prester John of Abyssinia and certain Arabic sovereigns, who made no response to the appeal. The King of Poland, Sigismund the Second, last of the race of Jagellon, was dying, and had renounced all earthly cares and ambitions. The Emperor Maximilian, to whom indulgence in Hungarian wine had given the gout, was also troubled with an empty exchequer; and he was not yet quite reconciled with the Pope. He feared the turmoil and expense of war, and, being the mildest and most tolerant of the Princes who held the faith of the Vatican, was not much imbued with crusading zeal. In spite of the importunities of his cousin of Spain, who sent a special ambassador to Vienna to urge him to take up arms, he protracted the negotiations to their utmost limit, demanded subsidies which he knew that the allies neither could nor would grant him, paid his tribute to the Sultan, and preserved a neutrality which relieved his son-in-law, the King of France, from his conditional promise to join the League. It was evident that the League must enter on a new campaign without the assistance of any new confederate of importance.

The objects of that campaign were debated through many a weary conference and dull despatch. The interests of the two chief allies were, as usual, found to tend towards different and incompatible enterprises. Venice looked, not unnaturally, to the recovery of Cyprus, or at least to some feat of arms which should re-establish her influence in the Levant. The King of Spain, too, had sustained losses which he wished to repair, and disgraces which he wished to wipe away; and these pointed to operations upon the African shore. The Pope, who was free from personal interests, and sought only the humiliation of the Turk, held the balance with an even hand, and would not throw his vote into either scale lest he should damp the ardour and check the exertions of either disputant.

The jealousy and distrust between the Republic and the King and their respective representatives, which showed itself at various times in the late campaign, was rather increased than diminished by the diplomatic debates of the winter. One of the first subjects of these was the appointment of a new Venetian commander in place of Veniero. On the removal of that officer his Spanish colleagues insisted with great pertinacity, alleging, privately to their own Government, that his capacity was not equal to so great a command, and, openly at Rome and at Venice, that his temper rendered it impossible for them to act in concert with him without damaging the common cause. Don John of Austria wrote thus strongly to Don Juan de Zuñiga, Spanish ambassador at Rome:[1]—"As to the appointment by the "Venetians of another General I have already expressed my "opinion; but if they are determined that it shall still be "Sebastian Veniero, I can assure His Holiness and the Signiory "that if under my command he shall commit follies like those of "last year I will not wait for their orders to punish him; but it "would be safer to remove him, as I have before said." In a postscript to the same letter he added: "It is with pain that I "hear it is still a question whether the Venetian general remain "in his command; because it is certain that he and I cannot act "cordially together, for reasons which the Grand Commander "[Requesens, then at Rome] will have told you. If possible, "therefore, he ought to be removed, which would avoid many "inconveniences, which I fear will happen if he retain his post." He had spoken nearly as plainly to Leonardo Contarini, the envoy who had brought him the congratulations of the Signiory after the great victory, lamenting his unpleasant relations with his choleric and imperious colleague, and attributing to this misunderstanding the small results of their success. The Spanish ambassador at Venice, Guzman de Silva, was instructed to make a formal remonstrance against the continuance of Veniero in his command.[2] The Doge and the Senate, on the other hand, were satisfied with the services of Veniero. What the Spaniards called petulance they called proper Venetian spirit; and they were more inclined to sympathize with his invectives against the Spaniards than to examine the grievances of which the Spaniards complained. After much discussion, however, the Republic gave way. Veniero was made Admiral of the Gulf of Venice, and

[1] Don John of Austria to D. Juan de Zuñiga; Messina, 20th Dec. 1571. Rosell: *Historia*, Appendix xxi. pp. 216-17.

[2] Vanderhammen, f. 148.

his dignity was saved by a grant of precedence over all other Venetian commanders when their flags should happen to meet. Giacomo Foscarini, commissary of Dalmatia, was then appointed to command the contingent of St. Mark to the fleet of the League.

As the spring of 1572 wore on, and it became evident that the League was to receive no new royal or imperial confederate, the Pope declared himself in favour of the Venetian opinion, that the first expedition of the fleet should be towards the East. In spite of the failure of all hopes of a diversion on the side of Hungary or Poland, the enthusiastic old man still clung to his belief that the cross might yet recover the Holy Sepulchre or the dome of St. Sophia. The Spaniard then proposed that these enterprises should be undertaken by the united squadrons of His Holiness and the Republic, while the royal squadron should attempt conquests more useful to Spain on the coast of Africa. This proposal being rejected, a new argument arose as to the proper objects of attack on the Greek or Turkish shores. The occupation of the Dardanelles, the siege of Lepanto, a descent on the Morea, were each elaborately examined and debated.

Meanwhile Don John of Austria was chafing with impatience at Messina. He had spent the winter in busy preparation for the coming campaign, watching over the fitting out of galleys, the accumulation of stores, the drilling of recruits. Last year he had justified the ambitious device which he sometimes used, an arm issuing from clouds and launching a thunderbolt, with the motto COMO EL QUE ARROJA—LIKE HIM WHO HURLS IT; and he hoped again to fulminate against the infidel.[1] His colleague, the Marquess of Santa Cruz, had expected to put to sea in February, and he himself had hoped shortly to follow, and to find opportunities for some fresh achievement. No orders, however, arrived, and he was forced to employ himself in reviewing his galleys which lay ready for sea, in drilling his troops, or inspecting the warlike stores which he had been diligently collecting during the winter.

In March he received instructions from the King to proceed to Palermo, to superintend the military and naval preparations in that part of the island. While in that fair city he seized the occasion, it is said, to visit his sister Margaret, Duchess of Parma, who had often expressed her desire to see him at her palace at Aquila.[2] Since the close of her stormy and disastrous administra-

[1] Vanderhammen, f. 148 *verso*.

[2] Aquila is in the Abruzzi, not in Sicily, and the visit must have been made from Naples.

tion in the Netherlands in 1567, the Duchess had dwelt chiefly on her estate in Sicily. Masculine in person—for her mouth and chin were fringed with beard—in mind, habits, and pursuits, she was also a martyr to an hereditary masculine disorder, the gout, which had greatly undermined her health. Being now in her fifty-first year, she was about twice as old as her brother, who obtained his first command after she had left the stage of public life. They had never before met. The meeting must have been interesting. Don John was the companion and friend of his nephew, her brilliant son, Alexander Farnese, who had been also one of the most gallant of the volunteers who had fought at Lepanto. Margaret had known and possessed the confidence of their father, Charles the Fifth, and she had for many years faithfully served the cold and jealous brother whom Don John was now serving, and upon whom his fortunes depended. Each had tidings and recollections to exchange. The sister could offer the counsels of sad experience, the brother could unfold the visions of youth and hope. Margaret entertained her guest with great hospitality and splendour, giving in his honour balls and horse and foot tournaments, in all of which Don John was the conspicuous and popular figure. Having despatched his business at Palermo, he returned to Messina at the beginning of April.

In the midst of the negotiations at Rome the members and ministers of the League were surprised by an event in which the wiser of them must have seen the death-blow of the confederation. Incessant toil, the torments of the stone, and the weight of sixty-seven years, brought the crusading Pontiff to the grave. In January he had had a violent fit of illness, from which he recovered. In March he was again taken ill. But in spite of his rigid adherence to Lenten fare and vigils, Easter Day, which fell on the 6th of April, found him somewhat better, and able to take part in some of its solemnities. He chanted the usual prayers with a firm voice, and stepping forth with raised hand into the balcony of St. Peter's, he blessed, for the seventh and last time, the multitude assembled beneath the portico. But he knew that his hour was come. From that day he renounced all secular business and devoted himself to preparations for death. When he received the communion, to the words "may the body "of the Lord preserve thy soul," he caused the officiating Cardinal to add words used only when the element is given to the dying, "and raise thee to life eternal." In spite of the remonstrance of his doctors, he performed the pilgrimage of the

seven churches of Rome, partly on foot and partly in a litter. As he came out of St. Paul's, the Abbot and his Benedictines assured him of their prayers for his health. "Nay, my sons," he replied, "I am laying down the burden; pray that I may have a "good successor, which is of importance to Christianity." After this great exertion he seldom left his bed, and was constantly engaged in meditation and prayer. Having fallen one day into a slumber unusually profound, he was supposed to be dead, and the report of his death spread through the city. Marc Antonio Colonna immediately ordered the palace gates to be shut, the troops to get under arms, and the artillery to be prepared, and easily quelled the riots, for which a vacancy in the apostolic chair was the invariable signal in the capital of Christendom. Some soldiers having been engaged in these disturbances, Pius's last act of temporal authority was to command the removal of two thousand infantry, who happened to be in Rome on their march to join the fleet. Of his ministers and attendants, who, unlike those of many moribund Pontiffs, all remained with him to the end, the Pope took an affectionate farewell. He assured them that his end was perfect peace and the beginning of life immortal. Of his public career and of the great affairs which he was leaving unfinished, he said: "You will not easily find one who has a "stronger desire to root out the enemies of Christ's faith and "cross; but He who is able, of these stones, to raise up seed to "Abraham, can give you a better and a stronger guide. The "Holy League has begun a great work; my successor will have "little to do but to enjoy the glory of it. I am not concerned to "have lived only for the labour and to leave the fruit to another; "the glory of God being my sole aim. But by the blood of "Christ I entreat you, whose affair it is, to elect, as speedily as "possible, a zealous man in my place, and not to choose him on "mere worldly considerations. The year is already far advanced; "what has to be done must be done soon; and if this year "passes without some memorable action, men's spirit will fail "them, and our labour and the great victory will be fruitless." After a few more days and nights of pain, he expired on the 1st of May, in the seventh year of his pontificate, his dying lips murmuring the words of the hymn, "Defend us from the enemy "and receive us in the hour of death."[1]

So died a man of as noble a nature as was ever perverted and

[1] Ant. de Fuenmayor: *Vida y hechos de Pio V. Pontifice Romano*, 4to, Madrid, 1595, fol. 142-3.

debased by superstition. His honesty, his unselfishness, and his courage, were the means by which he rose to eminence amongst men who respected, if they rarely possessed, these qualities. Whatever the Church taught he was prepared to do, at whatever cost to himself or others; and in this spirit he accepted the bloody policy of Hebrew priestcraft as a fitting rule for the chief teacher of a religion of love and peace. Had he lived in times when even theologians shrink from the practical application of their cruel dogmas and audacious theories, his conscience would probably have revolted from theories and dogmas which cannot bear the test of practice. The Romans esteemed the stern old man whose indomitable spirit had raised Europe against the infidel, and who had ruled over them with decency and honesty rare at the Vatican. They flocked in great crowds to gaze on his corpse, which they would have divided amongst them for relics had not a strong railing been interposed between the bier and their enthusiasm. And if they felt, in this case they restrained, their natural impulse to tear in pieces the friends and favourites of a dead Pope.[1]

His body lies buried in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, where Sixtus V. raised in his honour a superb monument, on which the chisel of Cordieri has skilfully commemorated in marble the victories of Moncontour and Lepanto.[2] In the pontificate of Clement XI. he was admitted to the still higher honours of the Roman calendar.

[1] Ant. de Fuenmayor, who obtained the chief facts of the life of Pius from his confidential attendant, Fr. de Reynoso, and who being a canon of Palencia, was a zealous churchman, thus contrasts the security of the ministers and servants of the late Pope with the usual lot of persons in similar circumstances :—"As no man is more honoured "in life than a Pontiff, the representative of Christ upon earth, so none is more miserable "when dead, his grandeur being gone with his breath, and his body left to porters and "hirelings, to be wrapped in the meanest garments and huddled away without ceremony. "His friends disappear, afraid of the enmity which follows the friendship of a Pope; "for the license of Rome, during the vacancy of the see, has no limit. Yet of Pius, "although the authority died, the credit of his sanctity lived; his corpse was surrounded "by his people, who forsook him not alive or dead. Contrary to the custom which "Rome has for ages seen, his servants remained in the city, no less honoured and visited "than if the Pope had been living." *Vida y hechos de Pio V.*, lib. vi. fol. 143. Compare this picture with that which the Vatican presented in 1655, at the death of Innocent X., whose nephews grudged him a leaden coffin, and whose body "was left in "the lower hall in a nasty pickle, to the mercy of rats and mice, which gnawed part of "his nose and face, through the negligence of those who watched." *London Weekly Post*, 20th February to 1st March 1655.

[2] The inscription on the tomb attributes to the Pope the lion's share of the glory of the victory over the Turk, and states the Turkish loss at thirty thousand slain, ten thousand prisoners, and one hundred and eighty vessels taken. Five of his medals struck in honour of the Christian League and its results will be found figured in Phil. Bonanni: *Numismata Pontificum Romanorum usque ad ann.* 1699, Romæ, 1699, 2 vols. folio, ii. p. 291, Nos. ix.-xiii. There are two noble portraits of him by Scipione Gaetano, one in the Colonna Palace at Rome, and another in the collection of Lord Napier at Thirlestane. From the Colonna portrait appears to have been engraved the fine print in Maffei.

When the sacred college met in congregation, Zuñiga, the Spanish ambassador, attended in state, and proposed to the Cardinals that they should collectively give orders to Marc Antonio Colonna to lead his two thousand troops to Messina, and that each should individually ratify the League and promise adherence to it in case of his election to the vacant throne. The college was still full of the crusading zeal infused into it by Pius. Both proposals were immediately adopted. The religious rites for the dead Pontiff being concluded on the 11th of May, the conclave was closed on that day; and on the 13th Hugo Buoncampagno, a Bolognese, seventy years old, but still hale and vigorous, was led by Cardinal Granvelle to St. Peter's chair.

Gregory XIII., that being the style adopted by the new Pope, was elected without ballot by the speedy process known as adoration, in which the Holy Ghost is supposed to inspire the electors with a sudden and uncontrollable impulse to choose a person in whose favour some subtle and strong-willed politicians had long been tacitly agreed. He had begun his career as a professor of law, and did not enter the Church till his thirty-sixth year. He had been sent to Spain by Pius IV. to review the proceedings against Archbishop Carranza for heresy; and by that Pontiff he was promoted to the purple. An acute priest and an honest man, he was but little versed in the art of government or in the politics or ways of the world. He embellished Rome with some sumptuous monuments, and he made a noble road from Rome to Ancona, along which unchecked robbery rendered it dangerous to travel.[1] But his chief claim to the remembrance of posterity rests on his reform of the calendar, a bold scientific work so far beyond his age that his acute successor, Sixtus V., talked of reverting to the old method of computing time, and made it one of the pretexts of his revenge for various slights and persecutions which he had suffered in the last reign, by ordering masses to be said for the deliverance of the soul of Gregory from the fires of purgatory.[2] On assuming the tiara Gregory XIII. dismissed the ministers of Pius V. and recalled to power some of those who had served Pius IV., giving the chief direction of affairs and the seals of the Secretary of State to Cardinal Galli, usually styled Cardinal of Como.

[1] *Sixte-Quint*, par le Baron de Hübner. Paris, 1870, 3 vols. 8vo, i. pp. 135-138.

[2] Hübner: *Sixte-Quint*, ii. p. 187. In one of the many passages of arms between Pope Pius IX. and the Emperor Napoleon III., that Pontiff took a similar professional mode of indulging his malice against his protector by saying of him at some public audience: "Poor man, they tell me he is very ill, I shall have him prayed for."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE WAR OF THE HOLY LEAGUE; FROM MARCH TO NOVEMBER 1572.

IT was one of the first stipulations of the League that in each year, by the month of April at latest, two hundred galleys, fifty thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse, with fitting munitions and means of transport, should be in readiness at some appointed station to act against the common enemy. It was now the middle of May, yet the place of assembling was not yet fixed, nor were the operations or the scene of the next campaign determined.

The fleet and land forces of Venice had long been ready at Corfu. The Papal squadron wanted only some galleys of the Grand Duke to render it complete.[1] The Spanish fleet lay equipped for sea in the harbour of Messina. A portion of the troops which were to serve on board of it were, however, still wanting, owing to the lack of money and foresight which marred most of the enterprises of the King of Spain. One German regiment was long delayed at Pontevilla, another in the Cremonese, both mutinous for pay, and both waiting for transports which failed to appear at Spezia. These troops were under the temporary charge of Requesens, Viceroy of Milan, who had expected to embark them in vessels from Spain, but who towards the end of May was obliged to ask Don John of Austria to send galleys for them from Naples or Messina. Upon Requesens Don John had likewise counted for a thousand troops from the Milanese. After examining the resources of his Government, Requesens wrote that, with an alarming prospect of a French invasion, he had not a force sufficient for his ordinary peace establishment; that his garrisons and fortresses were almost denuded of men and supplies; that he had neither a real nor a real's worth of credit to provide them; and that, under these disheartening circumstances, he had not a man to spare.[2] It was not only in Milan that disappointments occurred. But by the middle of June the troops as well as the fleet were ready at Messina. Still no sailing orders arrived from Madrid. To the Venetian envoy, who represented that the forces of the Republic were suffering from desertion and sickness, the result of inaction, Don John of Austria could only express his regret at the delay. The Duke of Sesa, his second in command, was ill, and his non-appearance was for a while accepted as an excuse. The illness of the late Pope, and the uncertainty of the policy which might be pursued by his successor, for some weeks afforded pretexts for delay; but they were not long available, for the news of the speedy election of a Cardinal of the Spanish party, who was also a strong supporter of the League, reached Philip II. on the 25th of May, at the Escorial.[3] A more lasting

[1] The Grand Duke, according to Baldini, was as forward as ever in the cause of the League, having built for its use this year (1572) two galeasses, and furnished two galliots, two frigates, and two ships. Baldini: *Vita di Cosimo Primo, Gr. Duca d. Toscana*, Firenze, 1578, folio, p. 77.

[2] Don Luis de Requesens to Don John of Austria, 21st May 1572. National Library at Madrid, Cod. G. 45, fol. 197. Rosell: *Historia*, Appendix xxvi. pp. 225-228.

[3] G. de Yllescas: *Historia Pontifical; Segunda Parte*, fol., Barcelona, 1596, fol. 364.

excuse was found in the insecure relations between Spain and France ; in the danger of the Huguenot party becoming supreme in the councils of the French King ; and of a consequent invasion of Navarre or other Spanish territory. But whatever the pretext

JACOPO SORANZO, ONE OF THE VENETIAN COMMANDERS AT LEPANTO.

for delay, which was in fact a breach of the agreement, the true reason was the repugnance of the King of Spain to engage in any enterprise likely to aggrandize or benefit Venice.

Not content with sending Jacopo Soranzo with a naval squadron to Messina to urge upon Don John the necessity of immediate action, the Doge and Senate of Venice despatched

Antonio Tiepolo on a special mission to Madrid to ask, with the courteous circumlocution of diplomacy, whether Philip intended to adhere to or to withdraw from the League. It so happened that the King was able to reply with truth, that he had already sent orders to Don John to join the allies at Corfu. Tiepolo then asked him if, in consideration of the best of the season for naval operations being already past, he would allow Don John to winter, if he saw fit, in the Levant, for the purposes of overawing the enemy, of confining him to the Eastern seas, and of compelling him to bear a portion of the burden of maintaining the Christian fleet. This request Philip refused, assigning several plausible reasons. The real grounds of the request and the refusal were mentioned neither by the minister nor the monarch. If Don John were to winter in the Levant, the Venetians hoped and the King feared that his thoughts and his forces would be withdrawn from the schemes of African conquest which were the main objects of the Spanish co-operation with the League. Gregory XIII. likewise instructed his Nuncio at the Spanish Court to remind the King that the proceeds of the bull of the crusade and some other ecclesiastical revenues had been granted to him to assist his preparations against the Turk, and that, if he did not act with the confederates, these concessions could not be continued. The Nuncio Odescalchi was again at Messina for the purpose of blessing the fleet. To the daily remonstrances against further delay which this churchman addressed to Don John, the Pope himself added frequent hortatory letters, so warm in tone that Don John described them as "briefs of fire."[1] Don John at last sent his secretary Soto to the King with a letter warning him that this delay might endanger the stability of the League, and entreating him to permit him either to sail or to send a portion of his fleet to act with the Venetians, whose territories were already threatened by a strong Turkish armament under Aluch Ali. Soto embarked in a swift galley; and, with a duplicate of the despatch, the courier Angulo galloped overland to Madrid.

Nevertheless the whole month of June passed idly away. At length, in July, Don John yielded to the entreaties of his colleagues, and allowed a few of his galleys to accompany Colonna and Soranzo to Corfu. Colonna had under his command twenty-six

[1] Don John of Austria to the Duke of Terranova; Messina, 5th of July 1572. National Library at Madrid, Cod. G. 45, fol. 242. Rosell: *Historia*, Appendix xxix. p. 230.

galleys—thirteen belonging to the Pope, eleven belonging to the Grand Duke, and two belonging to Michael Bonelo; and Soranzo had twenty-four. To these were now added eighteen Spanish galleys, led by Gil de Andrade, and five thousand infantry under the orders of the Count of Sarno. Colonna hoisted the standard of the League. Don John accompanied the squadron as far as Faro, and thence sailed for Palermo.

While the Venetians blamed, and justly blamed, the King of Spain for his backwardness in co-operating with his allies, they themselves had passed the winter and spring in strange and unaccountable inaction. During the winter months the sole enterprise undertaken by the fleet under Veniero was an attack upon Margariti, a Turkish fortress on the Albanian shore. In this affair were engaged thirty galleys led by Marco Quirini, and six thousand foot. The place surrendered at the first summons, affording proof of the panic with which the victory at Lepanto had stricken the Turk, and of the good results which might be expected to follow vigorous and well-directed attacks upon his strongholds. Yet the only attack even contemplated by Veniero was one upon Santa Maura, to which island he again led his fleet, in order again to retire from it after a second examination of the defences.

Foscarini, on taking the command of the Venetian forces, received positive orders from home to attempt nothing until he had been joined by the Spanish fleet. Sciarra Martinengo, a Brescian soldier of fortune, had, however, sufficient influence with the Council of Ten to obtain the command of an expedition against Castel Nuovo, an important fortress which commanded the entrance to the Gulf of Cattaro, and possessed a spacious and secure harbour, advantages which enabled the Turk constantly to interrupt and molest the trade of Dalmatia and the Adriatic. Embarking five thousand troops at Chioggia, Martinengo proceeded to Cattaro, where Veniero, cruising in the Adriatic, was ordered to render him every assistance. The troops were landed and led against Castel Nuovo, and the galleys bombarded the place from the sea. The garrison was, however, immediately aided and reinforced by the warlike population of the surrounding country, who rose and attacked the Christians; Martinengo found himself overpowered by unforeseen numbers, and he was glad to retreat to Cattaro with some loss of men and great damage to his reputation. The Grand Vizier, Mahomet Sokolli, in discussing this expedition with the Minister Barbaro, expressed

much surprise at the weak and ignorant counsels which sent so feeble a force upon an enterprise so important.[1]

The Turks, on their side, were neither rash nor procrastinating. Early in spring Carack Ali sailed from Constantinople with seventy galleys. He was followed in June by Aluch Ali with a fleet of a hundred sail. To the Bishop of Acqs, the somewhat cynical representative of the Most Christian King at the Court of the Turk, this armament, indeed, appeared utterly contemptible.[2] The able Algerine Pasha had persuaded his people to leave their bows at home, and had provided them with twenty thousand firelocks. But the vessels were mostly new and built of green timber; the guns had been hastily cast of worthless metal; the captains and seamen were all raw recruits; few of the oarsmen had ever handled an oar; and the soldiers, still trembling at the terrible recollections or tales of Lepanto, had to be driven on board with the stick. All these weak points were well known to the League, and the Sultan was, in the Prelate's opinion, on the eve of another marvellous beating,[3] especially when he had learned that a French Prince and upwards of a thousand Frenchmen were about to serve as volunteers in the fleet of the confederates. Yet with these unpromising materials Aluch Ali contrived to maintain and increase his reputation. For his success some thanks, perhaps, are due to the Christians, who allowed him two clear months in which to drill his recruits. Carack Ali was permitted to cruise far to the westward without seeing a hostile flag. In the Archipelago and on the coast of Greece he asserted the sovereignty of the Sultan over the Christian population, who had offered a Greek Crown to Don John of Austria, by chaining many of them to the oars of his galleys. When the two leaders united their forces they laid waste the Venetian islands of Cerigo and Tino, and threatened the island of Candia. In July the Turkish armament was supposed to be cruising off the western shore of the Morea and the mouth of the Adriatic.

Colonna, after touching at Otranto, reached Corfu on the 15th of July. As soon as he was signalled from the heights Foscarini went out to meet him with seventy-four Venetian galleys and thirty larger vessels. The artillery and musketry of both squadrons awakened the echoes of Corfu and the hills of Epirus as they stood into the harbour.

[1] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, lib. iii. p. 181.

[2] *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, iii. pp. 272 and 362.

[3] "Sur le poinct de souffrir une marveilleuse bastonnade."

At the end of the month Colonna put to sea at the head of one hundred and twenty-six galleys, and twenty-six larger sailing ships laden with stores and ammunition. He himself, with Foscarini and Andrade, commanded the centre; the right wing was led by the commissary Soranzo and the left by Canale. On the 28th they were at Gomeniza. A frigate soon after arrived from Messina with a despatch from Don John of Austria, who informed Colonna that he was just about to sail, and required him to wait at Corfu for his coming. This order greatly disconcerted the two admirals. In the name of his Republic Foscarini protested against further indefinite delay; and Colonna, being not indisposed to win independent laurels, was easily convinced by his arguments. They therefore agreed to inform their chief that they considered their duty required them, even at the risk of disobeying his instructions, to proceed in search of the Turk, and prevent further damage to the Venetian possessions in the Greek waters.[1] Putting to sea as quickly as possible, they steered southwards, and in the Canal of Cephalonia were joined by thirteen galleys coming from Candia under Marco Quirini. Sailing at the moderate rate imposed by light winds and the necessity of towing the heavy ships, in a few days they were off Zante. There they spent two days in taking in water, and from thence Colonna despatched three galleys to obtain intelligence of the enemy.

Aluch Ali was further off than had been supposed. He was cruising along the south-eastern coast of the Morea, his headquarters being the harbour of Malvasia. He was, perhaps, better informed as to the movements of the Christians than they were as to his own. At Gomeniza a Turkish force captured several soldiers who formed part of the escort of a watering-party. A Turkish slave of Colonna, who served in his cabin, also made his escape from the Papal flagship; and as the man's promotion to wait on the admiral implied the possession of some superior faculties, it is probable that he carried very precise and trustworthy intelligence to the enemy.[2] As the fleet of the League sailed along the western shore of the Morea, Aluch Ali also steered southward, along its eastern coast, to meet them. The two fleets did not come in sight of each other until the 7th of August, off Cape Malia, the point of the long promontory which divides the Laconian Gulf from that of Argolis. When they descried each other they were about ten miles apart. The Turk, having been reinforced by a squadron of corsairs, had two hundred sail. Colonna immediately

[1] F. Caracciolo: *I Commentarii*, lib. ii. p. 68. [2] *Ibid.* p. 72.

stood towards him in order of battle. Aluch Ali, however, did not accept the challenge, but retired under shelter of the island of Elaphonisi, in order, as was supposed, to gain the wind and a chance of engaging the Christian galleys apart from the heavier vessels. Colonna followed him as well as a light and shifting wind permitted, but without bringing him to action. After manœuvring all day, with a few exchanges of ineffectual cannon-shot, the two commanders were compelled by the darkness to desist from further attempts to force or evade a battle. During the night, Aluch Ali, doubling the southern Cape of Cerigo, escaped to sea.

Again, on the 10th of August, the fleets were in sight of each other off Cape Matapan. Again Colonna offered battle, and again Aluch Ali, aided by the wind, succeeded in avoiding it.

The Christians retired to Cerigo, and there their leaders were concerting further measures when they received intelligence that a frigate, sent by Don John of Austria with news of his having put to sea, had been captured by the Turk, and that Aluch Ali had therefore sailed to the northward in order to intercept him. Colonna and Andrade proposed instantly to follow with all speed. But the Venetians objected to this course, alleging that, if they were to sail in company with the heavy ships, effectual speed was impossible, and that to leave these vessels behind was to abandon them, with all their important contents, to the enemy. From a part of their apprehensions the leaders were relieved by the arrival of a second frigate from Don John, bearing despatches in which the Commander-in-Chief informed Colonna that he should not be ready to sail until the beginning of August ; and ordered him to return towards Corfu to meet him, thus confirming the Roman admiral in his first resolve. On the 18th of August Colonna reached Zante, and on the 31st, Corfu, where he found the Commander-in-Chief impatiently expecting him.

Don John had received the King's order to sail at Palermo. The arrival of that order excited the greatest joy in the city and in the portion of the fleet in the harbour. Some days, however, elapsed before Don John took advantage of a command which he had so much desired ; and this delay excited some murmurs, because it was attributed, not to the requirements of the public service, but to the festivities in honour of the marriage of the secretary, Juan de Soto, to a Sicilian heiress, whose hand he was said to have obtained by means of his master's influence.[1] On

[1] F. Caracciolo : *I Commentarii*, lib. ii. p. 66.

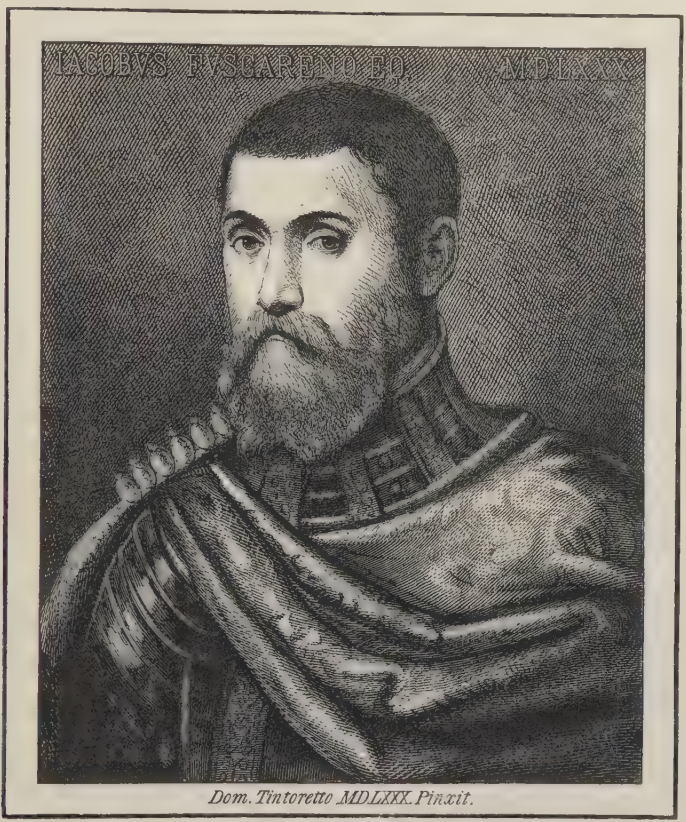
his return to Messina, Don John despatched a frigate to Colonna, ordering him to await his arrival at Corfu; and he lost no time in putting to sea. The reply of the Papal admiral—that he and Foscarini had thought it necessary to go in search of the Turk—reached him while still off the coast of Calabria. His displeasure at their resolution was increased when, on arriving at Corfu, on the 9th of August, he received no certain intelligence of their movements. While waiting for news he employed his time in careening some of his vessels; he and a portion of the troops being encamped, during the operation, on the island of Malipiero. Various light vessels soon appeared, at intervals, bringing despatches from Colonna detailing the voyage and operations of the fleet. At first Don John was disposed to join his colleagues, but, on more mature reflexion, he resolved to recall and await them.

A letter, written on the 29th of August to the Duke of Sesa, affords good evidence of his dissatisfaction with the course which they had pursued. He could hardly express his disappointment he said, at the loss of a great opportunity of again crushing the Turkish fleet,—a loss attributable to "private plots and aims,"[1] which we may presume he ascribed to the Papal and Venetian leaders. Sesa had reached Naples only about the 20th of August. In the same letter Don John, while looking forward with eagerness to seeing him, advised him not to sail from Messina until he had heard from him that the coast was clear; because Aluch Ali, being at the head of a powerful armament, might at any moment be on the Italian shores, and might therefore capture the Duke on his passage to Corfu.

Don John received his colleagues with the usual public honour, but their first meeting in private was somewhat stormy. Colonna and Foscarini justified their disobedience of his order to wait for his coming, partly by the tenor of certain written instructions given by him at Messina, and partly, and chiefly, by the strong necessity of the case. As Constable of Naples and a subject of the King of Spain, Colonna further offered to resign his command to his lieutenant, Pompeo Colonna, and at once repair to Madrid to explain his conduct to his sovereign. Gil de Andrade, who, though acting under the orders of a superior officer, had also incurred the displeasure of Don John, in like manner offered to give up his command in the royal galleys and to serve as a simple knight on board one of the vessels of his Order of St. John.

[1] Letter from Don John to the Duke of Sesa, National Library, Madrid, Cod. G. 45, fol. 250. Rosell: *Historia*, Appendix xxxv. p. 236.

After some warm discussion, Don John declined to accept these offers, and agreed to forget the irrevocable past. The general opinion of the fleet, as reported by one of its officers, was, that although the excuses of the Papal leader were plausible, Don John had good grounds for reprimanding him, because the real



GIACOMO FOSCARINI, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE VENETIAN FLEET.

motives of his conduct had been an erroneous estimate of the Turkish strength, and eagerness to achieve some independent success.[1]

In reviewing the forces under his command, Don John found, amongst the Italian volunteers, the Prince of Parma, and many of the high-born adventurers who had followed his standard at Lepanto. There were also many new recruits, especially from the nobility of the Two Sicilies. In the Venetian fleet there

[1] F. Caracciolo: *I Commentarii*, lib. ii. pp. 78-80.

were three vessels, a galley, a galliot, and a brigantine, which hoisted the white flag of France, studded with the black Jerusalem crosses of the House of Lorraine. These vessels had been lent by the Republic to the Marquess of Mayenne,[1] brother to the Duke of Guise; they had been fitted out at Venice, at his expense, and were now commanded by him. He was followed by a gallant train of French gentlemen, eager to show that the Catholic subjects of Charles IX. were free from that leaning to the side of the infidel of which the Most Christian King had been suspected.[2]

Don John had brought with him from Sicily fifty-six galleys and thirty larger vessels. His armament now amounted to one hundred and ninety-four galleys, forty large sailing ships, and eight galeasses. With this imposing force he stood across to the well-known harbour of Gomeniza, where he made a careful inspection of each vessel. The Venetians were, once more, found to be deficient in their due complement of soldiers. Foscarini was willing to accept reinforcements, but not of Spanish troops. His Government being desirous, he said, of avoiding the misunderstandings of last year, had expressly ordered him not to receive on board his vessels a single soldier in the pay of the King of Spain. Colonna again interposed as peacemaker, and lent the Venetian thirteen hundred of the Papal infantry, receiving from Don John a like number of Spanish troops to replace them.

Before putting to sea, the Commander-in-Chief issued instructions for an order of battle, which was to be adhered to as far as possible during the voyage, and assumed whenever the enemy came in sight. The right wing, of fifty-two galleys, distinguished by green pennants on the foremast (*alla prua dell' albero*), was given to the Marquess of Santa Cruz; the left wing, of the same number, with blue pennants at the brace of the yard[3] (*alla osta*), to Soranzo; and the centre, of seventy galleys, with yellow banderoles at their peaks (*al calcese*), was led by Don John, supported by Foscarini, Colonna, and Andrade. The vanguard, which formed part of the centre, and consisted of six galleys and galeasses, was confided to Giustiniani, admiral of the Order of St. John; two galeasses sailed in advance of each of the wings; and the rear was covered by a reserve of twenty-six galleys, with white streamers on their poops, commanded by

[1] The Spanish writers call him Humanes, and otherwise disguise his name by misspelling it. [2] F. Caracciolo: *I Commentarii*, lib. ii. p. 81.

[3] *Osta di entena*, brace of a lateen yard. Connelly: *Span.-Eng. Dict.*

Nicolas Donato and Juan de Cardona.[1] Rodrigo de Mendoza was entrusted with the heavy ships, which, not to encumber the movements of the fleet, were to remain in the safe and accessible harbour of Zante.

The fleet weighed anchor from Gomeniza on the 8th of September. The frigates which had been sent forward as scouts soon came in with tidings that the Turk had divided his armament, part being at Modon and part at Navarino, and that he was suffering greatly from sickness and short supplies. Don John of Austria therefore determined not to touch, as he had intended, at Zante, but to make all haste to the rocky island of Sapienza, lying to the south and in front of the harbour of Modon, and affording a position from whence it would be easy to cut off all communication by sea between that port and Navarino. His pilots, by a mistake in their reckoning, instead of making the proper point, laid the fleet abreast of the island of Prodano, eight miles to the north of Navarino, and so frustrated the plan of surprise. Informed of their danger, the Turkish captains in the bay of Navarino withdrew to Modon. They retired in good order, and at one time appeared disposed to allow the Christians to overtake and engage them. A few shots from the vanguard of Maltese galleys, however, changed their resolution, and they sought safety within the strongly-fortified harbour of Modon.

That small port was entered by a narrow channel, well defended by a castle of some strength, by galleys moored at important points, and by batteries crowning rocky heights or covering low shoals close to the water's edge. Looking on these formidable defences, the Venetians were painfully reminded, by the lion of St. Mark, the "sacred dog of the Christians" as the Turk called it, still visible upon bulwark and battlement, that the Turks were indebted for their present safety to the skill, industry, and wealth of Venice. Seeing that it was impossible to effect anything by a sudden attack, Don John drew off his fleet towards the island of Sapienza. Aluch Ali immediately issued from the harbour with fifty galleys, as if to menace the rear of the Christians. Don John put his ships about and turned upon him; whereupon the Turk again took refuge in his stronghold.

Next day the fleet of the League, doubling Cape Gallo, put into the Gulf of Coron for water. Within the shelter of the long, low promontory of Coron, and protected by the guns of its castle,

[1] F. Caracciolo (*I Commentarii*, lib. ii. p. 81) makes the number of the fleet somewhat less; but I have followed Rosell: *Hist.*, p. 141.

lay three Turkish galleys, against which a Venetian galeasse and two galleys discharged, as they passed, some ineffectual volleys. Water was not to be obtained but at a small stream several miles inland, and about ten miles from the fortress. Don John therefore landed some companies of infantry to protect the watering-gangs of galley-slaves. Ever vigilant and well informed, Aluch Ali had led sixteen hundred janissaries and two hundred horse over the hills from Modon to watch his proceedings. As the Christians marched across the rich plain, rejoicing in the shade of its groves of olive and orange trees, they were unexpectedly assailed by the arrows and musketry of these troops, who, though greatly superior in force, did not succeed in throwing them into confusion, and were eventually forced to retire by the bold front and steady fire of the Spanish arquebusiers. The Spaniards did not, however, return to the fleet without some loss both in officers and men. Amongst other volunteers who accompanied the party was the Prince of Parma. His extreme daring caused so much remark, that Don John expostulated with him on the impropriety of risking his life in enterprises of so little moment.[1]

The day following Don John returned to Sapienza and anchored off the harbour of Modon. Schemes for seizing an eminence near the mouth of its channel, and for forcing the passage of the channel itself, were proposed by Foscarini, but rejected by the council as desperate. It was resolved to retire to Navarino, where there was plenty of water and a secure anchorage. From thence eighteen galleys, commanded by Don Martin de Padilla, were despatched on the 21st of September to Zante. His orders were either to bring the heavy ships back with him, or, if that was rendered difficult by contrary winds, to bring back as much as his galleys could carry of their troops, stores, artillery, and munitions. Wind and weather proving propitious, most of the ships themselves, six days afterwards, sailed into the bay of Navarino.

This bay, famous in the world's annals since the wars of Troy, is a semicircular basin, two miles and a half in length, tending from north-east to south-west, and enclosed on the land side by a range of bare limestone hills. On the side of the Mediterranean it is sheltered from the south-western storm by the lofty, jagged crest of the long island of Sphagia, the ancient Sphacteria, where, in the seventh year of the Peloponnesian War, the blazing forest

[1] F. Caracciolo: *I Commentarii*, lib. ii. p. 86. He states Aluch Ali's force at three thousand foot and one hundred horse, but I follow the authorities cited by Rosell.

opened a path for the Athenians to the Spartan stronghold and to signal victory.[1] Between this island and the mainland there are two channels. That on the north is half a mile wide, but so shallow as to be fordable, and therefore useless for shipping. The southern channel lies between an isolated crag, once the southern cape of Sphacteria, and the mainland. It is only five hundred feet wide; but there the waters roll deep between walls of rock. On the heights above this entrance rose the town of Navarino, with its castle, a place of some strength, built by the Venetians a century before, and now garrisoned by the Turks. Had the rock on the other side been fortified, the passage of the hostile fleet into the bay would have been effectually barred. But this precaution had been neglected by the soldiers of Selim; and the guns of the castle could neither sweep the channel nor molest the anchorage. The fleet of the League therefore sailed in and out of the bay as easily, and rode as safely on its placid bosom, as if it had been at Gomeniza or Corfu.

At Navarino, besides water and shelter, the Christians enjoyed the advantage of almost blockading the Turkish fleet. Modon was only about six miles distant; it was easily watched; and the narrowness of the entrance rendered it almost impossible, even for a skilful and daring seaman like Aluch Ali, to escape to sea with a large armament without being overtaken and forced into action. Moreover, though tolerably secure from surprise by an enemy, Modon was exposed to the fury of the south-western gales, which wrought great havoc amongst the crowded shipping; and the forces of the Turk were also suffering from disease and desertion. On the other hand, the Christian leaders had the mortification of knowing that after the end of September little time remained for a naval campaign, and that, in spite of the presence of their store-ships, their provisions were not inexhaustible; and they also felt that it was, at the least, inglorious to remain inactive, watching the inferior force of an enemy whom they had last year so signally defeated.

While waiting for the arrival of the ships from Zante, the Christian troops had several encounters with the enemy on the shore of the bay. Two streams descending from the hills fell into the haven. For the purpose of securing one of these, which afforded the best supply of water, Don John disembarked eight thousand Spanish and Italian infantry, expecting that the approach to the watering-place would be strongly contested. The Turks,

[1] *Thucydides*, Book iv. 33-40.

however, did not appear in any great force, but contented themselves with occupying the heights and galling the flanks of the invaders with the bow and the musket. Charged by a strong detachment, they were driven from their position; but they immediately rallied and hung on the rear of the retiring Christians until a second attack, more vigorous and sustained than the first, dispersed them among the hills. Many Turks were slain, while the loss of the League was not great. But amongst the Christians who fell was a bold Spaniard, named Martin Bueno, who the year before, being a slave on board the flagship of the Pasha of Cyprus, rose at the head of his fellow-captives, seized the vessel, and carried her off to Messina.[1]

To protect a second watering expedition, thirteen hundred men and six field guns were deemed sufficient. They were attacked, not by a force sent against them from Navarino, but by seven hundred foot and a few horse who happened to be on their march from Lepanto to Modon. These assailants, finding themselves overmatched, soon retired. The Christians suffered more by desertion than by the sword of the enemy; for forty Spaniards went over to the Turks, while only twenty Turkish deserters came off to the fleet.[2]

Meanwhile Don John, the Prince of Parma, and the principal leaders, were busily engaged in examining the ground along the channel and also the site and fortifications of the castle of Navarino. In position the fortress was very strong, but the defences were somewhat ruinous. The garrison had been lately reinforced by two hundred men from Modon. The engineers calculated that the place could not be reduced in less than eight days. They observed the great omission of the Turks, in leaving the opposite rock unfortified, and losing the command of the channel. But as they hoped that the occupation of the bay was to be but temporary, they did not recommend the erection of batteries on the important crag.

As soon as the store-ships cast anchor in the bay, Don John and his council were daily engaged in considering plans for attacking Modon and forcing the Turk to fight. A Florentine engineer, Giuseppe Bonello, brought forward a design for constructing a floating battery, by lashing several galleys together, and covering them with a platform capable of containing ten or twelve pieces of the largest cannon. The guns and gunners were to be protected by a bulwark of boxes filled with earth; and by

[1] F. Caracciolo: *I Commentarii*, lib. ii. p. 89. [2] *Ibid.* p. 90.

a lower range of empty boxes or barrels floating in the water, it was proposed to give buoyancy to the whole. Bonello asserted that the structure might be used not only for battering the castle, but also for facilitating the landing of troops. The scheme was at first received with favour by the three leaders. It was agreed that the materials should be furnished by each confederate according to the proportion of contribution stipulated by the treaty ; and the work was forthwith commenced. But it had not proceeded far when some of the Spanish officers of rank and influence so strongly objected to the plan, that the two galleys of the King, and the one lent on the part of the Pope, were withdrawn from the risk of Bonello's operations. More hopeful or more confiding, the Venetians continued the undertaking, on a reduced scale, with two of their own vessels. Some thirteen days were consumed in completing it. When it came to be tried, however, it was found that two galleys had been dismantled, and much time, labour, and material expended, in order to construct a machine, equally unmanageable and unsafe, and much more likely to go to the bottom with its guns and crew than to breach the walls of Modon. It was therefore taken to pieces, to the disappointment and discredit of Bonello and his Venetian supporters.[1] Other schemes for an attack upon Modon were also rejected, on account of the lateness of the season and of information that the Governor of Greece was approaching with so strong a force of cavalry as would render operations on shore both harassing and hazardous.

During the days consumed in waiting for this unlucky battery, it was reported that the Turks were constructing on the hills a fort which should command both the watering-place and the anchorage.[2] Marc Antonio Colonna undertook to lead four hundred picked Spaniards against the rising works. Rain and boisterous weather, however, delayed both the works and the expedition, until both had been abandoned and other enterprises were in hand. One night the fleet was alarmed by the sound of artillery at the entrance of the haven. A frigate, which was employed to keep watch on the enemy by cruising outside the bay, had ventured too far down the coast, and was pursued by a Turkish galley, engaged in a similar service off Modon. The Turk had the hardihood to follow his prey within the channel.

[1] F. Caracciolo: *I Commentarii*, lib. ii. pp. 90-92. He does not mention Bonello's name, but he gives an account of his invention much fuller than the other historians.

[2] M. A. Arroyo : *Relacion*, fol. 93.

One of the heavy ships lying nearest to the chase, in order to protect the escape of the frigate, fired at the intruder a few shots, which drove him off, but effectually alarmed the whole fleet. Darkness was descending; the drum was beaten in every vessel, and the soldiers rushed to arms as if Aluch Ali was approaching to storm the anchorage. The monotony of expectation was further broken by the news of the massacre of the Huguenots in Paris and throughout France, perpetrated a few weeks before on the night of St. Bartholomew. Their fellow-Christians engaged in watching the infidel received the intelligence with as much delight as was manifested at Rome, where the Pope proclaimed a jubilee, and struck a medal in honour of the event: and at

MEDAL STRUCK BY POPE GREGORY XIII. IN HONOUR OF THE MASSACRE OF THE HUGUENOTS.

Madrid, where Philip II. evinced his satisfaction not only by religious services, but by appearing amongst his courtiers and receiving the French ambassador with unwonted laughter.[1] "The "tidings," said one of themselves, "gave incredible joy to all, and "especially to the Marquess of Mayenne, on account of the death "of the admiral, the mortal enemy of the House of Guise."[2]

To avoid the imputation of having done absolutely nothing, it was resolved to take the castle of Navarino, although it was a place with slender pretensions to employ so strong a force as was now collected before it. The enterprise was entrusted to the Prince of Parma, who, on the 2d of October, landed with four thousand infantry and ten pieces of ordnance. Speedy success was looked upon as certain. But in three days the Prince had succeeded in placing only two guns in position; the bare rocky ground resisted the tools of his pioneers, and afforded no shelter from the fire of the place; and he had failed in cutting off the communications of the besieged with the country behind them. The nights were bitterly cold, with wind and rain; and the troops,

[1] Motley's *Dutch Republic*, ii. p. 332.
[2] F. Caracciolo: *I Commentarii*, lib. ii. p. 92.

bivouacking on the craggy shore without tents and without fire, suffered as much from exposure as from the guns of the castle. Don John himself therefore went ashore to examine the state of affairs. He landed at four in the morning in very tempestuous weather.[1] Believing that the fortress was not worth the cost of taking it, he ordered the discontinuance of the siege and the re-embarkation of the troops and artillery. On the morning when this was effected the adjacent heights were already white with the tents of a multitude of Turkish cavalry. Along the hills there was also seen moving towards the place a train of camels laden with supplies for the garrison. A large body of the horsemen swept down upon the retreating Christians, but were repulsed with loss, the fire of the musketeers being aided by the guns of the fleet.

While the Turks were thus reinforced, the Spaniards found their supplies rapidly melting away. Both in ammunition and provisions the cargoes of their store-ships were much less ample than they ought to have been, and than had been expected. Don John informed his colleagues that this discovery rendered it impossible for him any longer to continue the campaign. In this announcement the old jealousy between the Royal and Republican allies found a new vent. Amongst themselves the Venetians either doubted the alleged deficiency, or said that it might be readily supplied by sending for some vessels laden with biscuit belonging to the King of Spain, which were known to be lying at Tarento.[2] While the fleet of the League was at Navarino the Grand Duke sent out a ship laden with two thousand five hundred boxes of biscuit to reprovision his galleys. Don John of Austria, on being informed of this, said: "Truly, this shows "the great sense and foresight of this Prince, who from so far "sends supplies to his vessels, while we, who have our kingdoms "of Sicily and Naples so much nearer, bring nothing of the kind "from either of them."[3] Foscarini offered Don John a part of his own provisions, saying that he was every day expecting the arrival of a fresh supply of biscuit. The offer was not accepted. But it was declined in the most courteous terms, which seemed to imply that the Commander-in-Chief was acting under instructions, the nature of which he could not openly avow in his own justification. Don John argued that there was no longer the

[1] M. A. Arroyo: *Relacion*, fol. 94. [2] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, lib. iii.
[3] B. Baldini: *Vita di Cosimo Primo, Gr. D. di Toscana*, Firenze, 1578, pp. 77, 78.

slightest hope of bringing the Turk to action; and that it was now too late to undertake against Modon those active operations which, a month earlier, he had himself repeatedly proposed. He assured his colleagues of his devotion to the cause of the League, as well as his desire for distinction and fame; of his disappointment at finding no opportunity of fighting; of his readiness to fight, if the Turk would give him a chance, on the homeward voyage; and of his determination to take the earliest moment allowed him for opening the campaign of next year. But now, he declared, his duty to his master required him to return to Italy.[1] The Venetians were not convinced by his reasoning. But Foscarini saw fit to appear to yield to it, lest, if the allies divided their forces, it should be assumed that they had likewise broken up their League. Orders were therefore given to prepare for sea.

But before their departure, on the morning of the 7th of October, the anniversary of Lepanto, there seemed a prospect of bringing the cautious Turk to an engagement. A Spanish ship laden with stores coming from Corfu, by a mistake in her reckoning, or under stress of weather, had gone or been driven down to Cerigo. As she returned to Navarino, the morning found this vessel and a merchantman from Scio abreast of Modon. The veteran corsair, who was on the watch there, could not resist the temptation of capturing these prizes. Upwards of forty Turkish galleys dashed from their lurking-place in pursuit of them. Informed by his scouts of this movement, Don John immediately ordered Colonna, with his fleetest galleys, to join the chase, and Santa Cruz and Cardona to lead their squadrons along the shore in order to cut off the retreat of the enemy. He himself followed with the rest of the fleet, intending to lie as close as he could to the mouth of the harbour of Modon. But no sooner did the Christian vessels issue from the bay of Navarino

ARMS OF SANTA CRUZ.

[1] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, lib. iii. Translation, p. 188.

than Aluch Ali recalled his galleys, and placed them, all but one, in safety before the Roman and Neapolitan captains could overtake them. That one was a remarkably fine vessel, heavily armed and strongly moored, commanded by Hamet, nephew of Barbarossa and son-in-law of Dragut. It is uncertain whether the Turk retired with intentional slowness, as if daring his pursuers to attack him, or whether his Christian slaves purposely slackened their speed. The race between the Christian leaders for the honour of making a prize was won by Santa Cruz, who ran his flagship alongside the enemy, and after a severe struggle, in which the janissaries defended themselves with desperation, compelled him to surrender. During the action Hamet was slain by one of his Christian oarsmen, who revenged by a fortunate blow the cruelties under which he and his companions in bondage had long groaned. Falling amongst the rowing-benches, the body was almost immediately torn to pieces by the slaves, who, being chained, fell upon it with their teeth like a pack of hounds.[1] Deprived of her commander, the galley soon struck her flag. By this exploit, for which Santa Cruz was publicly thanked by Don John, two hundred and twenty Christians were released from the chain, the captors gained a rich booty, and the navy of Naples was reinforced by a magnificent vessel, which was thenceforward known as the prize galley. From some of the captive Turks Santa Cruz obtained the somewhat conflicting information that Aluch Ali had been ordered to bring his fleet back to Constantinople, but that he saw no way of obeying this order without risking a battle in which defeat was certain; that, nevertheless, he had at one time thought of hazarding an action, and, if beaten, retreating with the survivors by land; that during the operations of the Christians on shore against the town of Navarino, he had been there every day assisting in the defence, and that he had entertained the design of throwing up fortifications near the mouth of the bay to impede and annoy the passage of the fleet of the League; and lastly, that the Turks considered this campaign scarcely less glorious to Don John than that of the previous year.[2]

After some desultory and useless cannonading, the rest of the day was spent by Don John in lying off the harbour of Modon, or

[1] M. A. Arroyo: *Relacion*, fol. 98. His words are: "Murio Mahameto a manos "de un su esclavo Christiano, y los demas lo hizieron pedacos a bocados, porque "dezian que era muy cruel con ellos." The story is also told by the captive in Don Quixote, Part I. chap. 39, who says the oarsmen fell upon the commander when they saw the Shewolf (*Loba*) of Naples gaining on them.

[2] F. Caracciolo: *I Commentarii della Guerra fatta coi Turchi*, lib. ii. p. 99.

in manœuvring his fleet in the channel between Modon and the isle of Sapienza, in hope of provoking Aluch Ali into a battle. But that prudent commander, after his long patience, was too wise to expose his master's fleet to destruction by engaging a superior armament, which could not force his position, and which, if let alone, was certain to disappear before the wintry storms.

The Christians, therefore, were obliged to return to Navarino. That evening the heavy ships were despatched on their voyage to Zante. Next day, the 8th of October, the whole fleet sailed for Corfu. To close the brief campaign without having struck a single blow of importance, and with no result beyond some evidence that the Turks had learned to fear the flag of the League, was a severe mortification to Don John of Austria. It was all the more galling to his high spirit, because he was confident that a bolder policy would have secured a second triumph. From the first inspection of Modon he had differed with his council as to the mode of dealing with that strong position. Most of his colleagues at the board held it madness to attempt, so late in the season, the reduction of a place in which natural strength had been so highly improved by art. Others suggested methods of attack of which he could not approve. His plan was to force an entrance into the harbour with the galleys, alleging that the worst that could happen would be the sinking of three or four of them, and that, that risk encountered, the castle and batteries would be speedily silenced, and the crowded shipping would fall an easy prey. To this plan the authors of the other schemes would not listen. Foscarini also proposed a method of forcing the harbour, and offered, if it were adopted, to head the attack.[1] But it did not accord with the views of Don John, whose views were equally opposed by Foscarini. The majority was therefore always with the advocates of doing nothing. Our information is too imperfect to enable us to judge of the respective soundness of these conflicting opinions. It is fair to suppose that Don John had some reasonable answer to the obvious objection to his proposal, that three or four leading galleys, sunk in a narrow channel, might completely bar the advance of all the rest. It is clear that the courage and confidence with which the Turks rushed upon their destruction at Lepanto were greatly shaken; and it is possible that a daring attack, skilfully and happily executed, might have found them more disposed to fly than to

[1] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, lib. iii.

fight, and might have achieved a success far beyond expectation founded on a cool calculation of chances.

Favoured by wind, the fleet cast anchor, in the night of the 9th of October, beneath the convent-crowned heights of Skopi and the castled crags of Zante. There the weather changed, and detained it for several days. On its passage northward it was impeded and endangered by severe gales; and off the lonely rock of Paxo the *San Pietro,* a Papal galley, was wrecked with some loss of life. It was, we are told, not until the 26th[1] of October that the weary oarsmen brought most of the galleys of Don John and the allies into the haven of Gomeniza. While some were detained by stress of weather, upwards of thirty were employed in towing the heavy ships to Corfu. At Gomeniza Don John found Giovanni Andrea Doria on his way to join him with thirteen galleys and a large force of soldiers and volunteers. Doria was also accompanied by the Duke of Sesa, now recovered of his gout, but too late to assume the second place in the council.

In the act of parting for the year fresh ill-feeling unhappily manifested itself between the confederate leaders. Even Marc Antonio Colonna, who had generally acted as a peacemaker, found occasion, in the loss of the *San Pietro,* for a dispute with the Marquess of Santa Cruz. To replace the wrecked vessel the Roman commander demanded the galley which had been captured off Modon. Santa Cruz refused to give her up; and the value of the lost ship being offered instead, the question was reserved for the consideration of the Pope.

Don John of Austria, with the Spanish squadron, soon afterwards crossed the channel to Corfu. As the galleys stood into the harbour the artillerymen were ordered to be in readiness to reply to the customary salute. No salute, however, was fired. Next day the rest of the fleet came over, and was received with the usual uproar of gunnery from the castle and from the shipping in the harbour, except that which bore the Spanish colours. Foscarini sent an apologetic message to Don John by Colonna, explaining that the first omission had been an oversight of the governor of the place. Although the excuse was accepted, the

[1] Rosell (p. 145) says 26th, but I think it must be the 16th, as Don John writes on 24th October from Fossa de San Giovanni; see Rosell: Appendix xxxiv. Caracciolo (*I Commentarii*, p. 99) says Don John arrived with the greater part of the galleys at Gomeniza; and, while he was waiting for the rest, on the 18th of October there arrived there G. F. de Cordoba, Duke of Sesa; so the 16th was very likely the actual day, Rosell's figures being a misprint for 16th.

punctilious Spaniards would not believe that the insult to their flag had been committed without the knowledge of the Venetian admiral. The ancient distrust between Spain and Venice, aggravated, on the side of Venice, by Spanish inaction in the summer, had not been lessened by the events of the autumn.

Foscarini now proposed an attack on the often-menaced island and fortress of Santa Maura, to which Don John was at first favourably inclined. The Duke of Sesa, however, refused his consent, saying that it was too late in the year, and that the weather was too much broken for an attempt to reduce a strong place, which must be regularly invested, without tents for the troops.[1] Foscarini then asked Don John to leave him two thousand of the King of Spain's Italian infantry, in case he should see fit to undertake the enterprise after the departure of the allies. Don John consented; but the grace of the concession was greatly marred by the violent protest of the soldiers and some of the officers, who said they would rather undergo any labour or danger than submit to the scandalous treatment of the Government of Venice. In spite of these remonstrances the troops were left under the orders of Foscarini. But the expedition against Santa Maura was never undertaken. The apprehensions of the soldiers were justified, if not by the treatment of the Venetians, at least by the neglect of their own Government. Embarked in mid-winter in sailing vessels long exposed to tempests, with slender provision for their comfort, and landed, as the weather permitted or compelled, at various points of Southern Italy, where no preparations had been made to receive them, the greater number of these unfortunate men perished by inglorious hardship, "a sad "example," said a contemporary writer who had served with them, "of the ill-organized military service of our times."[2]

Importuned by the Venetian commander to remain at Corfu, Don John found in that island a Papal chamberlain, commissioned to make the same request in the name of Gregory XIII. The Roman courtier had been sent in consequence of a remonstrance addressed to the Pope by the Republic against the departure of the fleet from Navarino, and the little zeal manifested by the King of Spain towards the League. Gregory's desire was to induce Don John not to sail for Italy until he had learned whether the King had yielded to certain earnest representations made to him by both of his allies. But Don John having

[1] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, p. 213.
[2] F. Caracciolo: *I Commentarii della Guerra fatta coi Turchi*, lib. ii. p. 101.

already received his orders not to winter out of the dominions of the Spanish Crown, declined to await the result of diplomatic operations which he well knew would be, as they were, fruitless.[1]

Don John of Austria sailed from Corfu, it would seem, on the 20th of October. Foscarini, to make him some amends for the omitted salute, convoyed him with a squadron to the end of the channel of Corfu. After a very tempestuous voyage, in which he narrowly escaped shipwreck, the Commander-in-Chief of the League reached the Fossa de San Giovanni in five days. A letter which he wrote from thence (on the 24th of October) to the Spanish ambassador at Venice affords sufficient evidence of the jealousy which existed between the two chief confederates, and of the uncertain character of the alliance. Deploring the suspicions of the good faith of the King entertained by the Republic, he hoped there was no truth in the rumour that the Doge and Senate were negotiating a secret and separate treaty with the Turk.[2]

On the 25th of October he entered the beautiful haven of Messina, with none of the triumphal pomp which had signalized his return the year before. Having despatched his troops to their various garrisons, he soon afterwards proceeded with ten galleys to Naples. About the same time Colonna landed at the mouth of the Tiber, and sent his squadron to its winter quarters at Leghorn. After a brief sojourn at Rome he went to Spain, charged by the Pope with a mission to the King, in order to concert measures and combinations for the campaign of the year following. He was well received at Madrid; and the explanation of his conduct while in command of the fleet was heard by Philip with his usual cold complacency.[3] Gregory XIII. was equally satisfied with the services rendered to the League by Don John of Austria. "That young chief," said the Pope in full consistory, "has proved himself a Scipio in valour, a Pompey in heroic grace, "an Augustus in good fortune, a new Moses, a new Gideon, a "new Samson, a new Saul, a new David, without any of the "faults of these famous men; and I hope in God to live long "enough to reward him with a royal crown."[4]

The Venetian fleet remained during the winter at Corfu. The war continued to smoulder along the shore of Dalmatia.

[1] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, lib. iii. p. 214.

[2] Don John of Austria to Guzman de Silva, 24th Oct. 1572. Nation. Lib., Madrid, Cod. G. 45, fol. 260. Rosell: *Historia*, Appendix xxxiv.

[3] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, lib. iii. p. 213.

[4] Vanderhammen: *D. Juan de Austria*, fol. 165.

Various small and unimportant actions occurred between bands of Turkish marauders, pillaging the Venetian territories, and the garrisons of forts and towns with their Stradiote horse, who strove to protect them. Only one naval enterprise was undertaken. On the narrowest point of the narrow channel which connects the Adriatic with the Gulf of Cattaro the Turks had erected a fort, which threatened soon to place both gulf and town in their hands. Foscarini sent Soranzo, with eighteen galleys, six galeasses, and four thousand troops, to destroy it. The task was skilfully and gallantly accomplished. Up a channel only forty paces wide Soranzo led his squadron past the fire of the place, battered it by sea and land, carried it by storm, blew it up, and sent many guns and trophies to the arsenal of Venice.[1] During the winter Sebastian Veniero, the Venetian admiral at Lepanto, resigned the command of the gulf on account of age and illness. Although he had not signalized the past year by any feat of arms, he was received at Venice with all the honours of a triumph. The venerable Bucentaur, gay with waving banners, gilded oars, and the crimson robes of fifty senators who sat beneath its gorgeous canopies, swept out of the arsenal to meet him at the church of Sant' Antonio, near the entrance of the haven, and conveyed him to the square of St. Mark, amid the applause of the multitude. Arrayed like a Roman conqueror, in an antique mantle, fastened at the shoulder with golden clasps, the majestic old man repaired, with his officers, to hear high mass in the Ducal church, and to receive at its portal the congratulations of the Doge and the nobles. The spoils and prisoners of Lepanto were once more paraded through the city; and the rejoicings lasted for several days.[2]

When the coast of Greece was clear of the navy of the League, Aluch Ali put to sea and led his armament back to Constantinople. He, too, was received at home with great joy, and entered the Golden Horn, graced with the laurels of victory. To have avoided, for so many weeks, all the efforts of a superior force to bring him to action, without abandoning the shores which he had been sent to defend, was esteemed by the humbled Sultan and his counsellors no mean achievement. He therefore returned to his strenuous toil in the dockyards and magazines with increased favour and reputation.

[1] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, lib. iii. p. 215. [2] P. Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, lib. iii. p. 214. C. Botta: *Storia d'Italia*, Parigi, 1832, iii. p. 266.

CHAPTER XVIII.

DISSOLUTION OF THE HOLY LEAGUE; FROM NOVEMBER 1572 TO JUNE 1573.

DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA arrived at Naples in November 1572. He was received by the Viceroy, Cardinal Granvelle, and by the city, with rejoicings which lasted for several days. A grand tournament was held in his honour in the square of the Incoronata; and the mimic combats of this entertainment afforded an occasion for inspecting and testing the feudal cavalry forces of the realm, and of striking from the roll those horsemen who were found inefficient in skill or equipment.[1]

The winter was spent by Don John in making preparations for the next year's campaign, in repairing his galleys, collecting stores, and enlisting and drilling soldiers. The Papal galleys, and those of the Grand Duke of Tuscany hired by the Pope, were also put into good order. Venice likewise raised considerable levies of Swiss and Italian troops, reinforced the garrisons of Candia, and completed the rowing-gangs of her fleet.

On the part of the Republic these preparations were made as much with a view to lull the suspicions of her allies as to meet the forces of her foe. While arming for war, she left no stone

[1] Dom. Ant. Parrino: *Teatro de' Vicere di Napoli*, 3 vols. 12mo, Napoli, 1730, i. p. 312.

unturned to obtain peace. By the terms of the League the confederates had renounced their rights of treating separately with the Turk. To enter into secret negotiations at Constantinople was therefore a direct breach of the treaty. But the Venetians justified the step on the ground that the treaty had been already broken by the King of Spain. To both campaigns he had sent his fleet so late that the season for naval warfare was almost over before operations could begin. Not later than April was the time fixed by the treaty for the assembling of the combined armament. In 1571 it was September, and in 1572 it was August, before Don John of Austria made his appearance at Corfu. In addition to these breaches of the letter of the treaty, the King had repeatedly violated its spirit. By the consent of the confederates the shores of Greece had been made the scene of action. Great part of these shores had lately been wrested from the Republic; but the Spanish Commander-in-Chief had thwarted every attempt at recovering them. In the last campaign the Venetians accused him of a deliberate resolve to avoid collision with the Turk. Besides these causes of complaint, some of which were unquestionably just, Venice had very serious reasons for dreading the prolongation of the war. For her, as a commercial State, war was always a losing game. Although victorious, she was more exhausted by the struggle than the defeated Turk. The defection of a distrusted ally might at any moment render the contest hopeless, and, even with his aid, a disaster might be her ruin. It seemed more reasonable, therefore, to anticipate than to wait the dissolution of a League of which the benefits were so doubtful, and the existence so precarious.

It was upon these grounds that the Doge Mocenigo, who had always desired the speedy termination of the war, now recommended negotiations with the Porte, and supported his proposal in the Council of Ten with all the weight of his authority and all the force of his eloquence. His views being adopted, fresh instructions were transmitted to the Venetian envoy at Constantinople. During the winter various public events combined to confirm the statesmen of Venice in their pacific policy. Considerable difficulty was found in recruiting both the navy and the army of the Republic. An embassy was sent from Constantinople to Vienna, which was afterwards found to concern the affairs of Moldavia, but which was at first supposed to be sent in order to obtain leave for Turkish troops to march through a portion of the imperial dominions into the Venetian territory of Friuli. The

troubles in Flanders appeared so threatening as to render it probable that the forces of the King of Spain might be wanting to the next year's operations of the Holy League.[1]

There was another power which, from the first, had viewed the League with dislike and apprehension, and which was now ready

LUDOVICO MOCENIGO, DOGE OF VENICE FROM MAY 1570 TO JUNE 1577.

to aid in its dissolution. The King of France, on learning that it had been concluded, sent, as we have seen, one of his ablest diplomatists, François de Noailles, Bishop of Acqs, to Venice to endeavour to compose the differences between the Republic and the Porte, and failing in that, to stir up strife between the new confederates. After the battle of Lepanto this crafty Prelate was ordered

[1] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, lib. iii. pp. 219-226.

to proceed to Constantinople and use every effort to bring about peace. To this mission the King of Spain and the Pope were strongly opposed; and Venice, elated with victory, did all in her power to retard it by withholding from the Bishop, as long as she decently could, the means of transport to Ragusa. She succeeded so well that the year 1572 had begun before he dismounted, sore and weary from six weeks in the saddle amongst the mountains of Epirus, at the French embassy at Constantinople. He lost no time in examining the effects of the late defeat upon the resources, temper, and spirit of the Turk and his people; and in urging upon the Turkish ministers the policy of peace with Venice. He assured Mahomet Sokolli that the Sultan had no firmer friend than Charles IX., and he congratulated Charles IX. upon the damage which Selim had sustained at the hands of the League. While he jealously watched the proceedings of the emissaries and agents of the King of Spain and Don John of Austria at the Porte, he endeavoured to stand well with the powers of the League, by treating for the liberation of some Venetian and even Spanish prisoners; and even by smuggling home, amongst his own people, some escaped Christian captives. He kept the French minister at Venice informed of all circumstances occurring at Constantinople, which could strengthen the hands of those senators and official men of the Republic who desired peace; and he likewise furnished to the Turks all his information as to those movements and preparations of the League which made it the Sultan's interest to detach Venice from the confederation.

The Vizier and the ministers were not much moved either by his tidings or by his counsels. They said that the King of France ought to prove his friendship for the Sultan by declaring war against Spain, or by preparing a fleet for future hostilities, or, at the very least, by preventing his subjects from serving in large numbers on board the vessels of the League. To these proposals Acqs was extremely copious and ingenious in his replies. As to active hostility against Spain, he said that it was unreasonable to expect this of his master, when the Sultan had himself neglected the great opportunity of striking a blow against that power, by sending efficient assistance to the revolted Moriscos. The Vizier admitted that the neglect of the Moriscos was an error, against which he had always protested, and said that his policy of zealous intervention in that struggle had been overruled in the Divan by Spanish gold. The Bishop then endeavoured to prove that his master was of more use to Selim as a mediator than as an active

ally. He acknowledged that internal troubles in France had compelled the French sovereigns to neglect their fleet, but he said that the King was now building many galleys; and he proposed a loan from the Turkish treasury to hasten their progress. This request the Divan refused, on the ground that lending money to Christians was forbidden by the Koran; and the Bishop reported the refusal, with the comment that this convenient precept was the only injunction of the Prophet which was obeyed at the Porte. As to the presence of French volunteers in the fleet of Venice, Acqs assured the Vizier that it was contrary not only to the desire, but to the command of the King; and he even produced evidence that Charles had no sooner heard of the Venetian vessels fitted out by the Marquess of Mayenne than he addressed to the Republic a strong remonstrance, and to the Marquess an order for his immediate return to France.

During 1572, however, the arguments and efforts of the Bishop in favour of peace met with no success. Nor was he more happy in attaining a secondary object of his mission, which was to find a kingdom for the Duke of Anjou within the territories of the Sultan. When, with obvious reluctance, he acted upon his humiliating instructions, and informed the Vizier that the brother of the Most Christian King was willing to hold Algiers as the vassal of the Turk, and pay him the same tribute as his other Viceroys, he had the further mortification of receiving the evasive and somewhat contemptuous answer, that if the Duke of Anjou would lead an army thither for the service of Selim, he would then learn how noble a Prince he was dealing with. Disgusted with Turkish arrogance, Acqs likewise held the naval power of the Sultan in greater contempt, and expected more vigour from the League than events justified. He believed that Selim would sustain a second signal defeat at sea, and he did not wish to be at Constantinople when the tidings arrived. Without waiting for his recall he therefore set out homewards in the autumn. At Ragusa he was apprised, to his dismay, that the King was displeased with him for quitting his post, and that he must at once retrace his steps. But his mistake appears to have had more success than some of his more deeply-laid plans. The peace party in the Divan was strengthened by his departure. As he pursued his weary journey back to Constantinople he was met by three separate couriers from the Vizier, urging him to use all possible speed. On his arrival he found that the negotiations, which had been going on languidly during the whole war between

the Vizier and the captive Venetian envoy, after having for a time been seriously and actively pushed forward, had been suspended and at last broken off. On the 2d of March 1573 the astute Frenchman saw Mahomet Sokolli, and, in an interview of three hours, managed to place before him some fresh views as to the necessity of peace and the danger of prolonging the war. By the Vizier's desire he made a minute of their conference, which was translated and laid before the Sultan. On the 7th of March peace was concluded between Venice and the Porte. The terms were such as to render the Venetian envoy very unwilling to entertain them. The Sultan was to retain Cyprus; the Turkish and Venetian boundaries on the Adriatic were to remain as they were when the war broke out—or, in other words, the Turks were to keep all the territory there of which Solyman had stripped Venice; the trading vessels taken on both sides were, so far as was possible, to be restored; and Venice was to surrender the conquered fortress of Sopoto in Albania, and pay to the Turk three hundred thousand ducats in three equal annual instalments.

Acqs was greatly elated with the success of his mission. "You will observe," he wrote to the Duke of Anjou, "what has "happened about peace with Venice; how the Venetian envoy "and the Pasha have been brooding over it in secret for three "months, and I have hatched it in three days." But while he was proud of having terminated the war, he was careful to disclaim all share in framing or suggesting the conditions of peace. "As to the terms," he wrote, "I did not meddle with "them; I did what the King ordered me, and nothing more. "Venice did not ask me to interpose; and, indeed, I received "more than one hint that my interference was not required." There was, in truth, no credit to be derived from any connexion with the Venetian negotiations. The terms obtained were so unfavourable as to justify Voltaire's remark that, judging from them, it would appear that the Turks had won the battle of Lepanto. Yet the results of the war were not altogether to be measured by the inglorious character of the peace. The war had stripped Venice of important territories, which the peace did not restore to her. But the Turk's pretensions to supremacy on the waters as well as the shores of the Levant had received an effectual check. He had suffered his first signal disaster in his westward progress; and Venice had obtained from her most dreaded neighbour, by force of arms, a peace which lasted for seventy years.

Venetian historians do not attribute to the Bishop of Acqs

quite so important a share in the negotiations as Spanish writers give him credit for, and as the French Prelate himself assumes. They admit that these negotiations had been suspended and were not resumed until his return to Constantinople; that the Venetian envoy, who had previously been at large on parole, was closely confined to his own house to prevent his communicating with Acqs and observing the progress of the Turkish naval and military preparation; and that the arrival of the French Prelate was closely followed by the adjustment of the treaty. But they assert that the Vizier waited only to know whether the Bishop was the bearer of any fresh proposals, and that on finding he had brought none, Mahomet concluded the peace on the terms previously fixed with Barbaro.[1] Perhaps the truth lies between the two accounts. It was natural that the Vizier should postpone the final step until he had received from the French minister the latest news of the position and prospects of western affairs; and it is probable that Acqs exercised upon Mahomet's decision an influence somewhat greater than the Venetians allowed, and somewhat less than he himself claimed.

While these negotiations for peace were being carried on at Constantinople the representatives of the confederates were taking counsel at Rome for the vigorous prosecution of the war. The envoys of Venice were especially urgent for opening the campaign with an imposing force and on the earliest possible day. It was agreed that the fleet should consist of three hundred sail, and the troops of sixty thousand men. But some of the proposals of Venice were not adopted by the League. She was overruled in her desire to send a hundred galleys in advance of the fleet for the protection of Candia, which she asserted would be invaded by the Turks early in summer. She wished the rest of the fleet to sail from Corfu on the 1st of April. The day fixed for the sailing of the whole was the 15th. She petitioned the Pope to grant her a favour,—conceded in similar emergencies by former Pontiffs, the right of alienating certain ecclesiastical property within her dominions. Gregory XIII. would only grant a power of levying a tithe upon the clergy to the amount of one hundred thousand ducats. By the rejection of these and similar propositions the Republic afterwards endeavoured to justify the separate treaty which she was negotiating at Constantinople at the very time when her representatives at Rome were deliberating with their colleagues on the plan of a campaign for 1573.

[1] Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, lib. iii. pp. 225-7.

It is certain that Venice with one hand signed a treaty of peace with the Turk and with the other an engagement to prosecute the war against him. On the 7th of March the Venetian envoy to the Sultan affixed his seal to the preliminaries of a treaty at Constantinople; and on the same day the Venetian envoy to the Pope swore, in presence of the Pontiff, to observe the military convention at Rome.[1] To this conduct Spanish historians apply the harshest language. In their eyes it is a new instance of old perfidy; a treacherous desertion of generous allies who had sacrificed their own interests to those of Venice; an act of sordid calculation by which a mercantile nation weighed glory against gain.[2] Judged by a high standard of morality, the conduct of Venice is, of course, indefensible. But judged by the loose code which regulated international transactions in the sixteenth century, and which had always regulated Papal and Spanish policy towards the Republic, and with due regard to the previous proceedings and respective positions of the confederates, her conduct does not seem deserving of any very severe reprobation. Her statesmen asserted that both the King and the Pope desired to prolong the war; the King in order to exhaust her resources, the Pope in order to fill his own coffers, into which war exactions brought a hundred crowns for every crown abstracted by war expenses.[3] Many of the conditions of the League it was impossible to observe; others, which ought to have been observed, had already been repeatedly violated. The withdrawal of Venice from the League was also justified on the ground that she was never sure that the King might not himself take that course, either literally by making peace with the Turk, or practically by failing to send his forces to the common armament. To him her withdrawal might be inconvenient or even dangerous; to her his sudden and unforeseen withdrawal would be total ruin. By such arguments Venetian senators of 1573 easily justified to themselves a policy which Spanish historians have not yet ceased to condemn.

It is, however, more easy to excuse that policy than to explain it. If the Turks had rewarded Venice for leaving the League by granting her peace on advantageous terms, there would have been an obvious temptation to incur the displeasure and future coldness

[1] *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, iii. p. 377, note.

[2] See Torres y Aguilera: *Chronica*, fol. 90. Cabrera: *Felipe II.*, p. 747. Arroyo: *Relacion de la Santa Liga*, fol. 108, etc. Rosell (*Historia*, p. 149) takes the same view, and so does Don Modesto Lafuente in his *Historia General de España*, vols. i. xviii. 8vo, Madrid, 1850-57—xiii. pp. 533-4. Prescott, usually so dispassionate, also ranges himself on the Spanish side, and blames the perfidy of Venice: *Philip II.*, vol. iii. p. 312.

[3] *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, iii. p. 377.

of her allies. But the terms being so hard, it is strange that she did not endeavour to allay the indignation of the confederates by giving them early information of the step which she felt herself compelled to take. It may be that her minister hoped to the last to obtain peace on better conditions ; or it may be that diplomacy has a natural tendency to work underground and prefer darkness to light.

Rumours of the peace had circulated at Rome for some days ere the 6th of April, when the first formal notification of it was made to the Pope by Paolo Tiepolo, the Venetian ambassador. Gregory was at Frascati, the guest of Cardinal Altemps in the noble villa of Mondragone, which looks from its Latin hill-top over the valley of the Tiber. Thither the Venetian, on receiving his orders from home, immediately repaired. From his behaviour, the Pope would seem to have been taken completely by surprise. When Tiepolo made his announcement, Gregory started from his chair, and rushed upon the ambassador as if to inflict personal chastisement, and, on the poor man taking flight, chased him through the adjoining apartments, and finally drove him out of the villa.[1] Later in the day the enraged Pontiff returned to the capital, and at midnight sent a Cardinal to impart the news to the Spanish ambassador, Zuñiga. The Spaniard instantly wrote to Don John of Austria at Naples by a special courier.[2] Next day he waited on the Pope, and found him much disturbed and perplexed, but cautious in giving utterance to the displeasure with which he evidently regarded the proceedings of the Venetians. The event had not taken him altogether by surprise, for he asked if the King of Spain had given Don John or his diplomatic agents any directions for their guidance in case of its occurrence. Zuñiga replied that his master had never contemplated the possibility of such a step, which was a direct breach of the treaty, without due notice being given.[3] Far from giving notice, it was plain that the Doge and his ministers had taken every precaution to prevent the suspicions of the Papal and Spanish representatives at Venice being awakened, because neither of them had warned his Court of the policy which the Republic had adopted. It was likewise plain that the Venetians were heartily ashamed of the conditions of the peace. As long as it

[1] *Sixte-Quint par le* Baron de Hübner. Paris, 1870, 3 vols. 8vo, i. pp. 101-2.

[2] Rosell : *Combate Naval ;* Letter from D. Juan de Zuñiga to D. John of Austria, Rome, 6th April 1573, App. xlii. p. 243.

[3] Rosell : *Combate Naval ;* Letter from D. Juan de Zuñiga to D. John of Austria, Rome, 7th April 1573, App. xliii. p. 244.

was possible to do so, the terms of the treaty were kept secret; and at Rome the Venetian minister was said to have countenanced a report that, although Cyprus remained in the hands of the Turk, yet his conquests in Dalmatia were to be restored to the Republic.[1]

Don John of Austria first received the news from the secretary of the Venetian agent at Naples on the 7th of April; and on the 8th arrived the courier from Zuñiga. He immediately ordered the flag of the League to be hauled down, and that of Spain to be hoisted on board his galley. He then summoned Granvelle, Sesa, and Garcia de Toledo to a conference, the result of which he communicated to Zuñiga in a despatch. They agreed that the conduct of the Republic was unjustifiable, and that it was aggravated by the needless expense of preparation into which it had led the King of Spain. But they were of opinion that their master's dignity required them to refrain from the use of exasperating or threatening language; that the license to buy corn in the Sicilies should not be hastily withdrawn from the Venetians; and that if any notice were to be taken by the King of the Republic's breach of faith, it should be by some decisive act on some fitting occasion. Don John, however, also instructed Zuñiga to set strongly before the Pope the injustice done to him and the King, and the expediency of showing to the world that two at least of the allies could act in harmony, by permitting the Papal squadron to remain with the royal fleet, and take part in the summer campaign. To Don John himself the dismemberment of his fleet must have been a disappointment; but, after the experience of the past year, and the ominous rumours which were rife even before he landed at Messina,[2] it can hardly have been a great surprise.

Philip II. received the intelligence of the dissolution of the League with his accustomed calmness, and the Venetian ambassador who conveyed it with perfect courtesy. His only reply to the communication was, that doubtless the Doge and Senate had grave and weighty reasons for their policy.

The displeasure of the Pope was openly expressed, and not soon removed. For some time he refused to receive the Venetian minister, and the Republic found it expedient to send a special envoy, Nicola da Ponte, to make her excuses at the Vatican.[3]

[1] Rosell: *Combate Naval*, p. 244. [2] Chap. XVII. p. 501.
[3] P. Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, p. 230.

The final adjustment of the peace between Venice and the Turk was not concluded without some difficulty and delay. The ambassador appointed to sign it on behalf of the Republic at Constantinople was so long in setting out for his post, that at Rome Zuñiga made some attempts to resuscitate the League. The Porte and the Republic were mutually distrustful; and each was inclined to suspect that the negotiations for peace had been used by the other as a screen for warlike preparations. In spite of mutual remonstrances, both fleets were kept on a war footing. Aluch Ali even put to sea about the middle of June with nearly two hundred sail. He had reached the harbour of Modon before the Sultan had bestowed his approving nod on the splendid presents and flowery oration with which the ambassador of Venice celebrated the ratification of the treaty. The Christian League was now at an end. Aluch Ali signalized the good news by leading his fleet against the coast of Apulia, and burning the King of Spain's town of Castro.[1]

[1] P. Paruta: *Guerra di Cipro*, p. 231.

END OF VOLUME I.

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